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ABSTRACT

This book presents 46 articles reprinted from the Journal of Counseling and Development (formerly The Personnel and Guidance Journal) from two series: "Pioneers in Guidance" and "Life Lines: Interviews with Pioneers in Counseling and Development." The stated purpose of the book is to document the personal and professional lives of early pioneers whose work has shaped the counseling profession, whose writings have affected the thinking of others, and whose histories reflect the development of the profession. The book is organized into eight sections. The first six sections consist of individual interviews with pioneers, grouped into six themes: career planning, measurement, theorists, scholars and practitioners, women and minorities, and administrators. The seventh section highlights four educational programs that have played a major role in pioneering the training of counselors and counseling psychologists. In the eighth section the articles and themes that appear among some of the interviews are examined, especially in regard to significant events that influenced the pioneers' development, and the pioneers' comments and observations about training. (ABL)

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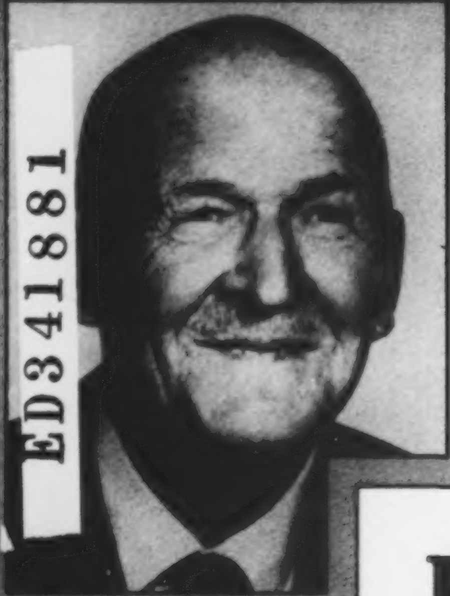
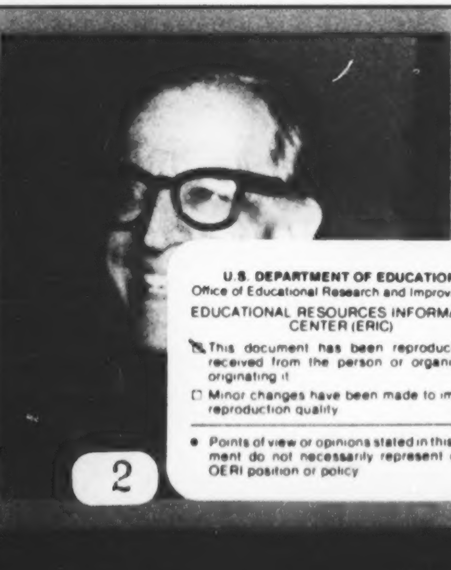
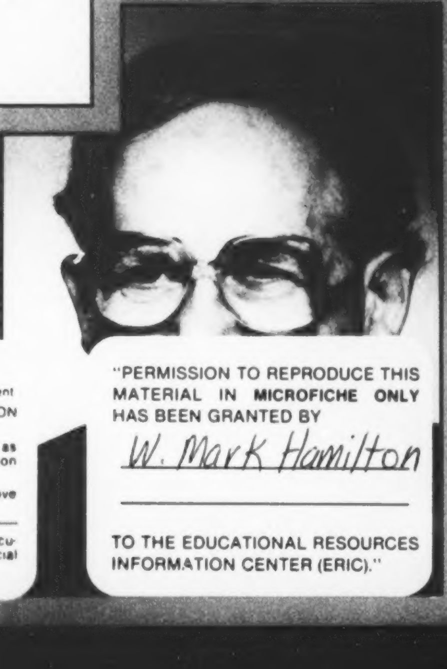


Pioneers In Counseling & Development:

Personal and Professional Perspectives

Edited by P. Paul Heppner, Ph.D.

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Pioneers in Counseling & Development:

Personal and Professional Perspectives

Edited by P. Paul Heppner, PhD

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Publisher's Note

The text of most articles has been reprinted from the *Journal of Counseling & Development* (formerly *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*). Because this spans nearly two decades, the reader may notice slight stylistic differences among the interviews, due to editorial changes over the years. All articles have been reprinted into the page format currently used in *JCD.* Affiliations of those conducting each interview are valid for the year of that article, and do not necessarily reflect the interviewer's current affiliation.

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Pictured on cover, clockwise from upper left corner:
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Dedication

This book is dedicated to Michael Jacobs, an undergraduate friend, who first planted the seed that some day I would produce a book, to David N. Dixon, my graduate advisor, who figured prominently in showing me the way, and to Rodney K. Goodyear, who played a major role in making it happen.

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Editor

P. Paul Heppner, PhD, is a professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Missouri-Columbia. He has served on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* and the *Journal of Counseling & Development.* With the latter journal, he has also served as the feature editor of Life Lines and currently serves as a Senior Advisory Editor. His primary research interests include the social influence process in counseling and problem solving or coping with stressful life events. He has been a Fulbright Scholar at The University of Goteborg (Sweden), a Visiting Fellow at the University of London (England), and recently has received a named professorship at the University of Missouri for teaching and research.

Editor's Acknowledgments

Having taught at the University of Missouri for the last 12 years, it is inevitable that I have been influenced by those individuals who passed through the halls before me . The counseling program at Missouri has a long history in the counseling profession. For example, Missouri was one of the first institutions to obtain federal support for training institutes to train elementary, secondary, and higher education counselors through NDEA, administered by Ralph Bedell. Likewise, Robert Callis and other faculty members consistently promoted a scientist-practitioner model by advocating joint appointments for counseling faculty, thereby providing a long-standing leadership in both the scientist and practitioner domains. In a way, this book grew within a fertile Missouri environment and stands as a tribute to those who built the counseling profession, not only at Missouri but also across the nation.

—P. P. Heppner

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Preface

> I tend to think that the establishment of a reasonable history for ourselves is a little bit like a child's building of a self-concept. Nowadays, we all recognize—or at least we're beginning to talk about the fact—that a necessary part of children's cognitive development is the building of some kind of self-referential, self-regulating, self-knowing set of structures. . . . To some extent, then, the building of our history is the building of our own self-concept . . . history and that attendant self-concept are integral to our construction of knowledge about the outside world. (Sheldon White, in Bronfenbrenner, Kessel, Kessen, & White, 1986, p. 1221)

Collecting history is often a difficult, complex, and never-ending task. The history of counseling and development has been well chronicled in terms of major events, philosophical and theoretical developments, and research trends (e.g., Borgen, 1984; Brown, 1972; Gelso & Fassinger, 1990; Hedahl, 1978; Pepinsky, Hill-Frederick, & Epperson, 1978; Siegel, 1972; Whiteley, 1980; Zytowski & Rosen, 1982). What is missing are the personal meanings and elaborations of these major events within the personal and professional lives of the major pioneers as well as the histories of the major training institutions in counseling. My belief is that such anecdotal material is a valuable source of information about our history and ultimately about ourselves. Furthermore, such information can supplement the more traditional documentation by enriching our understanding of the profession and shaping our collective and personal self-concepts. In my view, when a faculty member says "E. G. Williamson" and there is a blank look on students' faces, the profession is in danger of losing an important part of its past and its historical identity.

The purpose of this book is to document the personal and professional lives of early pioneers whose work has shaped our profession, whose writings have affected our thinking, and whose histories reflect the development of the profession. The work of the early pioneers has brought us to where we are now. What do we know about them? What are they like? What can we learn from their experiences and wisdom? Fortunately many historical figures of our field are still living. In a way, the goal was to use them as resources for understanding ourselves before they become yesterday's memories (Heppner, Rogers, & Lee, 1984).

Although there are 46 articles in this book, they represent but a beginning. Many people were involved in plotting the course of development of the field of counseling. Undoubtedly many untold stories and experiences are yet to be documented. The five institutional articles are essentially just a beginning, and other programs and counseling centers merit public acknowledgment and documentation.

The articles in the book are based primarily on two interview series. Derald Wing Sue (1975) began a series of articles in *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* titled "Pioneers in Guidance," which consisted of interviews with some of the early contributors in the field of counseling and human development. People such as John Holland, Esther Lloyd-Jones, Leona Tyler, and E. G. Williamson were interviewed. James R. Barclay, the subsequent editor, also published a few interviews with pioneers, although he did not have a formal series. In 1983, as a means of continuing this historical documentation, Rodney K. Goodyear, then editor-elect of the *Journal of Counseling & Development*, authorized a sequel series titled "Life Lines: Interviews With Pioneers in Counseling and Development"; I was granted the responsibility of editing the series. Its purpose was to document the lives of the major pioneers in the field and the developments and contributions of several major institutions. Three basic goals underlay this project. First, we wanted to gain a sense of the "personhood" of the early pioneers. Second, we wanted to present these pioneers' perceptions of the field, their work, and their institutions. Third, we wanted to encourage a sense of identification within the professional community, particularly in terms of developmental issues across the age span. Thus, both "Pioneers in Guidance" and "Life Lines" served as the major sources for this book.

It is important to recognize the advantages and limitations of the type of information we obtain from the oral history method. This method is subject to personal biases and distortions due to unique aspects of the interviewer, interviewee, and the interview itself. Particularly, with regard to the interviewee, there can be distortions due to the unreliability of memory, a tendency to telescope or condense events, the influence of strong personal feelings, hindsight, or self-consciousness. Likewise, the interviewer's questions may contain a sampling bias, or the interviewer may be overly biased toward the interviewee. Finally, characteristics of the interview itself, such as time of day, place of interview, length of interview, and state of mind of both interviewee and interviewer, can also affect the outcome (Seldon & Pappworth, 1983). In short, because of the nonstandardized format and the possibility of distortion, comparisons across interviews are inappropriate, and the information must be considered as primarily subjective. The strength of the oral history approach, however, is in providing glimpses of the "immediate and direct struggle of the individual" (Moss, 1988, p. 12). The oral history method is a powerful tool for providing information about pioneers' personalities, dreams, aspirations, and professional perspectives. In this way the interviews add "color" to many early documented historical events (Seldon & Pappworth, 1983).

The book is organized into eight sections. The first six sections consist of individual interviews with pioneers, grouped into six themes: career planning, measurement, theorists, scholars and practitioners, women and minorities, and administrators. Because of the field's deep roots in vocational guidance and measurement, these two sections are located early in the book. Wright and Heppner introduce section I on career planning by briefly tracing the vocational guidance movement. The contributions in that section portray aspects of our evolution from the vocational guidance movement to a broader career planning focus that includes personal, educational, and career concerns across the life span.

Section II on measurement, introduced by Johnson and Heppner, documents some of our history regarding the confluence of vocational guidance and the psychometric movement. The articles in that section focus on those men who have developed major career assessment tools, thus leaving us the legacy both of their instruments and the formation of a major part of our profession.

Kivlighan introduces section III on theorists; this section includes those pioneers who have contributed to the development of counseling theory. Kivlighan aptly notes that theories are reflections of their creators' background, personality, and professional experiences. Thus, Kivlighan suggests that by examining the personal side of these theorists, we can put their theories into a richer and broader context.

Section IV, the largest section, is introduced by Roehlke and focuses on early scholars and practitioners. Each of the 11 pioneers in this section made prodigious contributions to the teaching, research, and practice of applied psychology over the last 50 years. Roehlke provides an excellent chronological perspective for viewing these pioneers' contributions to the development of education and training standards in counseling. In addition, Roehlke identifies four themes common to all the contributions in this section.

Hills and Frazier introduce section V, which contains interviews with early women and minority pioneers. In their examination of the lives and careers of these pioneers, Hills and Frazier skillfully identify both the commonalities that illustrate the traditional themes of the field of counseling as well as several counterthemes that made these individuals unique. Clearly, the women and minority pioneers added depth and richness to the collective voice of our field.

Heppner and Heppner introduce section VI, which focuses on the pioneers who were involved in major administrative positions during their careers. It is clear that the early administrative pioneers had a powerful impact on the profession; these were some of the people who were the pacesetters, innovators, and vanguards of the profession. Heppner and Heppner conclude that we can attribute much of where we are today to these early administrators, whose wisdom and leadership laid important foundations for the profession's subsequent development.

Section VII, introduced by Hillerbrand and Heppner, highlights four educational programs that have played a major role in pioneering the training of counselors and counseling psychologists. The goal of these articles was not only to document the history of these programs but also to suggest influential factors in their development. In addition, one innovative and influential university counseling center of the 1970s is included. These articles were difficult to write; the authors deserve special recognition for persevering with this task. These institutional reviews contain a great deal of information about our history that the individual interviews with pioneers do not reflect.

Heppner, Wright, and Berry conclude the book in section VIII by reflecting on the articles and discussing themes that appear among some of the interviews, especially in regard to (a) significant events that influenced the pioneers' development, and (b) the pioneer's comments and observations about training. It is clear that the oral history method has provided us with an added dimension of our history, one that allows us to experience the fabric of the human lives that shaped our field, as well as to document in considerable detail the personal meanings of the major events in the evolution of the counseling profession.

Editing the articles and developing this book has been essentially a labor of love. My initial motivation as Life Lines editor was to profile information about the personal and professional lives of the pioneers in counseling and development. In addition to getting the chance to document these aspects of our history, it was also gratifying to acknowledge publicly some of the people who had a major impact on our field. Although highlighting the accomplishments of a person's career can sometimes result in "larger-than-life" images, a conscious attempt was made also to portray the humanness of the interviewees. For example, a common thread linking several articles is the message that achievement sometimes comes with personal costs, such as physical illness, less time with family, or divorce. Perhaps these realistic images of our role models will facilitate the healthy development of professionals of all ages in our field.

A few words should be written about how interviewees and institutions were initially selected. First, there was a rather lengthy process of soliciting nominees from local and national colleagues, the editorial board of the *Journal*, long-time associates of AACD, and leaders from various AACD divisions. A defining criterion was the nominees' age; nominees needed to be 60 years of age or older. All nominees were placed on a list; the editorial board members then selected those individuals they believed should be "top priority" for the Life Lines series. A few individuals were included in the series when manuscripts featuring interviews were submitted to the *Journal* that seemed to complement the goals of Life Lines. A major criterion for the institutional reviews was their longevity and continued contributions to the counseling field. Regrettably, for a wide variety of reasons, a few manuscripts of noteworthy individuals and counseling centers did not reach completion.

Many people have contributed to the Life Lines project, and ultimately to the development of this book. First and foremost, the idea of interviewing early pioneers in counseling and development began with Derald Sue and was renewed by Rod Goodyear when he initially became editor of the *Journal of Counseling & Development*. I am indebted to Rod for the opportunity, freedom, and support in developing the Life Lines series. In addition, on several occasions, Rod Goodyear and Nancy Garfield provided guidance, advice, and creative problem solving that greatly facilitated this project and the development of this book. Second, Lucienne A. Lee and Mark E. Rogers significantly contributed to the early thinking about Life Lines. They were particularly instrumental in both introducing the series (Heppner, Rogers, & Lee, 1984b) and developing the *Lifelines: Guidelines and Suggestions* (Heppner, Rogers, & Lee, 1984a); the latter served as the primary instructions to authors for developing the Life Lines articles. Both Luci and Mark provided useful observations about developing historical articles and were my initial source of excitement and camaraderie about the Life Lines series here at the University of Missouri. Third, the many authors and interviewees of the Pioneers in Guidance and Life Lines articles all contributed substantial amounts of time and energy to developing the articles. Their dedication and perseverance were essential ingredients in this project. Fourth, the editorial board members of the *Journal of Counseling & Development* from the years 1984 to 1989 have provided extremely valuable feedback on earlier drafts of the articles; their insights, wisdom, and judgment have greatly improved the quality of the articles. Fifth, I would like to thank those individuals who so ably contributed to developing the introductions for each of the sections in this book: Patricia A. Frazier, Mary J. Heppner, Eric T. Hillerbrand, Hope I. Hills, Walter Cal Johnson, Jr., Dennis M. Kivlighan, Jr., Helen J. Roehlke, Deborah M. Wright, and Kathryn Berry. These authors not only established a historical context for their respective sections, but also aptly summarized and synthesized the articles.

I would also like to acknowledge the editorial assistance of Deborah M. Wright, Helen J. Roehlke, and Patricia A. Frazier in developing this book; their feedback and thoughts were consistently useful and insightful. Finally, I would like to note the continual support of Wayne P. Anderson and Mary J. Heppner.

Although a number of people offered encouragement and reinforcement throughout this project, Wayne and Mary stand out because they consistently acknowledged and supported me in developing the Life Lines articles, which not only eased some of my doubts but even helped me to believe that I might be doing something important.

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PART I

Career Planning Pioneers

Our Beginnings in Career Counseling: Understanding Our Professional Roots and Goals

DEBORAH M. WRIGHT and P. PAUL HEPPNER

Career counseling can be regarded as one of the earliest forerunners of what we now call counseling and counseling psychology. Embedded in the history of the vocational guidance movement are philosophies that are central to counseling today: an emphasis on normal developmental issues, a holistic view of the individual, and an emphasis on empowering individuals by increasing their choices. These themes were once the revolutionary ideas of the pioneers of the vocational guidance movement, which goes back almost a century. We believe it is important to examine our history not only to identify our roots, but also because there are important lessons in understanding how and why the counseling profession has evolved. The history of career counseling is particularly noteworthy.

The vocational guidance movement began at the turn of the century in response to the social needs created by the industrial revolution. Rapid industrialization and massive migration to urban centers created poor working conditions and an abundance of poverty. Without child labor laws, it was common practice for children of age 14 to work full time. As a consequence, less than 10% of all 17-year-olds graduated from high school (Tolbert, 1982). The vocational guidance movement, which was part of a larger social reform movement of the early 20th century, was aimed at helping people deal with the changes brought about by the industrial revolution. From its inception, a primary goal of the vocational guidance movement was to increase occupational choice by providing more occupational information. Today this goal is generally woven into the fabric of the American culture; however, in the early 1900s it was a revolutionary idea.

The person most strongly associated with the vocational guidance movement was Frank Parsons. Parsons, a social reformer, lost his job in engineering in 1873 (Tolbert, 1982). In the 1890s, he began to offer vocational guidance to underprivileged youth in Boston by providing them with occupational information. His initial goal was to help youth match skills and education to work settings (Engelkes & Vandergoot, 1982). Parsons's work was the beginning of a transformation in the way in which occupations would be viewed because he held a holistic view of the individual and stressed choosing a "vocation" instead of a job. In 1905, Parsons established the "Breadwinners College" where evening and Sunday afternoon classes in "history, literature, civics, economics, practical psychology, and music were taught to working people" and immigrants (Zytowski, 1985, p. 132). Although commonplace today, his way of viewing the individual and the world of work was nontraditional for his time and is best reflected in an article published in September 1908 in the *Arena*:

> in this plastic period of rapid growth, this age of brain and heart, society should guarantee to every child a thorough all-round development of body, mind, and character, and a careful planning of an adequate preparation for some occupation for which, in the light of scientific testing and experiment, the youth seems best adapted, or as well adapted as to any other calling which is reasonably available. (as cited by Sinick, 1972, p. 436)

Parsons's revolutionary ideas caught the attention of others. In 1910, the First National Conference on Vocational Guidance was held and three years later, in 1913, the National Vocational Guidance Association was formed. Its goal was to provide guidance services in the public schools in an effort to better match occupational aptitudes and interests to jobs (Whiteley, 1984). The vocational guidance movement was now well under way.

During the 1920s and 1930s the vocational guidance movement broadened its focus as it merged with the psychometric movement and the study of individual differences in an effort to provide services to the military during World War I, namely to place civilians in military jobs (Whiteley, 1984). Many governmental resources were being invested at this time in an effort to improve vocational placement (Osipow, Walsh, & Tosi, 1984). The vocational guidance movement seized on this opportunity in an effort to broaden its social role. (This merger between the psychometric movement and the vocational guidance movement continued after WWI: See section II of this book for psychometric outcomes within career assessment, particularly after WWI).

The economic depression of the 1930s brought about even more attention to the importance of job placement and education (Osipow et al., 1984; Whiteley, 1984). The Wagner O'Day Act of 1932 established the United States Employment Services, whose primary function was to place the unemployed. In an effort to compile better statistics on employment and unemployment, the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was developed. In addition, the 1940s brought World War II, and a multitude of new demands for psychologists in general and counselors in particular; clearly the demands following the Second World War gave the field of vocational guidance another impetus for growth.

As these changes were taking place, transformations were also occurring within the American Psychological Association (APA). In 1946, Division 17, the Division of Personnel Psychologists, was established. Its original purpose was to promote vocational, personal, educational, and group adjustment (Whiteley, 1984). By the 1950s, however, the field of vocational guidance had merged with both the psychometric movement and applied psychology to form the new Division of Counseling Psychology, which had a much broader focus. Donald Super, in 1955, wrote that the new emphasis on counseling made vocational counselors aware that

> . . . one counsels people rather than problems, of the fact that problems of adjustment in one aspect of living have effects on other aspects of life, and of the complexity of the process of counseling concerning any type of individual adjustment, whether in the field of occupation, of group living, or of personal values. (Super, 1955, p. 4)

In short, vocational counseling expanded to include other aspects of the client's life, notably personal and educational concerns. The broadening of roles was a significant change, a change that not only altered how the profession viewed vocational counseling, but a change in emphasis from vocational to personal counseling.

In sum, during the last century a number of changes and demands have occurred in the economic, occupational, industrial, and social environment in the United States. The vocational guidance movement underwent a number of changes and responded to those demands by broadening its focus and its view of the individual and the world of work. The four career counseling pioneers in this section have made significant contributions to the field of career counseling. Some were involved in the early guidance movement (e.g., Miller, Hoppock, Super) whereas others made later theoretical contributions (e.g., Super, David Tiedeman and Anna Miller-Tiedeman). The themes underlying the history of the vocational guidance movement are echoed in their interviews.[1]

For instance, career counseling today still maintains a holistic view of the individual as seen by the current interest in career development over the life span. Reflecting this current holistic view, Anna Miller-Tiedeman stated that she "coined the word 'lifecareer' to show that you cannot talk about life (as an overall process) without talking about direction or career (the path). Our lifecareer is our journey, and it includes everything that we do . . . we are always in the process of becoming" (Olson & Roberts, 1985, p. 602). Donald Super noted that, "It was the individual, the person, who interested me. That, and the individual's ability to cope with the problem of unemployment. To me this meant understanding the person's aptitudes and personality and their relationship to jobs" (Pappas, 1978, p. 586).

In the early vocational guidance movement it was also suggested that choosing a vocation was a normal developmental process. In the interviews with the pioneers it is evident that today the emphasis on normal developmental issues also includes an interest in various developmental stages. For instance, during his early years, Leonard Miller developed guidance programs in rural settings that offered trades programs (e.g., carpentry, auto mechanics, secretarial) in public schools. Later in his career Miller promoted the Headstart program for preschool children, and most recently he has been interested in "guidance and personnel services to meet the needs of the aging" (Sinick, 1972, p. 441). Other pioneers focused on developmental issues in broader terms, such as achieving one's potential. David Tiedeman spoke of the field of professional guidance as one that deals with "the process involved in becoming, in moving up levels of consciousness. I think that's really the basic purpose of education, to help people develop, not to fill their memories with facts" (Olson & Roberts, 1985, p. 604).

Perhaps one of the strongest themes alive today, with roots that go back to the vocational guidance movement, is the emphasis on empowering individuals by increasing their choices. Robert Hoppock noted that the goal of his book, *Occupational Information*, was to make "beginning counselors aware of the fact that the choice of an occupation is an important thing in people's lives" (Conyne & Cochran, 1976, p. 275). David Tiedeman revealed that he and Anna are more concerned with how they can get students "to know about their decision-making styles, and use that as part of their power of discernment that they have in the moment" (Olson & Roberts, 1985, p. 600). He went on to note that, ". . . Anna and I have been much more interested in that open process that can be self-mastered and become part of self-empowerment" (Olson & Roberts, p. 602).

The words of the career counseling pioneers in the following section give us perspectives about our past, and perhaps clues for future directions. The themes underlying the vocational guidance movement served as roots for the philosophy of the career counseling pioneers: People have the potential to grow and enrich their lives given the proper environment (e.g., information, opportunity, and encouragement). The contributions of the pioneers in this section can be summarized as expanding the focus of the vocational guidance movement to include growth in many areas of human functioning, including personal, educational, and career concerns, in an effort to meet the needs of a larger segment of society. As noted by John Holland, "For my money, Frank Parsons's ideas never lost validity" (Weinrach, 1980, p. 412). Nevertheless, some conflict is apparent in these interviews, in the evolution of vocational guidance (e.g., see the interview with Hoppock.) This is seen most notably as conflict between career counseling and psychotherapy. This conflict reflects concerns about trends that are evident today regarding the identity of counseling psychology (versus clinical psychology) (see Watkins, 1983). Perhaps in looking to the past, we will not only come to understand our roots, but also achieve a clearer sense of our basic goals as a profession.

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[1] Weinrach's interview with John Holland, in section II on psychometrics, focuses on career as well as psychometric issues. Some of Holland's comments are relevant to career planning as well.

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From Seeker to Seer: The Odyssey of Robert Hoppock

ROBERT K. CONYNE and DONALD J. COCHRAN

LOCAL BOY MAKES GOOD

The story of Robert Hoppock is fascinating. Poignant with the pain of early job frustration and failure and later brightened by grand success, his life could be seen as an American Dream story. His "Guidance Fifty Years Ago," an article published in the *Vocational Guidance Quarterly* in 1967 (Vol. 16, pp. 130–133), describes his dogged attempts to find adequate testing, counseling, and information services in the 1920s. Not as well known, perhaps, are the keenly felt personal reactions he experienced to professional setbacks and successes. These reactions were related to his personal convictions and strong hometown attachments.

Graduating from Wesleyan University in 1923, Bob was uncertain about his vocational direction. Many of his attempts to get assistance in making a career choice led nowhere. At that time Bob realized vividly the importance of career choice and the lack of available vocational guidance. His most strongly desired goal then was to find a vocational guidance position in or near his hometown of Lambertville, New Jersey.

His efforts in this search were unsuccessful, but he was able to secure a position teaching English, an enjoyable job that helped to further his personal and professional development. Yet the job was not fully satisfying, because it did not relate directly to assisting people with career choices. This sense of incompleteness compelled him once again to spend considerable time and effort searching seriously for a vocational guidance position. A successful year under one principal, then a year of strained relations with another, led him to be fired in the second year. This act was a devastating blow that still arouses pain for him. As he told us, "Suddenly being branded in front of my whole community as a professional failure was pretty hard to take." Although at a low point, Bob firmly resolved to rebuild his self-esteem and regain the esteem of lifelong friends. He also recognized that, in order to obtain one of the very few guidance positions available, he probably would have to leave Lambertville and go where the job was.

So he continued with singular intention to seek a job related to his predominant interest, career guidance, a newly emerging and unclearly charted professional area. Although it is difficult to imagine career counseling as an almost totally undefined professional area, since it is so widespread today, what Hoppock was doing then is roughly analogous to looking for a job now as an eco-psychologist. There was then, and still is, no established avenue for entering fields that are just beginning to be defined.

In the process of entering the new field of vocational guidance, he sought and found the first position that was closely related to his aspirations. In 1927 he became the first vocational counselor for the public schools in Rahway, New Jersey. He was on his way, and it was a one-in-a-million shot, since there were only a handful of vocational counselors in the country at that time. This rewarding job provided the impetus Bob needed to seek even more challenging and influential positions. Shortly thereafter he became the organizer and first president of the New Jersey Vocational Guidance Association. His leadership in this state organization enabled him to develop contacts of a national scope, and in 1930 he sought the position of executive secretary for the young National Vocational Guidance Association, now the oldest of all the guidance and personnel organizations. Gambling his limited financial resources and renewed professional reputation on this potentially influential position, he got it—only to see it evaporate quickly in the Depression year of 1931, when supporting funds disappeared. Yet his relationship with NVGA later placed him in a strategic position to be a leader in the development of vocational guidance in this country.

As Bob explains it now, his professional risk-taking was "the only normal thing to do." A person more prone to security probably could have found an easier way to satisfy personal and social needs, but Hoppock chose the more challenging way, based on his early indoctrination in the belief that "if you are a good boy and work hard you will be a success." In his case, working hard for success entailed taking risks, so he did that earnestly.

Knowing that this philosophy has been ridiculed by others, he nonetheless gives credit to the *American Magazine*, the *American Boy*, and the YMCA for strongly influencing him in the Protestant ethic from beginning to end. His early learnings from these sources taught him, in his words, that "respectable people ought to be interested in their society and ought to be trying to do something for society as well as just themselves." This basic philosophy, he admits, may sound passé today, but he proudly describes it as the mainstay of his efforts to become a successful professional in a new field.

In many ways Robert Hoppock's success story is one that might have appeared in the *American Magazine*, had the story been complete. As people in the field of vocational guidance know, it would be almost impossible to complete a counselor education program or practice in the field of vocational guidance without feeling the influence of Hoppock's work. The publisher of his hometown newspaper, the *Lambertville Beacon*, has said about him that ". . . he is not one to seek publicity and has in fact avoided it." Despite Bob's request not to use material from this source, there seems to be only one way to end a "local boy makes good" story—by quoting from that hometown newspaper (September 14, 1972):

"Scores of articles, many books and hundreds of talks have been made down through the years by this local man who went out in the world to make good and did it. . . . Whatever life holds for him in the years ahead,

Bob Hoppock can look over his shoulder with the satisfaction of knowing that he found his niche in life and gave a good account for himself."

OCCUPATIONAL INFORMATION

Conyne: *I'm wondering how it strikes you to be seen by the* P&G Journal *as a "Pioneer in Guidance."*

Hoppock: Well, it's very pleasant really and, I suppose, reassuring to my self-concept—satisfying in a sense that fifty years ago I hoped that someday I would be important enough for something like this to happen but was never really sure that it ever would. I suppose it is the same kind of feeling every young person has when starting out.

Cochran: *Occupational information has been an important professional interest for you. How did you come to be involved with it?*

Hoppock: In my own painful search for a job I could enjoy, I became convinced that there was a tremendous need for someplace where people like me could go to get some kind of help, and particularly where they could go to get information about what kinds of jobs were available. I became convinced, and there seemed to be universal agreement, that a strong need existed for more and better occupational information. So I decided this was where I wanted to go.

Cochran: *Can you tell us what you mean by more and better occupational information?*

Hoppock: By more, I mean that there are a lot of occupations about which it is extremely difficult to get any information because it isn't readily available. You can find it if you dig for it. And part of my motivation for writing *Occupational Information* was to tell counselors where and how to dig for it. By better occupational information, I mean getting more good, accurate, up-to-date information available—whether it is in print, film, computer, or whatever. And also getting the professionals who feed out occupational information—for instance, counselors, librarians, and other people—to be more discriminating.

Cochran: *How did your book contribute to these goals of providing more and better occupational information?*

Hoppock: First, in making the beginning counselor aware of the fact that the choice of an occupation is an important thing in people's lives and that a counselor ought to be concerned about that along with all the other things he or she has to be concerned with. Then, making the counselor informed about how to discriminate between good and bad occupational information, where to go to look for good occupational information, how to find it, how to test it for accuracy, and then how to get this information to the client—through interviews, classes, publications, readings, radio programs, whatever.

Cochran: *Studs Terkel's* Working *presents a kind of occupational information that is very engrossing and interesting to read. I wonder what you think about it in terms of its use as a counseling tool.*

Hoppock: Well, I think if I were a counselor I would want to have every occupation in Terkel's book card-indexed, so that if a kid came in and said, "I'm thinking about this," I would give it to him and say, "Here is one reporter's recollection and interpretation of what one person in a specific occupation said about it—this is a part of the total thing we are looking at." I think Terkel's book can be very useful if the counselor never forgets that this is just one person's reaction to this job and that one person's reaction might or might not be the reaction of people in general.

Cochran: *Of what value do you see computers and other media in the dissemination of occupational information?*

Hoppock: I see them as simply one means by which we get good or bad occupational information to the consumer. To the extent that the information that they present is accurate and up to date, I am for any medium at all that will reach people. I think that computers are one way of doing it, and I wouldn't be at all surprised if the computer becomes our major medium for occupational information. And I hope that the people who set up the systems put in some better occupational information.

Cochran: *What can be done quickly to improve the quality of occupational information?*

Hoppock: I think that probably the most serious lack we have in occupational information today, and the place where we could make the greatest improvement in as short a time as possible with least expense, is in the area of follow-up studies. Most schools and colleges today actually do not know what happens to their products, so they go on guiding kids in terms of what they think is out there and never check up on what *is* out there. So if I could do just one thing, if I could make just one wish to improve career guidance in the whole United States, it would be to make—in every school and in every college—an annual follow-up of every graduate and dropout of the preceding year and then, every three, seven, and ten years, to repeat it with the same bunch of kids. And then give the results, in readable form, to everyone in the school—especially the students.

JOB SATISFACTION

Conyne: *Let's return to Terkel's book. A lot of people interviewed talked about their jobs as not being terribly satisfying, although there were examples of those who were satisfied. You've pointed out in your studies that you found only one-third dissatisfied.*

Hoppock: Fewer than one-third dissatisfied; I see no conflict between the two. Terkel, if I understand what he did, never attempted to get a representative sample of the total working population. Terkel was looking for interesting stories to put on his radio program. I think people who hate their jobs are more colorful to talk with and to report on than are people who are perfectly content and placid in their jobs. Terkel's book, then, tends to be heavily weighted with the people who are dissatisfied with their jobs and does not include a representative proportion of people who like their jobs. This is purely a personal hunch, an opinion based simply on what we know from other studies about people who really are dissatisfied.

Cochran: *Do you feel that currently there is a lot more job satisfaction among people than perhaps is represented by Terkel, or by Warnath in his article "Vocational Theories: Direction to Nowhere"?* [Personnel and Guidance Journal, *February 1975*]

Hoppock: I'm fascinated by that article of Warnath's. I'd like to separate the two, as I think they are quite different. I think Terkel's is an excellent book for what it purports to be. It did not purport to be a report on what percentage of people like their jobs and what percentage of people don't. Now, as for Warnath's article, I have found myself both agreeing and disagreeing. I agree with his basic idea that it is silly for counselors to start out with the belief that they are going to be able to put every client that comes to them into a job about which the client will be enthusiastic. I don't think this is humanly or economically possible, and it's ridiculous to expect. My disagreement with Warnath is with his apparent belief that everybody who ever constructed a theory is naive enough to think that you could put every client in a job that the client would be enthusiastic about. I don't think that Super is so naive as to believe that all factory workers are going to meet all their personality and emotional needs through their jobs. I don't see how any people can look at life around them and expect such a thing. But to me there is a real difference between that concept and my concept of job satisfaction.

***Cochran:** What is this difference?*

Hoppock: I don't think people have to find the fulfillment of all their needs and the expression of their personalities in order to be satisfied with their jobs. I think a lot of people don't expect from a job any more than a weekly wage and, having got that weekly wage, they are satisfied—and that's all they want. If you ask, "Are you satisfied with your job or not?" and they respond, "Yeah, it's okay," this doesn't mean that they are as enthusiastic about their jobs as I am about mine. But give them a forced-choice question, asking them to choose which of these statements most nearly represents the way they feel: "I like my job," "I am indifferent to it," or "I dislike it." You will get a relatively small percentage saying "I dislike it."

***Conyne:** Do you think that is still the case today?*

Hoppock: I am perfectly sure that is the case! We have had hundreds of samples over the past thirty-five years; and Gallup studies over a period of years still show the same percentage that has been shown all along.

***Cochran:** Job satisfaction has been very important for you personally and professionally. When you put that in juxtaposition with what Warnath says or implies about job satisfaction, there is quite a contrast.*

Hoppock: I think we have now, have had, and always will have in society some people who are fortunate enough to find their way into careers in which they can be very happy and enthusiastic. Their career really does become a thing around which they build their lives. And I think we will always have some people who are bitterly dissatisfied and unhappy in any job they've ever had. I think we will always have people at the bottom of the scale and people at the top of the scale in terms of satisfaction, and the rest of the population will be scattered in between.

***Cochran:** How did your abiding professional interest in job satisfaction get started?*

Hoppock: When I was a kid in high school, an assembly speaker talked about how important it was to choose and plan your career. His idea was that if you get into a job you like, it could contribute a lot to your happiness and satisfaction, whereas if you did the reverse occupationally, you might be miserable. This was when I began to think of a job not just as a means of making a living but as a means to a kind of self-fulfillment that Warnath doesn't think many people ever get. At that time, though, I was still looking and trying to find out what I wanted to do and how to go about the process. And that wasn't easy. But that assembly speaker planted the seed.

CONTRIBUTIONS AND PROJECTIONS

***Conyne:** What do you feel were your major contributions to guidance?*

Hoppock: In terms of a contribution to social welfare, I hope I have helped a few people to find their way into jobs which have met some of their emotional as well as their physical needs. In terms of our profession, I think my book on *Occupational Information* has been my major contribution to my generation, simply because it has reached and influenced more people than anything else that I've done. I still get a kick out of making a speech in Florida or Texas and having someone in the audience come up afterward and say, "We used your book in our class." One even brought a copy for me to autograph—made me feel like a movie star.

***Conyne:** Do you suppose your book will remain as your long-range professional contribution?*

Hoppock: If you want to look farther ahead, one of my colleagues thinks that the heuristic effect of my early research on job satisfaction may outlive the book on *Occupational Information*. I don't know.

***Conyne:** As a "Pioneer in Guidance," you have had the opportunity to see the field's development over some fifty years. What do you see the future holding for us, and what needs to happen in guidance?*

Hoppock: Where I see guidance going and where I would like to see it going are not the same. I see high school and college counseling going very much in the direction of psychotherapy. I think it's been doing that ever since Rogers published *Counseling and Psychotherapy* and as far as I can see, it is going to continue to go that way.

***Cochran:** You didn't go that way when you were starting out.*

Hoppock: No, and neither did my generation, because at that time counselor educators were interested primarily in vocational and educational guidance. By the time I got in, it was already swinging from vocational to educational guidance, but they hadn't yet got to therapy. I am glad we have psychotherapists, but I don't want to be a psychotherapist, and I think that there are some other things besides psychotherapy that can contribute to happiness. But if you have counselor educators who are interested only in psychotherapy and this is all they talk about, then they are going to attract students who are interested primarily in psychotherapy. So that's what we have today, and that's what we're going to get, as far ahead as I can see. I don't think I can see very much beyond tomorrow, but as far as I can see this is the direction in which I think we're going. I'm talking about public school counselors, and I'm talking about college counselors who work in counseling centers.

***Conyne:** You made an attempt some time ago to try to broaden counselor training to become behavioral-science based. Are you saying that that effort really wasn't too effective and that what we have is counselors being trained as psychotherapists?*

Hoppock: Yes. I think what I did at that time was effective in that it helped to prevent a two-year certification pattern with one year of psychology mandated, sort of like liberal arts before professional training. APA was trying to sell the idea of psychology the first year and then guidance the second year. I think we stopped that and that my efforts and those of others who joined me were to at least commit APGA to the concept of the whole of behavioral science as a base rather than just psychology as a base. But I think it hasn't been much more than lip service yet, and I think it will probably continue so, simply because psychologists hire psychologists. This won't change until some son-of-a-gun comes along, says we are going to change this thing, and stops hiring psychologists and starts hiring economists, sociologists, anthropologists, and physiologists—until that person has as many of each of them as he or she has psychologists.

***Cochran:** What would you like our current crop of counselors to be doing?*

Hoppock: I am in favor of anything that will make available to kids in high school and students in college a broader scope of counseling services, that will give as much attention to career planning as to psychotherapy. But I don't want to see the present college counseling services given control over career counseling, because I don't think the people within these services are competent to do it. They've all got PhD's in counseling psychology, but most of them don't know anything about occupations and couldn't care less.

***Cochran:** You would see the placement people as more interested in and prepared for helping students with career choice?*

Hoppock: Not prepared in the credential sense; they don't have doctoral degrees. But if I had to send my grandson to one or the other, I would sure send him to the placement people.

Conyne: *Do you have any feelings about that—about counselors not being prepared to do the job in career planning?*

Hoppock: Very strong ones! I don't want to turn off therapy; whatever a person can contribute, students ought to have access to it. What I'm saying is that they ought to have access to something else too. And I think that to take people who are therapy-oriented and ask them to do career counseling makes about as much sense as asking me to do psychoanalysis.

CAREER EDUCATION

Conyne: *The one thing that strikes me as I look at the 1975 APGA convention program is that many, many papers have been presented related to career education and career development. Wouldn't that serve to contradict what you're suggesting at this point—that counselors aren't really oriented in that direction?*

Hoppock: I don't mean to say that there is nothing being done in career counseling. What I am saying is that if you could count all the working hours of all the counselors in the country and determine what these hours are devoted to, you would find that career counseling, as opposed to educational and therapeutic counseling, comes out with very few of those hours.

Cochran: *What kind of effect do you foresee the career education movement having on the future of guidance?*

Hoppock: I think that career education has already had considerable effect in directing the attention of school leadership to careers. But when you get beyond career awareness to career exploration and career planning, I do not share the current enthusiasm for the classroom teacher as a good vehicle for getting occupational information to kids. Trying to do the whole job of disseminating career information through classroom teachers is likely to be as effective as trying to teach chemistry through all the classroom teachers of other subjects. We tried to teach career planning through homeroom teachers fifty years ago and gave it up in despair.

Conyne: *What is needed?*

Hoppock: Career education has produced career resource centers in schools and colleges all over the country. I think they may be our best hope for getting one person who really gives full time to occupational information and who, in time, can become enough of an expert to know where to get it, how to get it, and how to tell the good from the bad. So I really have more hope for those career resource centers than I do for anything else I foresee in terms of getting good occupational information to kids.

A MAN IN RETIREMENT

Conyne: *What are you doing now, and what's it like for you?*

Hoppock: I tell people I'm having a ball, and I am! I also miss things. I miss my colleagues, I miss teaching, I miss the way students looked at me as if I knew something, I miss having those deferential telephone calls asking for appointments and young people coming in and seeking my "great wisdom"—I miss these things. I cannot attend a convention without recalling the feeling I used to have when "has-beens" came to the convention and I wished they'd let some of us young people do something. So I no longer offer myself for programs as I once did. I've not been back to NYU since I left, unless I was invited. I feel a difference in professional status, but I still feel that I belong to my profession and it belongs to me. My primary identification with it now is through writing. I finally finished the fourth edition of *Occupational Information* in December of 1974, except for proofing and indexing. That really separates me from my profession, and it probably represents my final contribution—unless I live long enough to do still another edition. In the three years since I retired, I have been an occasional consultant to the United States Office of Education, the United States Department of Labor, college placement services, the Appalachia Educational Laboratory, and the New Jersey State Department of Higher Education. At present I am a part-time consultant and advisor to New York area PhD candidates in the independent study program of the Union Graduate School, a sister institution of the University Without Walls. Aside from the professionally oriented stuff, I try to spend a couple of afternoons a week with my grandchildren. My wife and I play golf two or three times a week, and we take mini-vacations when either of us has an opportunity to go somewhere we will both enjoy. If it were not for inflation, I could feel like one of the idle rich. It's a nice life. I recommend it.

Conyne: *I want to ask you one last question that relates to your personal and professional satisfaction over the years. What has been the impact of all your professional accomplishments, your successes, on people back in Lambertville, New Jersey, your hometown? What's that like?*

Hoppock: Oh, it's fabulous! I go home today and I'm looked at with envy and admiration that I don't deserve. But I love it.

PROSPECTUS

When a pioneer returns to the camp and tells us what he expects us to see over the next mountain, we listen—because we know that he's been closely in touch with the terrain. Robert Hoppock has told us what he sees over the next mountain. We might summarize his future expectations in the field of guidance in the following way: First, job satisfaction in our society will remain high, embracing more than two out of three employed adults as "satisfied." Second, the counseling profession will continue to sanctify psychotherapy and to give lip service to other behavioral science bases. Third, career counseling will be done infrequently and inadequately by counselors. Fourth, the fastest way to improve career counseling will be to follow up clients after placement. Fifth, career resource centers will become the key place in the school or community to seek occupational information.

These strongly stated views of Robert Hoppock, Pioneer, raise significant professional questions worthy of our exploration. Is career counseling really too close a cousin to psychotherapy? How important are the nonremedial (developmental and preventive) counseling interventions going to be in the future of the field? Will the career choice of students be an important emphasis in future counseling practice? Can careers maintain their place as a major source of personal satisfaction in a fast-changing, unstable society? What will be the emphasis in training for future counselors? In short, fellow pioneers, where are we headed?

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Interviewers ***Robert K. Conyne*** *and* ***Donald J. Cochran*** *are both at Illinois State University, Normal; Conyne is an Associate Professor of Counselor Education and Coordinator of Consultation in the Student Counseling Center, and Cochran is an Assistant Professor of Counselor Education and Coordinator of Career Development in the Student Counseling Center. Conducting this interview and writing up the article had somewhat different meanings to the authors. Don Cochran's interests in the evolution of career counseling and its relationship to other counseling services and innovative applications were stimulated by the whole experience. For Bob Conyne, Hoppock's essence came through most clearly in the man's warmth, genuineness, and humility—a perception that somehow seems very renewing.*

A Reminiscence: Half a Hundred Years in Guidance—Leonard Miller

DANIEL SINICK

***Sinick:** Well, here are good friends Leonard Miller and Dan Sinick sitting together at your summer place, to help you reminisce about your early experiences in personnel and guidance work. Perhaps I could toss this question at you just to get us started: What is your earliest memory of any event related to the personnel and guidance movement?*

Miller: That's a very interesting question, Dan. My first job after I graduated from college in 1920 was as student YMCA secretary for the state of Pennsylvania, and I visited the 50-some colleges in Pennsylvania and 18 prep schools once each year. But after I'd been working in this area for about four years, I began to realize that students, instead of asking me about what I believe about God and the Bible, began to ask, "Where shall I invest my life work?" And they were just bleeding me dry. I didn't have the resource material. I said to myself, "I've got to get some graduate work in vocational guidance so that I can begin to tell them something about the fields of work that are open to them." Then I heard of a position, an opportunity—Daniel Poling said that he was taking over the leadership of the J. C. Penney Foundation. He had some money and was looking for somebody who would direct the Foundation. So in June of 1926, I began my work as the vocational director of the J. C. Penney Foundation and started my graduate work in the fall in the field of guidance at New York University.

***Sinick:** That, in a sense, is a personal exemplification of the initiative and self-planning that we value so much in vocational guidance.*

Miller: Well, I always feel it was just a godsend that I made this decision, because one area opened up after another. It might be of interest to review some of the highlights of things that we did with the Penney Foundation.

***Sinick:** Certainly, because some of the things you did with the Penney Foundation are closely related to the early development of personnel and guidance work. Incidentally, this is the same J. C. Penney whose name is associated with the chain of department stores. Is that—*

Miller: That's right. I was always very close to J. C. Penney and he talked with me many times in my office. I also wrote an article, "Vocational Guidance," that the J. C. Penney Company printed in the January 1930 issue of the *Dynamo*, with a picture of me. That was back in the '30's, and we stayed in correspondence from the time I left the Penney Foundation in 1932. On January 20, 1962, I wrote J. C. Penney this letter, because I thought he would be interested in having some highlights of the guidance movement. I said,

> I thought you might be interested in seeing how your grant to the guidance movement in the United States has multiplied itself many times. This month, January 1962, marks the 32nd anniversary of the organization of the first national headquarters of the National Vocational Guidance Association in New York City and the appointment of the first full-time Field Secretary, made possible through your generous gift of $6,000 the first year and the same amount the second year.

***Sinick:** The Field Secretary was Robert Hoppock, wasn't it?*

Miller: Yes. The letter goes on,

> When you gave your first grant for the calendar year 1930, the membership in NVGA was approximately 1,700. Now the national headquarters is located in Washington, D.C., under the name of the American Personnel and Guidance Association. It now includes six divisions of guidance and personnel associations with a total of over 15,000 members. . . . It may interest you to know that the "Proposal for Development of a National Agency for the Furtherance of Vocational Guidance," submitted by the Board of Trustees of NVGA to the Penney Foundation of New York in April 1929, contains so much historical information not recorded elsewhere that a copy of this application is now recorded in the archives file at our national APGA headquarters in Washington.

***Sinick:** Well, that letter is a historic document. What other history do you recall?*

Miller: When I prepared some material for the National Vocational Guidance Association's 50th anniversary program in Boston, April 8 to 11, 1963, I uncovered other historical highlights which I think are very important. For example, in September 1908, Frank Parsons, in an article published in the *Arena*, wrote,

> In this plastic period of rapid growth, this age of brain and heart, society should guarantee to every child a thorough all-round development of body, mind, and character, and a careful planning of an adequate preparation for some occupation, for which, in the light of scientific testing and experiment, the youth seems best adapted, or as well adapted as to any other calling which is reasonably available.

This is the first time something as significant as this had been published.

Then, in November 1910, preliminary steps were taken to form a national association during the first National Conference on Vocational Guidance in Boston, under the auspices—and notice this—of the Boston Vocation Bureau and the Boston Chamber of Commerce. Then, in October 1912, definite action to form a national organization was taken at the national conference of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, in

New York City, and sponsored by the Central Committee on Vocational Guidance of New York City. In 1913 the National Vocational Guidance Association was founded at Grand Rapids, Michigan, October 21 to 24, with Professor Frank M. Leavitt who was at the University of Chicago as its first president.

Sinick: *I guess it's worth reminding readers who may not have a particular interest in NVGA as an association, that there are many implications for the development of the whole personnel and guidance movement in what you're telling about NVGA, because that is where it all started.*

Miller: That's right.

Sinick: *Who were some of the prime movers in the days when you first became involved yourself?*

Miller: Of course, one of the key persons in carrying over after the J. C. Penney Foundation no longer continued its support in 1932 was Franklin Keller. One thing I shall never forget is the NVGA Convention in New Orleans in 1937. Franklin Keller was then president of NVGA. I was sitting on the platform with him and several others, and when he called the session to order, the Negro members were seated in the balcony in the rear of the main auditorium. As I recall, Negroes weren't even allowed to stay in the hotel—and when they came in they had to come in the side door; they couldn't come in the front door. He said, "Before we open this session I want every Negro sitting in the balcony in the rear of this auditorium to come and occupy these front seats." He kept repeating this several times, and only a few Negroes came to the front or left the balcony. Finally, he opened the session with the Negro members remaining in the balcony.

Sinick: *What about another prominent person whose name started with K? Harry Dexter Kitson. Did you have any tie-ins with Kitson in those early days?*

Miller: He was at Teachers College, and it was my good fortune to be selected, when I was with the Penney Foundation, as a member of the advisory faculty and committee of the American School of the Air. The other person on the committee with Kitson and myself was Mary Hayes.

Sinick: *Mary Hayes was director of the Vocational Advisory Service in New York City?*

Miller: That's right. One of the most unusual things that the American School of the Air asked us to do back in the '30's was to prepare and present a series of scripts of one-half to one hour duration on specific occupations to illustrate the working conditions. From 50 to 65 radio stations were used in each broadcast. They asked us particularly to be sure to develop sound effects that would illustrate the conditions under which these people worked. What a difference it is when you think of what we do now—on television—as compared to what we could do with sound effects. But you'd be surprised—I wish I had a copy of the scripts. The nearest I know about the scripts being available is that they'd be available somewhere in Kitson's office. They were kept there because his students helped us prepare them and maybe Roy Anderson, now in North Carolina, would be able to help us on this. Now one other person who was very active earlier was Arthur Jones. And he was active in the Association up to the time of his death in August 1963, when he was 92 years old.

Sinick: *Well, these are some of the key people who played guiding roles in the field of guidance in those days. Let me ask this question that might bring other things out: What personnel and guidance events or developments linger fondly, let's say, in your memory with some touch of nostalgia?*

Miller: Well, after I left the J. C. Penney Foundation I became the Director of Guidance in Rockland County, New York. At that time Rockland County was rural, with a population of about 36,000 people compared to what it is now—it's really an urban area.

Sinick: *About how close to New York City itself is it?*

Miller: It's 35 miles north of New York City.

Sinick: *And some people sometimes refer to that as upstate New York?*

Miller: That's right. What was interesting about this is that I found that we were able to develop—what was a little unusual at the time—guidance programs in a rural setting where, of course, we had very few facilities to offer diversified training. So what we did was make a study of the occupations in Rockland County, and every professional group and service club—the Rotary, Lions, Chambers of Commerce—cooperated with us. There were only seven towns of any size in the county at the time and they were so impressed with the information we got that they wanted us to publish it. So Wilbur Gooch and I prepared a report that was printed in the May 1936 issue of *Occupations*, in a special section added to the regular issue.

Sinick: Occupations *was the vocational guidance magazine that preceded the* Vocational Guidance Quarterly *and the* Personnel and Guidance Journal.

Miller: That's right. The significant thing, then, being there from 1932 to 1942—right on the eve of the war—was that we began to get demands immediately for skilled technicians. For instance, in Rockland County there was not even beauty culture training or anything of that sort. So what did they do? They said, "Why don't we centralize our vocational offerings?" And about 1936 we began to develop some trades. One was in auto mechanics and that went over big. Secretarial work hadn't been offered to any great degree, but soon three of the high schools put in a full program in typing and secretarial work. And then we had some very rare things, for we began to develop skilled trades like carpenters and bricklayers, and you had never heard of schools doing this. The labor unions became interested and gave union credit. That is, persons didn't need to work as long to be recognized by the unions after they took a year of this in high school. We had two high schools in the county offering bricklaying and carpentry, two high schools offering auto mechanics, and one high school offering beauty culture, a four-year program in this area. The program was also used for exploratory work. We got the County Board of Education to set up a bussing system that circled around the county three times a day, once in the morning, once at noon, once in the afternoon. Students from any one of the seven high schools could either take exploratory work or terminal courses in any one of these trade courses.

Sinick: *Your responsibility involved all the schools in Rockland County?*

Miller: That's right. There were 47 school districts in a geographic area of 183 square miles.

Sinick: *Incidentally, you use the word we a good deal. I don't know whether you're editorializing or whether there were other people. . . .*

Miller: The staff of the Rockland County Vocational and Extension Board included the director of guidance, one school psychologist, two county nurses, one oral hygienist, and one physical education supervisor. There also were two affiliated services; one was a junior placement counselor, Evelyn Murray, whose services were provided by the New York State Employment Service, and a part-time psychiatrist, Frank Tallman, who was employed by the Rockland County State Hospital but gave the equivalent of one day each week to conduct a program of mental hygiene in the county.

Sinick: *Were these federal funds?*

Miller: These were state funds.

Sinick: *These were only state funds, not federal funds as we have today.*

Miller: As chairman of the Rural Guidance Section of NVGA, I was interested in expanding our guidance programs for other rural areas. A name I should mention that certainly the older workers in guidance will remember is O. Latham Hatcher, who was Director of the Southern Women's Alliance for Youth. In 1939 we had a training program at the Pine Mountain Settlement School in Harlan County, Kentucky. Rex Cunliffe—there's another name—from Rutgers University—helped us present this program to teachers and counselors who were interested in guidance in Harlan County and Breathitt County, in Kentucky.

Sinick: *Well, I think you've touched on some significant developments. I wonder if that phrase might be useful in eliciting other memories of additional developments that were significant in the personnel and guidance movement—perhaps some developments that touched you personally.*

Miller: Well, in 1948 I was asked to go to the Office of Education to serve as Specialist in Counseling Techniques. In 1954 the funds were made available in the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation for the development of training programs for rehabilitation counselors. . . .

Sinick: *Yes, I certainly know about that firsthand.*

Miller: And I was asked to help develop the programs. I was highly complimented by that offer and I saw a real opportunity here, because with the scholarships that were available, this was an opportunity to develop substantial programs that needed to be started as soon as possible. I stayed with that job from 1954 to 1959, and by the time I left, we had established 28 programs and you, Dan, later headed one of those at San Francisco State College. So that was one other development that I look back to as a very challenging and rewarding experience.

Sinick: *I suppose it should be noted that within the development of personnel and guidance that we're concerned with broadly, we're also concerned with APGA as an organization that mounted the professional forces within the field in a way that could move the field forward. In connection with your letter of 1962 to J. C. Penney, you also mentioned six divisions that existed in 1962. Two divisions were added later, one being AMEG, Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance. The other is NECA, National Employment Counselors Association. So this brings us more or less up to date from 1962 with regard to the development of APGA. Of course, there are many other developments.*

Miller: There were other developments involving the Office of Education that I think ought to be noted here. For example, the Headstart Program that started about 1960 was supported under federal funds. Having returned to the Office of Education in 1959, with the same title, Specialist in Counseling Techniques, I had some responsibility for promoting such programs as Headstart for preschool children. I called one of the first conferences of the Headstart people. That program earlier was concentrated on the underprivileged and poorer areas throughout the country. Right now it has opened up a whole new area of preschool guidance, no longer for only poverty groups. Many schools are beginning to see what the possibilities are and how well children are prepared when they go through a kind of headstart program. How many things you observe, for example, by way of deficiencies within children—eyesight, hearing, physical defects of many sorts that can be corrected before they start their first grade. This is the kind of thing that I think we need to consider in reporting on our progress.

Sinick: *Your responsibility covered a wide gamut because, in addition to these deficiencies you were mentioning in children, I recall a booklet you prepared on children with superior ability.*

Miller: Well, there were frequent requests by the Office of Education for statistics in certain specialized areas such as dropouts and underachievers. The President called a conference on dropouts in 1963. Prior to that conference I was asked to make a study of statistics on dropouts and this was reported in *School Life*, May 1963. I was also asked to study guidance for the underachiever with superior ability. It is surprising how much demand there was for the 1965 booklet on this subject.

Now, there's one other thing I'd like to mention here, while talking about these specialized areas. We are now on the eve of entering another area, and that is guidance and personnel services to meet the needs of the aging. Since the passage of the Older Americans Act of 1965, the Administration on Aging has been supporting a number of very significant programs, and the President even called a White House Conference on Aging, November 28 to December 3, 1971. The American Personnel and Guidance Association is one of the associations asked to define its role in serving the needs of the aging. Frank Sievers and I were appointed to two task forces on the White House Conference on Aging. Frank, you know, is former Executive Director of APGA and a former guidance specialist for the Office of Education. We have attended many conferences like the one put on by the National Council on Aging, and we have reviewed a lot of materials that have already been used by the American Association for Retired Persons and the National Association for Retired Teachers, and it's amazing how much is being done—and has been done—for the aging, but how much more has to be done. The big thing that everybody's finding out now is that here we are—there are 20 million of us 65 years and over—and it's surprising how many of that group of us would like to have our second jobs or second careers. Also, now that the President has issued restrictions about certain jobs not being able to be continued beyond a certain age, and many people coming out of the service looking for a second career, the guidance movement has another responsibility. It must help people prepare for the second and third career. In addition to that, there must be specialists who will help to prepare people for retirement, and we have excellent studies available on this. Helen Randall, for example, is one of the persons active on this front. She is Director of the Manpower Planning and Development Commission in Cleveland.

Sinick: *Your emphasis on the need for vocational guidance with respect to the aging suggests that this is a trend or development already initiated that needs to be extended. Can we conclude with your ideas on other trends, as you survey the field from your own experience, that ought to be continued or magnified?*

Miller: Yes, I think we as a guidance group ought to begin to define what areas in counseling the aging need further research. There are certain aspects that definitely ought to be studied—for instance, how to prepare a person for a second career. Another aspect is that there are part-time jobs that the older people are taking, for example, as foster grandparents. Work as a foster grandparent supplements the older person's income enough to make him able to get along with the limited income he now has. Foster grandparents are motivated by working with these youngsters, and they mutually motivate each other. But a training program is needed in counseling older persons toward retirement or second careers. I hope the 50th anniversary journal will help to emphasize the significant challenges which guidance and personnel work for the aging is presenting to us.

Sinick: *Well, your brief comment on that need is at least a beginning.*

***Daniel Sinick**, the interviewer, is well known to P&G readers as author of the regular Etcetera column. In 1970 he assumed the post of editor of the* Vocational Guidance Quarterly. *He is Professor of Education and Director of Rehabilitation Counselor Education at George Washington University in Washington, D.C.*

Donald Super

JAMES P. PAPPAS

A MEETING IN NEW YORK

When I was first approached by the editors of *P & G* to conduct an interview with Donald Super as part of the "Pioneers in Guidance" series, I was excited and pleased. To say that Super was a significant other in my professional development would be an understatement. My primary professional activities during the two years before the editors' request had become increasingly centered on various aspects of career counseling. I had been active in developing a variety of individual and group programs in career and academic counseling. With each program development, I returned to the theoretical well of Super's writing for intellectual nourishment to guide and justify those activities. Super had been a key figure in almost any training I had received related to counseling, occupational information, or career development. The richness and breadth of his work had only become apparent to me, however, when I attempted to conceptualize possible ways of meeting college students' developmental needs. I had not met Super before the interview and being allowed to sit with him for several hours and listen to him discuss his productive life promised to be a unique experience in psychohistory.

Arrangements were made to meet Super in New York. The editors suggested that we invite one of his former students to participate in the interview in order to facilitate the exploration of areas that a naive interviewer might not be aware of and that Super might be too modest to present. Super was asked to submit the names of several former students. One of the names was John Crites, whose monumental work on vocational psychology and background as a former student of Super made him an ideal participant in the interview.

My excitement was somewhat heightened by the fact that the interview was to be in New York. It is Super's home ground and I knew he would be at his best. For a Westerner, particularly one who grew up in a rural community in Utah, New York City remains all of the tourists' cliches. It is exciting because of the chance to attend the theater or visit the museums, but the physical size of its buildings and its numbers are almost overwhelming. The noise, the things to see, the assertiveness of the people, the windy weather in early spring, and a demanding evening schedule—all contributed to leaving me somewhat frazzled. This, and wanting to do well in the interviewing process, left me somewhat on edge as I approached Super's hotel. I did not know what to expect nor had I any knowledge of what Super would be like.

When I entered his room, I suddenly became comfortable. There was a graciousness and gentlemanliness to Super as he greeted me. His wife had that same air of courtesy. It was only later, when I learned of their Southern and European family backgrounds, that I was able to understand the sense of comfort in that room. Donald Super himself was extremely attentive and initiated our first encounter. He had a military bearing consistent with his World War II experiences. At the same time he had a sense of formality and goal-orientedness. As I raised possible interview topics, he quickly jotted them down. The next day he brought in several pages of notes to guide the discussion.

During the interview, it was interesting to contrast the three participants. Super was formal in dress and bearing; Crites was modishly attired and casual, and I was somewhere in between. We represented three generations of counselors with extremely divergent and developmental backgrounds. Super, in addition to his experiences and education in the European tradition, had spent the majority of his professional life at Columbia. Crites, educated at Yale and Columbia, had developed a professional reputation as a practitioner and writer at the University of Iowa. I was clearly a product of a Midwest multiversity rather than a private institution. And I was living in the intermountain region, heavily influenced by West Coast psychology. For anyone wishing to examine the development of higher education in the United States or pluralism in the counseling profession, the differences were quickly apparent. Listening to Super and watching us interact with him, one could see the roots of the profession.

The interview was pleasant and easygoing. Super talked from his notes; he needed little prompting. Crites, as planned, was facilitative in raising personal points and expanding on Super's character. The three-hour interview went quickly and was absorbing.

Super emerged as a thoroughly committed professional. The interview, like Super's writings, was comprehensive, purposeful, and well organized. Each point was well documented by some reference to a colleague or an experience. One was impressed by his energy. He talked with detachment and objectivity about his own career. Perhaps it is the only way one can approach an extremely successful and significant life, without appearing immodest, especially if it is one's own.

His response to adversity (e.g., the Great Depression, World War II) was characteristic: problems were to be confronted and solved and the experiences would provide data for future use. Given today's job market for counselors, Super's comments on restricted job markets should prove hopeful. Crites and I were guided effectively throughout the life stages of what was a case study of Super's theory. It was fascinating to hear about the impact of his exploratory activities and the establishment, maintenance, and approaching deceleration of his career. In student vernacular, he had his "act together." One started to feel how a client or a graduate student would trust and want to share time with this man. More than a pioneer, he is a Super–man.

FAMILY AND DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY

Pappas: *Perhaps we should start out with your personal background, your developmental history.*

Super: I guess one begins with family. My parents were both Missourians raised, of Southern background. I think it is important in relation to my career to mention that my father was descended from a long line of college professors in the classics and modern languages. However, he was an exception. He went into YMCA work and alternated that with an army career during World Wars I and II. My mother's people were rural; they were planters. They were uprooted by the Civil War and migrated to Missouri. I was born in Honolulu. My father was general secretary for the Hawaii Y at the time, having gone there from the University of Missouri. Then he went to New York City with the national office of the Y. So at age 6, we moved to New York—actually it was Montclair, New Jersey—where I went to grade school. I think it was probably important that my father was a personnel man. His specialty at the Y and in the military was personnel training. He like me, or I should say, I like he, worked with E. L. Thorndike and with William Hurst Kilpatrick, then at Teachers College, Columbia.

Pappas: *What was your mother doing during this time?*

Super: My mother was a classical teacher. She received her MA in days when not many women went to college and was a teacher of all trades. She taught Latin and algebra, which, I guess, was not an uncommon combination for a strong academic person in those days. Later, she shifted careers and became a special correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* and an editorial writer for the *Saturday Evening Post*. So there was plenty of writing, linguistics, and personnel background in our family.

Then Father took a job as director of the Polish YMCA and we went to Europe. This was not long after World War I and the Russian Revolution. He helped the Poles get their Y started. So I went over there at the age of 12. I started learning French and Polish, which was a difficult enough job. All my secondary education was in French. Then I went to prep school in Switzerland.

Pappas: *Were there any brothers or sisters?*

Super: I was the second child. I had an older brother who died when he was 17 and I was 14. I grew up as one who learned how to share. I never ruled the roost until too late for it to matter, but then neither did he. We had a good relationship and were good partners.

Pappas: *I think I broke your earlier train of thought. What happened after prep school?*

Super: Higher education at Oxford. I'm saying this for Jack's benefit, since he's a Yale man. I had always planned to go to Yale, because in those days a lot of Father's and Mother's friends were Yale men. All "good Hawaiians" went to Yale in those days. That's why Yale won the swimming events—they always had great swimming teams. All the Connecticut Yankees who were the missionaries or sugar growers in Hawaii went back to Connecticut to go to college. You know, that was the source of "truth and of light."

Crites: *I am sure it was a loss for Yale.*

Super: Hardly. However, I went to Oxford. My parents were living in Europe at the time so it made sense to go to university there rather than fly across the Atlantic. I occasionally have to point out that I was an Oxford undergraduate, not a Rhodes Scholar. Rhodes Scholars were four years older because they went to college first. I went there straight from prep school in Switzerland. I read philosophy, politics, and economics. I also like to point that out occasionally. People think I'm a psychologist pure and simple and that I don't know anything about social situations, economic conditions, and so on. I took honors in economics and history and did a lot of work in related fields. Later, I took my MA there. But at Oxford, an MA merely means you did an undergraduate honors degree, stayed out of jail for four years, and paid $100.

EARLY WORK EXPERIENCES

Crites: *Why don't you talk about what happened after Oxford?*

Super: I was interested in economics, history, sociology, psychology, and political science. It may not be surprising that I realized that what I needed were more exploratory experiences. So I thought I should really take a job that would let me try my hand at several things. I knew I wanted to go ahead and get a doctorate—that was in the blood—but I didn't know in what field.

Pappas: *I'm certain a number of our current master's graduates will be happy to hear that. What kind of job did you get?*

Super: I was lucky to get *any* job in 1932. Jobs were hard to come by. I was the only one from a group of six close friends who had any idea what he was going to do for a living when I finally graduated. Not because my goals were any clearer, but I was just lucky.

Pappas: *As you've said in your writings, chance is a factor in vocational development.*

Super: I got a job teaching half-time at a small college in Cleveland—Fenn College. It is now Cleveland State University—no thanks to my efforts. It was a small college and I got a job teaching and working at the Y in program work, job placement work. While working job placement I became interested in unemployment problems. In spite of my economics background, I focused on individual problems. Dealing with the economics of society was rather overwhelming. It was the individual, the person, who interested me. That, and the individual's ability to cope with the problem of unemployment. To me this meant understanding the person's aptitudes and personality and their relationships to jobs. After two years, I gave up the teaching. I felt I wasn't a good teacher of undergraduates. I wasn't sure I knew enough about people or teaching. Also, I wanted to know more about people through psychology and through working with them in the unemployment situation. I devoted full time to placement work at the Y under the auspices of a very practical man, the senior employment secretary. He didn't know much formal psychology, but he knew how to manage people. He also knew the employment and labor markets and I learned a lot of practical things from him.

About that time I also devoured a book by Clark Hull. The book would probably surprise this generation, who think of Hull as Skinner's father. The book was called *Aptitude Testing*. In it, Hull predicted that someday we would have a machine in which we would put all the data about a person, from tests and the like. The machine would then grind out a report that would indicate what kind of occupation a person should consider. Working with Psych Corp [The Psychological Corporation] on the Differential Aptitudes Tests, I later helped prepare the "grinding-out" process.

Pappas: *Did you get any vocational direction from books or do you think that you found it on your own?*

Super: Well, the placement office at the Y had a good library. I am sure that Victor Griffin, the secretary, didn't make much use of it, but the books were there. Being curious and having learned that one can learn from books, I got a lot out of their words and was stimulated a lot more. About the same time, a group of counselors in the public schools, in child welfare agencies, and other places, and I at the Y got more and more interested in vocational problems. I guess it was the very kind of thing that got Parsons interested in Civic House Services of Boston back in 1905. We were working with unemployed people or students during the day, but we decided we would keep our office open for people who couldn't come in during the daytime. So one night a week we used my space in the Y for a volunteer community counseling service and two of us would staff it. We also recognized that each of us knew a lot about training and recreational facilities, which were important to the unemployed or the underemployed. We also knew about job resources in metropolitan Cleveland. Each of us knew things the others didn't know, so we planned a program to pool our knowledge. We gave it the name of "Compilation Project"—compiling what we knew.

About then the National Youth Administration got started with part-time work programs for unemployed youths. So we went to the National Youth Administration (NYA) for money and to the county for space. I did something that now looks a little foolhardy to me but proved to be a good idea. I resigned my job with the Y and took the full-time directorship with the new Cleveland Guidance Service, started with NYA money. Obviously, we didn't know what kind of future it had. So at the ripe age of 25 I employed a staff, all of whom were older than I, and got the service going. We also got an advisory board together consisting of Harry Kitson of Columbia; Mary Hayes, who was the founder and first director of the Vocational Advisory Service, the pioneer counseling service for youth here in New York City; and several other people who were competent and interested. They helped me plan programs. At that time I was also personally deciding what to do with my life.

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Pappas: *And that was?*

Super: I wanted to work in vocational psychology. And I wanted to go ahead and get my doctorate in that area. At that point, you know, one got a doctorate degree in either guidance or psychology. Psychology was pretty pure and guidance, as some people handled it, was very impure. I wanted a better marriage of the two. The only place that I saw I could get that marriage was at Teachers College [Columbia]. At Harvard, the other possible choice, John Brewer was one of the leading figures and he was antitests and only for exploratory experiences.

And so, while still running the Guidance Service, I applied to Teachers College for a fellowship. This was one of those things that was incredible in those days. It's commonplace now. Teachers College had a national competition scholarship that paid $1,200 if you came without a wife and $1,700 if you brought a wife. Since I was single but also Scotch, I got married when I learned that I received the $1,700 scholarship.

Crites: *I'm struck by the fact of your getting established in that stage of your career development just about the time that the Great Depression hit the country and your getting married about the time of the recession of '37 and '38. Those were very poor economic conditions indeed.*

Super: They were poor. I remember the Wall Street crash. It was in '29 while I was in college. Graduating in '32, I found things were getting pretty dim. The banks closed in '33 or '34, I've forgotten which. So when I got married in September of '36 I had already given up my secure job. I withdrew my retirement benefits so as to have a little cash. I'd lost most of my money in the banks. I'd been living on half my salary and saving the other half for graduate work during those four years. I was living as a bachelor and I still had my college clothes. I survived very well on a salary of $1,350 a year.

Pappas: *It's amazing, isn't it?*

Super: I ate on $5 a week. I'd buy a $5 meal ticket at the Y cafeteria for $4.50, the bargain rate. The extra 50 cents could buy whatever I wanted in the way of Cokes or sodas during the week. I ate and drank on $5 a week.

Pappas: *And I paid $5 for a sandwich yesterday!*

Super: So I withdrew what little I had in the way of retirement benefits from the Y. We had $185 cash and a car when we got married. The fellowship promised $1,700 for the year. And we left Savannah for Teachers College—our wedding trip! It was a gamble, not knowing what the job market would be like in two or three years or when I would finish my degree. It took some courage, but that's all. Young people did that all the time. We did it. Others do it now. Then, in '38 I'd collected all the thesis data and finished my courses. I figured the thing to do was to take a job, although I really wanted to spend another year writing my thesis and also wanted to take more work in anthropology and get more deeply into math and statistics because I felt I needed more in those areas. But I didn't feel we could afford it.

Peg, my wife, had gone to graduate school at the College of Physicians and Surgeons [Columbia] her first year. She is a bacteriologist. She'd started doctorate work. But the second year, we figured she needed to take her turn to help support us and so she worked as a lab technician. And we figured that maybe getting a job after the third year made sense rather than staying on at TC [Teachers College], so I started looking.

There were three jobs available; one was at Clark, where E. L. Thorndike had recommended me. While I had offers at Ohio State and Maryland, Clark appealed to me. It was a small place, required a light load, and it had a nice combination of undergraduate and graduate teaching in an atmosphere of scholarship.

SIGNIFICANT LIFE EXPERIENCES

Pappas: *What was Clark like?*

Super: Clark was really a pretty dismal place in appearance, with factory-type buildings at that time. The founder had specified that if the university failed, they should be used for industrial purposes as a factory. He endowed it that way. He was a tightfisted Yankee merchant who made his fortune selling hardware to the gold miners in California. So he set this condition, and the buildings were pretty grim.

I talked to Robert Thorndike about it—I was his research assistant at the time. He said, "Well, look at the beautiful buildings they have at Yale and what have they done?" At that point, Yale hadn't done much, you know. They had the wonderful Institute of Human Adjustment, but it hadn't been used very much. He said, "And look at Clark and all they have produced." Clark had a distinguished history of productive people. My private reaction was, Well, sure, they were driven to doing research and writing at Clark—there is nothing else there to do.

But that appealed to me and we went there and were grateful for it. It was a good experience. Four years of intense interaction with people in many different fields. We knew physicists, physiologists, and historians, as well as people in education and educational psychology. That was great. That was '38 to '42.

Crites: *What were some of the key influences in your life about that time?*

Super: I do want to say a little something about that. I haven't mentioned Strong's book, or others. Among the other things that I'd read before going to TC were Kitson's *Psychology of Vocational Adjustment* and Paterson's work at the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Institute. I read a lot of the work on aptitudes and interests and occupational choice and success and satisfaction. I found it all really fascinating. Well, there were other influences here too. I became acquainted with Goodwin Watson, who was then very much interested in clinical psychology. Watson went through various phases. At one time he was Jungian and another time he was a Rankian and so on. I knew Goodwin during a number of these stages. I was never willing to be the dedicated disciple he was, especially when he kept changing his god periodically. You know there must be something wrong with gods if they succeed each other so rapidly, but I also felt there was a lot to be learned from him. Through him, I learned a lot about Jungian theory and Freudian theory and the modifications by Karen Horney. While at TC as a student I also became acquainted with Caroline Zachry, who was a psychoanalyst. She was a great person who died prematurely. When I finished at TC, I was really torn. I had worked in guidance and I had worked in psychology, in both departments. I had sponsors and good friends in both. That was easier then because there were fewer graduate students—they were to be cherished! They got more attention. I was really torn between going ahead with the more objective vocational approaches or going ahead with some updated version of Freudian training. I talked to various people about this. Having seen what happened to some people, having read a lot, observed myself and so on, I decided that I would not go ahead with the analytic training. Of course, an analyst would say that I was resisting and so on. There's where I knew better than the analysts. Some people do understand themselves. After all, who psychoanalyzed Freud?

Pappas: *I'm struck that your schism or conflict really parallels that of so many people in our field today.*

Super: Yes, people get pulled both ways. I had what I thought was a higher synthesis because I was qualified in clinical psychology and industrial psychology, in educational psychology and in guidance. One could do it more easily in those days, partly because there were fewer students and the faculty welcomed you more. It was also easier because the barriers between the fields weren't as high as they are now and partly because we didn't know as much in any of them as we do now. There wasn't as much to learn. You know, you could be a Renaissance man in the Renaissance. Later on it became more difficult.

Pappas: *This dichotomy you mentioned . . . that in those days you could be a kind of Renaissance man because there were fewer barriers but. . . .*

Super: . . . and less to learn.

Pappas: *Okay, good. One of the things that strikes me is that in a number of our counselor education institutions today there is also a schism. The training institutions have to make a decision about how to deal with the so-called clinical versus guidance aspects. One of the things that's happened, at least as I see it, is that the choice has continually been made toward the clinical end.*

Super: I think in many institutions that has been true. I think that may be due to the fact that a lot of people who go into counseling are interested in the human aspects of psychology. They are moved partly by their own problems and their own needs. I say this because I suspect that one reason I'm interested in exploratory behavior is because I recognized in myself the need to explore. Having planned exploration, having decided what questions I needed to ask, I found the answers. Through this experience of having found satisfying answers, I felt this was something to study. I wanted to see how we could make it available to more people. So I think that to a degree—and perhaps not pathologically at all but quite wholesomely—a lot of us are motivated by our own experiences.

This means that many people having personality problems—"problems" is a bad word, a hard word—it's hard to find the right word—but most of us have, let's call them, developmental problems. Having coped with these developmental problems we are intrigued by them and we want to help other people understand them and cope with them. I think it is this that turns a lot of people toward clinical psychology or toward psychotherapy or whatever you want to call it. It's what turned me that way.

SERVING IN THE WAR

Pappas: *What other key career experiences did you have?*

Super: I was director of a hospital psychological clinic for a year in the air force, working both in psychotherapy and rehabilitation. There's a delightful story there too.

During that year at the hospital there were relatively few air force officers; the majority were medical corps. There always had to be an officer of the day (OD), one air force and one medical. In my first three years of military duty in test development I was never OD, but in that hospital I was often officer of the day. So I went around periodically with a red OD band around my arm and a .45 at my side. Since our officers' quarters were quite close to the hospital and I was OD for a 24-hour period, I'd often take our 3-year-old son with me for an hour or two. I did this partly to relieve my wife and partly because it was fun for him. I'd take him, for example, through the enlisted men's mess where the OD is supposed to eat. That was to insure that the food is edible. He loved going through the mess and having hash slung at him like the others, and the men loved him. So later he remembered me with a pistol. When he was about 5, a year-and-a-half after the war, he was in kindergarten and came home from school one day. He said to me, "Daddy, how many people did you kill during the war?" I said, "Well, Robbie, I didn't kill any of the enemy." He looked at me kind of disgustedly.

"What kind of a soldier were you if you didn't kill anybody?" And I thought, how do I explain psychological research, test development, and being in charge of psychological services in a big hospital? I decided the hospital role could be more easily explained, so I said, "Well, Robbie, I wasn't a shooting soldier; It was kind of a doctor soldier. It was my job to work with soldiers who were afraid to fight. They were so afraid to fight they couldn't do any work. I helped them get over being afraid so they could go back to fighting again or when the war was over, go back to regular work." He looked at me and said, "And how did you do that Daddy—let them sit close?" I thought, for a child's definition of psychotherapy, that was pretty well done.

Crites: *I know you have some other interesting war stories, maybe you could share them.*

Super: Well, when World War II started, Laurance Shaffer was put in charge of one of the three psychological research units for air crew selection. John Flanagan was the "great white father" of aviation psychology in Washington. Shaffer asked for Neal Miller and me to be the senior research officers in personality research. Miller is now the biofeedback-and-brain-function man. At that time, he was a frustration-and-aggression man, in other words, a personality theorist and an experimental laboratory type. So Neal and I paired up. We were a strange pair, but we worked well together. We insisted on going through flight training and wangled it. We needed it for job analysis.

Crites: *Do you still have that picture on the wall of you and Miller in flying clothes?*

Super: I don't think it's on the wall now, but it's kicking around someplace.

Pappas: *That would be a good picture for the series.*

Super: Yeah, one of my kids looked at it when he was in his teens. It was dug out of the archives. He said, "Daddy, I didn't know you flew in World War I?" The trainer was a biplane and it looks like World War I, then there were the leather flying clothes, you know, the open-cockpit type. All I needed was a scarf to be the Red Baron.

Pappas: *The Great Waldo Super.*

Super: Yes! That aviation psychology experience was a fantastic experience. That was the greatest collection of psychologists working together on a common problem that the world has ever known. Three research units with about 25 officers each, all psychologists or educators and about 100 enlisted men, some of whom had PhDs and all of whom had at least a bachelor's in either psychology or sociology or education. All were relevant to what we were doing. It was really a terrific experience both to use what I knew and to learn a lot from others. Many good friendships, too.

TOWARD A THEORY

Crites: *I hope we don't forget to talk about Don's contributions to vocational theory.*

Super: Yes, on to theoretical approaches. Notice I use the term "theoretical approach." I have never claimed, despite an occasional journalistic title, to have a "theory." That article of mine in the *American Psychologist*, my Division of Counseling Psychology presidential address published a year later in 1953, was called "A Theory of Vocational Development." That's just journalese. It should have been "Toward a Theory" and so on. I think I didn't use "toward a theory" because that sounded a little grandiose. I realized later that "a theory" sounds even more grandiose. So what do you do? But I have never claimed to have a theory.

In my paper in John Whiteley and Arthur Resnikoff's book on *Perspectives on Vocational Development*, I think I made the point that what I have is really a segmental theory—a good many segments which might eventually be a theory. People like John Holland are critical of my approach because it is so overarching, so all encompassing. They claim it's too vague, too amorphous, doesn't generate testable hypotheses, and so on. That's more or less paraphrasing him. It's not my view of it. My view of it is that any one segment, if you take it by itself, just plain isn't enough. It leaves too many things out of account.

What one needs is to work on the various components of what might be an overarching or all-encompassing theory. I noticed when I was looking up something in the Pepinskys' book on counseling that they referred to me in almost these words: "Super would no doubt describe himself as a trait-and-factor theorist." My reaction to that is that they must have read *Appraising Vocational Fitness* but didn't read some of my other works. In some other places I'm called a self-concept theorist. Okay, whoever says that has read *Career Development: Self-Concept Theory* and maybe other related journal articles, but they haven't read *Appraising Vocational Fitness*.

I have often been accused—it sounds egotistical but, after all, we're focusing on me—of neglecting the social situation. But some important chapters in *Psychology of Careers* are devoted specifically to this. And in my neglected and forgotten 1942 book on the *Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment*, I did, sooner than anyone else ever did, bring in the sociological and economic aspects. In fact, I claim, perhaps wrongly, that I was the first among us to say we've much to learn from sociology.

I've subscribed to the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *American Sociological Review* for years and I introduced relevant concepts of occupational sociology into things I've done. But people when they read about theory are like the blind man and the elephant: if they touch the tail, the elephant's a snake; if they touch the trunk, he's a palm tree and so and so on. I really think that when people try to recognize a variety of forces, they get accused of being one-sided because people recognize only part of what's been done.

Eli Ginzberg, when he was planning his research on *Occupational Choice*, read my *Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment*. I'd moved to Columbia after the war and he called me and we got together. We chewed the rag for quite a while. This led to his study and it led to mine. I have a recent paper from a doctoral candidate at Temple in which he says that Ginzberg stimulated me to thus and so. That's wrong. We interacted with each other.

Pappas: *Haven't several reviewers suggested that your work was a reaction to Ginzberg?*

Super: Well, let me indicate here, and maybe this is the time to do it—I've never said it, never written it, and I'm paying the price of giving credit to other people . . . bending over backwards to give them credit. Ginzberg and I did get together and interact. I recognized that in this interaction I learned from him just as he learned from me. I have given him credit—he has never given me credit. Maybe I should say that he was less able to learn from me than I was from him. I may seem immodest, but this is the record as I see it.

I read Charlotte Bühler, whose material came out in '33. I read it in German and that triggered me to think about dynamics. This shows in my *Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment*. It was written nine years before Ginzberg began this kind of thing. I also read Lazarsfeld in German before those things came out in English. Ginzberg was Lazarsfeld's student. So it was Bühler to Lazarsfeld to me as well as to Ginzberg. Ginzberg read my *Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment* and decided I had a psychoanalytical orientation: we thought alike. It is relevant that Carrol Miller pointed to the fact that my '51 paper on implementing self-concepts in vocational choices was first presented as a lecture at Colorado A & M in 1949. That was before Ginzberg discovered my *Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment* and before he and I ever got together.

ON BEING AN EDUCATOR

Pappas: *In addition to being very productive as a scholar, you have also been a productive educator. Your students have always been widely published. Are there any secrets about the educational process you would like to share?*

Super: I don't know just how it's done, but I suspect part of it is recognizing that the student does have some ideas and wants to do some things. One needs to draw them out. One recognizes that they may be in need of some structure and there's nothing wrong with helping them see such meaningful structure. So I have my own research program, my own agenda. If I can, I help the students to see the logic of that structure. Then they will want to do things that should be done. So you develop a collaboration. Sometimes, however, students may not want this structure, so they do work that interests them. In our Career Pattern Study, CPS, about half the research assistants did related dissertation work. The others carried on their own unrelated research.

Crites: *I personally think that was disorderly. It bothered me that others who were research assistants, either at the time I was with you or later, would be doing their dissertation on a topic that was not using CPS data. Don has always taken a broader view and has accepted more than I might have. I think the word acceptance is a key one here. The acceptance of those who have wanted to work in doing their thing, encouraging them to do that. A good example was the time he let me go to Middletown [the site of the CPS] and give 140 individually administered Rorschachs because I thought that was where it was at.*

Super: I knew it was foolish.

Crites: *I correlated their scores with everything under the sun and I didn't get one significant relationship. Not one! At the .05 level I should have gotten seven, but I didn't get any. I think that's the whole notion of accepting individuals and letting them learn.*

Super: Of the students who have argued with me the most—

well, you are one of them. Chuck Warnath is another. And yet, you two have been among the most productive and among my closest friends. I think this business of the ability to accept and disagree is the crux of it. Another thing that I take real satisfaction in is the different roles that my former students play. Some, like you, Jack, are researchers and synthesizers. Some have become practitioners. There are others who are developmental specialists. Some are working on guidance materials and doing creative things in this area. There are those I'd call thoughtful observers. They are not producing new theories or providing instruments or methods; they seek to understand and write about the current scene and what we in guidance are doing with these trends. Chuck is such a person.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE PROFESSION

Pappas: *We've talked about your contributions to scholarship and education. How do you think you've impacted on the profession?*

Super: I think I have had quite an impact by my theory and my work in the professional organizations. I was a member of the Council of Personnel and Guidance Associations, which founded APGA. I was elected vice president when Bob Shaffer was the first president. We worked together. I hired Frank Seivers as our first executive director. I think that as a member of both ACPA and NVGA at that time I helped create a fusion. I valued the contributions of the organizational structures, even though I have never fancied myself as an administrator.

Pappas: *Where do you think we are now?*

Super: If I look at our present status now, I think we are in a stage where there are still a variety of approaches that need emphasis. We have some people who believe, as a result of the behavioral revolution, that we should manipulate or reshape or restructure situations. We have others who are primarily interested in self-realization, the more self-contemplative approaches. We have others who are interested in confrontation. I think this variety is the only way to progress.

Pappas: *But within this diversity, what should counselors be doing?*

Super: I think one of the big tasks ahead of us is clear identification of the kind of training that is necessary in order to play our diverse roles. I think we need an association stance that provides support to the counselor who is trained to do a given kind of job. He or she should be able to say, "I should not be expected to do things for which I am not trained."

Pappas: *Could you explain what you mean by support?*

Super: Well, I think that [APGA] should reach an agreement about the different things counselors might do. Take school counselors as an example. I think career development or working with career education or counseling is a competency that a counselor can hope to acquire in one year of full-time training. I think that working with family and social adjustment problems is another kind of competency that one might acquire in one year of preparation. Of course, there are other roles, too. A school would need to recognize that it can provide one or two or three of these special services. For smaller schools, they might create a consortium to provide for such service roles.

Thus, given counselors would carry titles such as career development counselor or social adjustment counselor. But the association would support the idea that these career development counselors and social adjustment counselors could say, "I am equipped through training and experience to do a certain type of counseling. I am not equipped to do other types." Similarly, a lawyer who works on wills and trusts doesn't take on criminal cases; a corporation lawyer would never think of doing estate work. I think counselors, like lawyers, have to have the professional support and attitudes to be able to take this same kind of position.

Pappas: *One of the nice things about attorneys though, to use that analogy, is that they're in private practice. They can make those choices and live with the consequences. What happens in a school situation where the administrator says, "We expect you to be a generalist?"*

Super: Then the association says there is no such thing as a one-year generalist. If you demand this, you're deluding yourself, the teachers, and the parents. Also, the counselor has support if this kind of issue comes up. I recognize this is a complex thing. I've been a school board president and experienced all the problems with this sort of situation. But I think that unless we recognize that these are the issues and these are the approaches, we'll never take the risk and change the situation. Counselors can't be everything to everybody.

Crites: *I think the need of a strong association stance is demonstrated by the fact that, even now, counselors cannot often do what they've been trained to do. They're saddled with what amounts to administrative details or chores. Tasks such as making out schedules or monitoring study halls. So on the one hand administrators want them to be generalists and on the other hand administrative assistants. Neither of these roles fits the counselor's training.*

Pappas: *So you would see the association's role being one of strengthening the counselor's stand to do specific counseling?*

Super: It must, since the counselors can't do these things by themselves.

ON RETIREMENT

Crites: *Why don't you share your plans for retirement?*

Super: Well, as you know Jack, I retired from Columbia [during 1975]. We retire at age 65. The question, of course, comes up, "How does a career development specialist plan the unwinding of his career?" As I wrote in an article on occupations when I was 45, people in fields like ours don't really retire if their health and the circumstances permit. Their enduring interests are enduring, and we keep on doing the things we did before. In retirement we obviously modify them in appropriate ways.

I'm going to be around Columbia for a while finishing some writing. I'll also be going over to Cambridge, England. I am already functioning there as a senior research fellow in a new institute for career education and counseling at Cambridge. In addition, I will be a research fellow at Wolfson College, which is the graduate college for the behavioral sciences at Cambridge. My position will be funded by the Leverhulme Trust, an English foundation. My task will be to work with people in England to see if we can develop an indigenous career development theory. They're funding me to do what I really want to do anyhow—further research and writing in career development. The thought is that if I do this in the English context, England will, instead of just importing American theory and adapting American methods, generate a body of indigenous theory. It probably won't be very different, but it could be.

So I am looking forward to another period of productivity with the kind of colleagueship and financial support I have had here. One nice thing about it—the funding provides for my coming back two or three times a year to an APGA or AERA or APA meeting. This way I'll keep a foot on each side of the Atlantic, even though my residence for the coming years will be in England. As an old Oxford man, I've always felt that Cambridge was a very nice academic resort. So it's a very nice place to go to while I pursue my career in a more leisurely way.

Some Facts About Donald Super

1910	*Born July 10*
1932	*BA, Oxford*
1932–35	*Assistant Employment Secretary, Cleveland YMCA* *Instructor, Fenn College, Cleveland*
1935–36	*Director, Cleveland Guidance Service*
1936	*MA, Oxford* *Married Anne Margaret Baker, September 12*
1938–42	*Assistant Professor, Educational Psychology, Clark University*
1940	*PhD, Columbia*
1941	*Visiting Lecturer, Harvard University*
1942–45	*Aviation Psychologist (Lieutenant to Major), U.S. Air Force*
1945–75	*Professor of Psychology and Education, Columbia*
1953	*Visiting Lecturer, University of California*
1958–59	*Fulbright Lecturer in Psychology, University of Paris*
1960	*Ford Foundation Consultant, Poland*
1961	*Specialist, U.S. Department of State and Asia Foundation, Japan, Korea, Burma, and Ceylon*
1969	*Specialist, Asia Foundation, Japan*
1965–74	*Director, Division of Psychology and Education, Teachers College, Columbia*
1970–74	*Chairman, Department of Psychology, Teachers College, Columbia*
1975	*Professor Emeritus, Teachers College, Columbia*
1976	*Visiting Professor, Institute de Psychologie, Université René Descartes, Paris* *Honorary Director and Senior Fellow (Research), National Institute for Careers Education and Counseling Visiting Fellow, Wolfson College, Cambridge, England*

A SCHOLAR'S SAMPLER

Donald Super has written more than 120 articles, books, and monographs. Space does not allow presentation of all his significant contributions to scholarship. A more thorough bibliography is available from the interviewer.

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David V. Tiedeman:
Statistician, Scholar, and Sage

SANDRA K. OLSON and VALERIE F. ROBERTS

The name David Tiedeman tends to be associated with a single model, decision-making, and with a single work, a monograph by Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963). For example, a recent review of the literature cited Tiedeman and O'Hara as the first to identify the total structure of the decision-making process (Hazler & Roberts, 1984). The Tiedeman we encountered while preparing for and conducting this interview has produced much more than a single model.

For example, in addition to contributing to the evolution of career development theory, Tiedeman collaborated in the discovery and specification of a multivariate statistical procedure (Rulon, Tiedeman, Tatsuoka, & Langmuir, 1967). He also reorganized and directed the guidance program in the Graduate School of Education at Harvard (Tiedeman, 1974). During Tiedeman's 20 years at Harvard, the program became a major center for vocational research and trained counseling psychologists, student personnel administrators, and counselor educators, many of whom have become prominent (E. Matthews, personal communication, April 30, 1984). Tiedeman also parlayed a substantial network of people and financial resources into one of the prototypes of computerized guidance (Tiedeman, 1979). Recently, he and Anna Miller-Tiedeman, who are professional and marital partners, established the Lifecareer Foundation; they are developing what they term a new paradigm for life-work ownership (Tiedeman & Miller-Tiedeman, 1984).

Because preliminary research suggested that they had collaborated consistently for a number of years, we also included Anna Miller-Tiedeman in this interview. To prepare for the interview we read several of Tiedeman and Miller-Tiedeman's publications (over 65 articles and 9 books). Neither of us had met the Tiedemans prior to beginning this project.

We began the interview in their office in Los Angeles. In person we found David to be gentle, shy, enthusiastic, optimistic, witty, occasionally cantankerous, and a wonderfully supportive, caring person. We found Anna to be ebullient, candid, extremely thoughtful, and an equally supportive and caring person. As we talked with them for over 6 hours, the sun literally poured in the windows, highlighting the sense of warmth and collaboration we experienced. David and Anna clarified what they were saying when we probed, and responded to both praise and criticism of their work. So that further aspects of his work could be documented, we interviewed David by telephone for an additional 4 hours.

To gain a sense of the extent and quality of Tiedeman's contribution to vocational guidance, we contacted 24 individuals who have worked with him as students, colleagues, associates, or collaborators. During the interview we read aloud typical examples of these evaluations of his work by others and asked him, in turn, to respond. Several such instances are included in the final section of this interview, "Perspectives on David's Career."

THE EVOLUTION OF A STATISTICIAN

S.O.: Tell us about your family members, especially their influence on your early aspirations.

D.T.: I come from a northern New York State family. Evidently our ancestors migrated from Germany or Holland and came to New York City. They migrated up the Hudson River and settled in Albany and Schenectady, New York.

Mom and Dad got married just before World War I. I'm the second of five children. We had a nice family atmosphere. That, I'm sure, was due to my mother. We had a good deal of feeling of love and being loved. Both she and my father were very careful to make sure that all the children in the family felt of equal merit. Mother also kept pushing us into places where she hadn't been, and would say, "You do it. I can't do it, but you do it."

During my elementary school days, I was able to do learning projects, and that used to intrigue me—to go out on my own and study. I also enjoyed athletics; I liked to run, could catch well. In high school I was a member of the basketball team, the soccer team, and tried to run track; however, I never was sufficiently good at athletics that I could go into college competition, so I became an intramuralist.

During my childhood, adolescence, and college years, I think my interests were framed a great deal by identification with my father. He was a civil engineer and worked for different city governments. The occupations I initially entertained seriously involved copying him, and have gradually moved out from his.

S.O.: Did you want to be a civil engineer?

D.T.: I wanted to be an engineer at first. Then when I was in high school I heard my father talk more about his work. By that time he was in health engineering with the New York State Health Department, eating with and talking about what "those doctors" would say and do. They became the status individuals, and he wished he had a medical degree. I entered Union College, which was my father's undergraduate college. My declared major as I started out was pre-med.

S.O.: What was your early job experience like?

D.T.: I did a number of part-time things. I guess I started by peddling papers. When I was in high school, I also delivered groceries. Backed my truck into one of the customer's cars. That did not go over very well. I also worked in a filling station pumping gas; however, I did not get into car work very much.

When I got to college, as a pre-med major I worked summers in the testing laboratory for the State Department of Health, and would do testing on water and milk samples with different kinds of bacterial content. But I got out of medicine in the middle of my college career because I fainted in a laboratory, and I decided that blood and I were not going to get on with each other.

S.O.: *You eventually majored in psychology but specialized in statistics. How did that occur?*

D.T.: The first thing I found when I was considering becoming a psychologist was that you had to study abnormal psychology, and you had to visit mental hospitals, and that just decimated me. I identified so much with the patients, and I could not take the degradation of human beings that occurred there. So I kept casting around for a different way. I'd be damned if I would become a clinical psychologist.

My sophomore year I had had an introductory course with a man who changed me, Ernest Mayfield Ligon. He had a character research project, and he was enthusiastic. He had also been a flyer in World War I, and I admired pilots. I asked if I could help him with his research. For his research project, Sunday School children would be brought over, and they would be put through a series of tests that we would administer. We would gradually get those all together in a summary, or what he called a profile, and then he would interview the parents. Ligon gave me the basics—got me into statistics and measurement, for example. Statistics provided the first integration of the engineer in me, and I found out by majoring in psychology I could use statistics with people. When I graduated from Union College I decided that I needed a doctorate degree.

S.O.: *So you went directly into graduate school?*

D.T.: Yes. I received some small scholarship help from the University of Rochester. There was a statistician whom Ligon kept telling me to go study with, Jack Dunlap. So I went there. At that time, Dunlap was chair of a National Research Council Committee on the selection and training of aircraft pilots. Dunlap had recently hired Morey Wantman to work on the aircraft pilot project. Dunlap and Wantman were my mentors at the University of Rochester.

When I was halfway through my first year of the master's program at the University of Rochester, the world exploded. The United States exploded—the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Everything changed. I had a deferment because I had been working with Dunlap and Wantman on the pilot project. Our results were immediately used by the Air Force for preliminary screening of personnel. After the United States entered World War II, I became involved in designing tests for Army and Navy officers at the College Board. I eventually was involved in the Manhattan Project, which produced the atom bomb. I didn't produce the bomb, of course; I just analyzed medical data on radiation exposure. That was really a project of great secrecy.

S.O.: *How much about it is still secret?*

D.T.: I doubt that much of it is at the moment. The secrecy seemed to me to be so bad. I didn't even know the substances with which we were working. They had encoded names and things like that. I was the keeper of the statistics for those kinds of things.

S.O.: *You were seeing what kinds of effects radiation had on various varieties of mice?*

D.T.: Yes.

S.O.: *Were you ever in the laboratory to see what the effects were?*

D.T.: Oh, yes. It was hard for me because wounding laboratory animals was not necessarily my cup of tea.

S.O.: *There must have been some fairly powerful statistical effects.*

D.T.: Yes. Yes. They were trying to ascertain how much radiation could be sustained without death, or without some kind of other genetic and/or morphogenic change. Gradually they began sending us the badges of workers in Tennessee, where they were making the radioactive material. We would get the radiation exposure badges and medical records of these workers and we would have to monitor them. If we saw any exposure or blood counts that had gone up too much, we would get in touch with the doctors and keep them informed of the effects.

S.O.: *But you did not know exactly what was being done in the project as a whole?*

D.T.: I had no idea what was being done. That was one of the problems that arose when the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. You had been in it, you had accepted that as your war contribution, but you didn't know what the hell you were unleashing.

S.O.: *On the August day when that occurred, what was that like for you?*

> *"We have got to do something for the good of life in the universe, or we are going to have life in the universe . . . go some other way."*

D.T.: Right at the moment my feelings were ones of horror, but then the quickness with which the Japanese war resolved itself was so phenomenal that I felt relief. At that time I was not with some of the scientists who were saying, "Look, this is unethical, and we've got to stop this nuclear business." Our need to discontinue nuclear armament has taken years for me to know, but I now know it. Buckminster Fuller, the futurist and inventor of the geodesic dome, has made me much more conscious of the insanity of having nuclear devices on earth. We have got to do something for the good of life in the universe, or we are going to have life in the universe kiss human beings off and go some other way.

S.O.: *Are you suggesting that life would go on if there were a nuclear holocaust, even though human beings would not?*

D.T.: Oh, life is going to go on in the universe. It has been here for 15 billion years. Our little efforts are not going to do anything to stop that. However, I am not pessimistic. My feeling is that we will come to our senses, that residents of the planet Earth will survive.

S.O.: *To return to your early adulthood, your interest in statistics had been fostered by a number of people and events. You pursued this interest after the war?*

D.T.: Yes. When the peace treaties were signed, I resumed my studies. Morey Wantman, who I had worked with at the University of Rochester, had been a student of the statisticians Philip Justin Rulon and Truman Lee Kelley at Harvard. Wantman advised me to seek out Rulon and Kelley; I went to Harvard.

S.O.: *What did you like about statistics and data tabulation?*

D.T.: I guess one of the things I liked about statistics was the logicalness in it—the potential for association from A to B in a series of steps so that you can see your way through from a beginning to an end. Also, I liked the way you can take detail and display it in such a way that you can get it to reveal its internal nature. You can see something with data analysis, if you are clever about the way you display the story.

S.O.: *Your doctoral dissertation and the work of others eventually resulted in a statistical procedure called multiple discriminant analysis. Tell us more about this.*

D.T.: The procedure provides a means of locating groups in different kinds of test spaces or, in general, of asking the question, "How can we distinguish among groups of persons?" For example, in vocational research multiple discriminant analysis can be used to simultaneously identify personality, aptitude, and intelligence differences among accountants, biologists, and museum directors. Until recently, the procedure has been used more frequently in biology than in psychology. However, the presence of computing equipment and the writing of multiple discriminant analyses into social science statistical packages has led to its more widespread use.

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

***S.O.:** Tell us about your own family.*

D.T.: My first wife, Marjorie Denman, was a high school friend. We had become engaged right after high school. I was engaged to her all through college, and we had been postponing marriage until I finished my graduate education. However, the war suggested there was no such thing as postponement so we were married on September 26, 1942.

We had a marriage of 29 years. She was of great understanding, and helped me through my graduate studies. She gave me a lot in the way of love and stability. I think that was rather essential for our kind of agreement. It was rather important to her to have the security of my Harvard appointment, as it was to me. I think we both implicitly took that on as a goal, and accomplished it.

***S.O.:** You were involved with your work at Harvard and she was involved with family needs?*

D.T.: Yes, and that was a workable arrangement. I think that where I caused her trouble was that she needed activities. These were more social for her, and I'm not too social a character in the sense that I have fears of dancing and am bashful. I like people, but I don't know how I come across to them, so I am always sort of hanging back and do not really advance myself in social situations. I think Marjorie—Midge as she was called—needed more of that and I should have been more supporting of it, but wasn't at the time. I probably would have difficulty even now doing that.

Marjorie and I had two sons. She started to get into painting, and is today, in my judgment, an accomplished painter. She is also an expert secretary. When we divorced, she remarried someone from Lexington, Massachusetts, and they presently make their home split between Florida and Maine, and have a happy and good life.

***S.O.:** Tell us more about your sons.*

D.T.: We had two sons, both them born early in the 1950s, quite soon after I earned the doctorate. The oldest, Michael, was born in 1950, and the younger, Jeff, in 1951. We made our home in Lexington, Massachusetts. Our life was one in which I felt close to both of my sons, and especially enjoyed weekend outings.

As they grew up, the older one began emerging in the engineering tradition that seems to be family trait. Michael finished his college work at Tufts University as a mechanical engineer. He is now a man of 34, and is an executive officer in a small parts manufacturing operation in Texas. My younger son, Jeff, was involved for some time in looking at me as a model of who he might be, but became himself in terms of taking his B.S. in mathematics at Reed College in Oregon. He's employed in administrative computer programming at Harvard University.

***S.O.:** Men at midlife sometimes say, "If I had to do it over again, I would have raised my children differently." How is that for you?*

D.T.: No, not me. I have become aware of how troublesome regrets are, and I have in general tried to wash them through and let them go. I really do not have a strong sense anywhere in the activities of my life of wanting a second chance. That may be a strong statement, but I think it's a fair one. The realization that I have now is that you can't make your children be who *you* want them to be. They are going to be who they are, and they have responsibilities for undertaking that development as they go along. I feel when you love them, and they love you, you have a reciprocal understanding that exists despite distance, or despite variation in your activities. I think it is predicated on a real, honest integral process of giving your love to them.

***V.R.:** Anna, how did you and David meet?*

A.M.T.: When en route to an American Personnel and Guidance Association convention, the passenger sitting next to me, who was also going to the convention, asked me which career theorist I would like to meet. I said, "David Tiedeman," because I had read and admired David's work when I was in graduate school. "I know David," he said, "and I'll introduce you." Well, he did introduce us. Later, David and I learned more about each other's work when he was hired as a consultant to a career decision-making project sponsored by the Appalachian Educational Laboratory. I was a project staff member.

As a follow-up to a consultation session, I received this big stack of professional stuff from David. I looked down through it, just to give it a cursory glance, and did not see anything personal there, so I just let it rest on my desk until I had time to get to it. At the very bottom, with a cover like a term paper, about 1/8 inch thick, was a personal letter. I thought it was part of the stuff describing a program or something. It was thick, and it was stapled. You don't normally find a personal letter stapled and thick! I was so excited when I finally opened the letter. So that was really the beginning of our personal relationship.

***V.R.:** Tell us about how you work together currently.*

A.M.T.: We work very closely together. David is his own person, and he does not need me. I am my own person, and I do not need David, in the sense of being needy. But we love to be together, we love to work together, we love to write together, and we love to play together. As a couple, too, we attend to our bodies. About once a month we go to Ojai, about 1 hour north of Los Angeles, to get a hot tub and massage. Nearby is a restaurant where we have a vegetarian dinner. There is usually a fire built, and a guitar player playing. We take relationship days so that we just do things together. People say, "We don't have time for that; we're too busy." Well again, it's what you decide to do—back to decision making. We decide that our relationship is important enough to make time to do things that are fun.

***S.O.:** David, how would your career be different if you had not encountered Anna Miller?*

> *". . . Anna has convinced me that at the very core . . . of all of us . . . is vision and intuition."*

D.T.: The love that Anna brought into my life has been remarkable and considerable. It has been phenomenally important in my growth and change. Also, Anna has convinced me that at the very core of both of us—of all of us—is vision and intuition. Her vision has made possible her inception of lifecareer theory and my collaboration in its nourishment.

***V.R.:** When a woman works with a man, the man tends to get credit for everything, especially when he is already established. Has that happened for the two of you?*

A.M.T.: Yes, I think that has happened a lot. I don't think very many professionals in this field take me seriously.

***V.R.:** Even though clearly David does.*

A.M.T.: Oh, there is no question. Yes, he does. It really pains him, I think, to see that others do not recognize my contribution. But it is kind of a natural process. When someone is as eminent as David is, it is not unusual to attribute everything that is coming out of the Tiedeman household to him.

THE HARVARD YEARS

S.O.: *Before hearing about your current efforts, David, let's focus on your work at Harvard and your earlier theory building. As soon as you completed your dissertation, you were hired as an instructor at Harvard?*

D.T.: Yes, I made the mistake of accepting employment there.

S.O.: *You think that was a mistake?*

D.T.: Yes and no. I now think that it is a mistake to go back and teach where you received your degree, because it takes 7 years for people to recognize you as an adult. However, the institution intrigued me. I was hired to be a member of a three-person team to further extend the program in guidance. As you know, Boston was the location of the Vocational Bureau, and Harvard was one of the first faculties to undertake instruction in vocational guidance. John Brewer was the first professor appointed and served from about 1920 to 1942–43. He started teaching guidance and saw the need for an association, so he facilitated the formation of the National Vocational Guidance Association.

Robert Mathewson succeeded Brewer at Harvard after the conclusion of World War II, and spent 5 years there. He emphasized establishment of veteran's counseling centers, which were being supported by federal funds at the time. Harvard had other funding that provided an apprenticeship for students and introduced a counseling emphasis. Then in 1949 Judson Shaplin, who was a clinical psychologist, Hubert Armstrong, who was a practicing director of guidance, and I were appointed to the faculty to develop a new program.

S.O.: *What were the goals of your team?*

D.T.: Our first goal was to cooperate with the rest of the Graduate School of Education, which, at that time, was converting its teacher training program from a master's in Education to a master's of arts in Teaching. We also established as our mission the development of a clinical identity. We were convinced that counselors need to know how to talk the language of other professionals in different kinds of psychological practice. We established master's and doctorate degrees, with specializations for the doctorate in School Psychology, Counseling Psychology, and Administration of Personnel Services.

S.O.: *You became program chair in 1955 and had a flourishing guidance program at Harvard until 1971 when it was disbanded. What happened when the program was disbanded?*

D.T.: We were a program of strength; clinical psychology, a graduate program in the Arts and Sciences, was in trouble and needed a larger resource base to take off again. We offered to unite our resources with them. Clinical psychology then took the leadership and demoted guidance.

S.O.: *As I understand it, a number of programs in the applied area within Education were disbanded at the same time. So you were one of a number of faculty who had to find new jobs?*

D.T.: I did not have to, because I had tenure, or an appointment without limit of time. I elected to leave Harvard. I could have been a part of something I did not believe in. I'll be damned. Life is too short. I think that's one lesson people should learn about their work. When you don't believe in it, for God's sake, or for life's sake, get out of it. Otherwise, you may end up in a hospital. As Anna says, hospitals are the greatest career redirection agencies we have.

> *"When you don't believe in [your work], for God's sake, or for life's sake, get out of it."*

S.O.: *During your years at Harvard, David, you were also part of a major effort to extend career development theory. In a phone conversation, Donald Super recalled to me that you and your advisee, Robert O'Hara, were members of a traveling seminar. Super said that several of you were building theory in tandem.*

D.T.: Yes, what a beautiful time! I have experienced a lot of trust from people in our society in my work, and that experience was one of those. This was in the early 1960s. At that time the College Entrance Examination Board wanted to evolve more modern ideas of career development and self-conception in its program. They commissioned three two-member teams to write monographs. One was Donald Super and Jean Pierre Jordaan from Teachers College of Columbia University, the second was Henry Borow and Ted Volsky of the University of Minnesota, and I had the opportunity to work with Robert O'Hara of Boston College, my former advisee in the Guidance Program.

S.O.: *Super suggested that you actually wrote the grant to get the three teams together. Is that the case?*

D.T.: Yes. We were of a common mind that the approach to improvement in career development theory would be to have a series of statements available from people who had different views.

S.O.: *Say more about the seminar.*

D.T.: It was really an experience. In the first place, it sends you back a little bit into studentship. After 10 years of working as a professor, it was time to adopt studentship again.

S.O.: *So you deliberately set out to educate each other, the six of you?*

D.T.: Yes. We were deliberately reading each other's materials, being serious commentators about them, and trying to anticipate what our colleagues would make of our ideas.

S.O.: *How did you see yourself taking off in a different direction from Donald Super at that stage? What was your unique mission?*

D.T.: Super is 10 years my senior. I have always had my eye on his work, and I have always wanted to not repeat what he did. By then O'Hara and I had gotten far enough in our analysis of Super's self-concept propositions to be of a mind that we could provide a quantum language, so that we could reframe Super's work as quantum theory does Newtonian mechanics.

S.O.: *Do you mean that you and O'Hara were addressing a different category or level of experience?*

D.T.: Yes, the category being that of developing—not *having* development—so that one can consider self-involvement and evolvement in the process.

S.O.: *My sense is that what you and O'Hara did was to focus on the individual mind-set, on cognitions, rather than on the stages of a person's career development during childhood, adolescence, and so forth.*

D.T.: Yes, exactly. Because we wanted to provide opportunity for the choice forming, in other words for the exploration and clarification phases, rather than only for the choice solving.

S.O.: *In your 1963 monograph, you and O'Hara posited seven stages of decision making and self-development. One of the people who built upon your work, and added his own emphasis, was Vincent Harren (1979), who identified decision-making styles. Do you think it is important to assess decision-making styles, to know whether one has a basically rational or intuitive style, for example?*

D.T.: Yes. Anna and I originally got the idea from the work of Lillian Dinklage with Norman Sprinthall at Harvard. Anna started work on decision styles in career, and Vincent seems to have picked it up from Anna. Both of them found that knowledge of decision styles could be influential in the development of self-reference and self-responsibility. But Anna and I have remained much more directly interested in how we could get students to know about their decision-making styles, and use that as part of their power of discernment that they have in the moment. Students can do so by catching themselves in the use of these various styles, and not worrying about whether they have one and only one of them. So Anna and I have been much more interested in that open process that can be self-mastered and become part of self-empowerment. My feeling is that Vincent was more stuck in the logical positivist measurement of decision-making styles, and less directly involved in the use of understanding of that in self-development. However, I do not mean to characterize Vincent as being blind to this latter issue or insensitive to it. It is just that his emphasis was not there, and our emphasis is.

S.O.: *Your decision-making paradigm has been criticized for being difficult to operationalize. On the other hand, you have said in the Harvard Studies in Career Development, No. 42, that your paradigm has been operationalized in the prototype for computerized guidance, the Information System for Vocational Decisions (ISVD). When you began developing the ISVD while you were at Harvard in the mid-1960s, what were your goals?*

D.T.: We set out on quite an ambitious course. Our major purpose was to create an environment that students and adults could interact with at various points in their lives. We insisted that what we were doing be interactive so that it would be more sprightly than the batch processing kind of library look-up systems that were then springing up. The first condition we wanted was interaction. The second was the possibility of connection from remote stations so there would be a variety of locations from which queries could be made. A third condition we place on the system was that it would assume that the individual was inquiring. We deliberately spoke of the interacter as an inquirer.

S.O.: *Other systems typically use the word "user" or "explorer." Why did you select "inquirer?"*

D.T.: You see, exploration is a part of inquiry, or should be a part of inquiry. We were after the process of inquiry itself. We wanted to keep the responsibility for the decision with the individual.

S.O.: *Is it accurate to say that you wanted the inquirer to not just choose, but to learn about the process of choice?*

D.T.: Right. We attempted to turn the inquiry process into an informing, a forming inside, capacity for the inquirer. So we attempted two things. First, we tried to create memory storage capacity within the computers we were using, and to write programs so a review could be accomplished by the user. We wanted the user to be able to check information stored about him or her, and to update it upon subsequent use. That was one goal. The second goal was that as users would exit the system, we planned to require them to outline for themselves what they had done on the system, and to predict what would happen based on what they had decided.

S.O.: *That reminds me of a counselor asking someone to summarize what has happened during a session. How would a 45-year-old be able to use the ISVD?*

D.T.: We were audaciously thinking of stores, libraries, or universities with continuing education programs as locations of terminals. Also, although there were no home computers at the time, we knew they were coming.

S.O.: *Contemporary hardware and software make the dream you and your team members had in the mid-1960s much more feasible. If you were given a million dollar grant, would you attempt to operationalize the ISVD now?*

D.T.: It would depend. If I could work with another person like Anna, and no more than $200,000 a year, yes. I would take a 5-year stab at this thing, and would really make a considerable effort to get it into a minicomputer program.

A NEW PARADIGM

V.R.: *Anna, you've been spearheading the development of a new theory by the Miller-Tiedeman and Tiedeman team. You have coined the word "lifecareer." What does that term mean?*

A.M.T.: It is difficult to say in one paragraph what the word means. To explain the construct, I've just written a book, *How to NOT Make It—and Succeed: The Truth About Your Lifecareer.* The book is written for the general public, and at about the sixth-grade level, and has loads of examples. But to answer your question, I coined the word "lifecareer" to show that you cannot talk about life (as an overall process) without talking about direction or career (the path).

Our lifecareer is our journey, and it includes everything that we do. It is not only what we plan; it includes what we do at work, fun we have on the beach, everything. All of this is our whole being, and within our wholeness, our intelligence, our experience, and our intuition reside. We use all of ourselves when we decide, and we keep changing with each of our experienced moments. So we are always in the process of becoming. Janet Dohr, a participant in one of our seminars on lifecareer, made a beautiful statement about that. She said, "We are not human being, we are human becoming."

S.O.: *You have defined "career" comprehensively. You have also been using the term "theory" in a unique way. David, you have said that there are 4.8 billion career theories on the globe. When I read that I thought, "What should counselors and counseling psychologists do if that's the case? I thought we were the ones asked to generate and test career development theories."*

D.T.: That is a basic illusion that we have got to discard. There is a basic diminution of a person we are trying to help when we come to them, and we have the theory, and they are supposedly without theory. Anna and I are of the persuasion that everyone has a career, that willy-nilly everyone has some kind of explanation of what their present activity if predicated on, and that's basically their career theory. There are as many of them as there are people. The implications for this are that we really should try to help persons clarify the bases of their career actions and their career generalities. I tend to do that in terms of watching how they assume responsibility for themselves, which gives them grounds to move toward freedom.

S.O.: *In some ways your current emphasis on life-as-career resembles Donald Super's new "life span, life space" theory. To what extent do you see that your efforts overlap?*

D.T.: Super emphasizes the various roles people play, which constitute their life space during their life span. Our interest in lifecareer includes the span and space of the human life, but is not limited to that. One of our interests in lifecareer is that people be able to transcend roles, because a role to us involves an adaptation or adjustment to expectations. We seek to help individuals transcend others' expectations, and even their prior definitions of themselves.

S.O.: *What do you mean when you say that your theory is not limited to a life span?*

D.T.: Anna and I are coming from the premise that the whole organizes the parts, as David Bohm, a theoretical physicist, suggests. Life span and life space seem to suggest the opposite; that is, the parts organize the whole. Life span and life space are limiting metaphors. They do not acknowledge life as an experience to be lived without boundary, as personal courage permits. Thus, lifecareer includes all the individual theories that all people on earth act on. There are no experts in lifecareer theory; we are all equal, and each uncertain. In more general terms, Anna's and my theory is not limited to a life span because we are talking about the career of consciousness, not just that of work.

S.O.: *So, you are excluding the unconscious?*

D.T.: No. See, language can do it every time. Your question separates the unconscious from consciousness. I am not using the term "consciousness" in that way. One of my experientially apprehended understandings is that life and consciousness, as interdependent processes, have always been here, are never separate, and will never die. To speak of life span, as Super does, and to speak of the number of years that my consciousness associates with being alive, rather than being dead, is to me to speak of a very limited period of time, a very limited period of life consciousness.

A.M.T.: I am reminded of Barbara Marx Hubbard's discussion of evolution. She suggests we can experience more than just our life span. We have memories of our 15 billion-year-old history. That means that I have a lot more there in memory in my bones, my tissues, my being, than is here right now.

S.O.: *Are you also suggesting there may be transmigration, that a spirit leaves its bodily form to go back into the common pool of energy and re-emerge?*

D.T.: Yes. I think that's what Einstein's equation is all about: $E = MC^2$. You can get from matter to energy and energy to matter as your particles go faster and faster, and dreams, impulses, and action are just different frequencies of one magnificent whole.

S.O.: *So you are not figuring your current configurations will be your last?*

D.T.: Not for my energy.

A.M.T.: I want to come back again, because I want to be a singer, a creative writer, and an art collector next time.

S.O.: *How about you, David?*

D.T.: I'm going to come back as an astronaut. I want to get out in space.

A.M.T.: David and I will find each other again, because we need another lifetime together.

PERSPECTIVES ON DAVID'S CAREER

S.O.: *In recognition of your contributions to the field, you received the Eminent Career Award from the National Vocational Guidance Association in 1979. When he wrote us concerning your contributions, Rich Feller, associate professor of Counseling and Career Development at Colorado State, recalled being at a dinner in your home after you had received the award. He said, "With a tear in his eye and the warmth and humaneness that only David can display, he shared the Eminent Career Award as if it were something not his, but that of his students throughout the world." How was that for you?*

D.T.: Receiving the Eminent Career Award had a profound effect on me personally. When I happened to be singled out for it, it was a surprise. Anna brought me to a convention I had not intended to be at, and it wasn't until that beautiful Thelma Lennon was there reading some of my biography that it suddenly struck me: "That's me!" It's a matter where more than ever you realize that your eminence is not in you; it is a matter of other people. It was very touching for me to have that recognition on the part of people I have always been with and identified with, at the same time that I have not always been sympathetic with some things they do.

S.O.: *When asked to assess your contributions, here's what others have said about you, David. Esther Matthews, professor emeritus of the University of Oregon, said:*

> He exerted a profound influence upon several generations of students as a superior teacher, a powerful role model, and a productive author and researcher. He was always supportive, encouraging, and compassionate in his understanding of his students. He intuitively recognized each person's potential and strongly supported their career evolution. He was quietly instrumental in helping students to secure fellowships and research grants. Many of his students went on to make their own unique contributions to vocational psychology. A few examples include Robert P. O'Hara, John Whiteley, Chris Kehas, Frank Field, Paul Lohnes, Martin Katz, and William Cooley. (E. Matthews, personal communication, April 30, 1984)

She could have also mentioned herself.

D.T.: She's beautiful. I thank her for that.

S.O.: *Could you share your perceptions of yourself as a mentor?*

D.T.: I think I must have some kind of blessing with regard to mentorship because in the very first place I am a learner, and I guess I am willing to retire as a learner emeritus. To me working with someone is always a mutually instructive process, so that I'm an excited person among the works of people, and I tend to take seriously the things they want to discuss. I also tend to deal with them in ways they would like to develop, rather than in ways that I insist they develop, because I have had a couple of learning and forming experiences to the contrary. I have found that whenever I try to get students' work to come out as I want it to be that I end up doing it, rather than mentoring it. I've found that what's needed is to recognize intelligence as it is operating, and to try to facilitate its emergence. To me, mentoring is easy.

"I have found that whenever I try to get students' work to come out as I want it to be that I end up doing it, rather than mentoring it."

S.O.: *John Peatling, of Personality Research Services, suggested the following about your lifecareer:*

> I believe David Tiedeman may be eventually recognized as an example of Piaget's Process of Adaptation, i.e., the result of the iterative cycling of Assimilation and Accommodation throughout a long and productive professional life. That is, David's life and work indicate repeated instances of "breaking outward" toward a new and next "level" and the equally repeated incorporation of the former into the new and next level. I suspect that it is just this ability that has led David (and now, Anna) to move into their concern for a holistic perspective on lifelong planning. (J. Peatling, personal communication, May 15, 1984)

What's your reaction to Peatling's appraisal?

D.T.: John has a capacity to be inside the people he loves and learns with. I think that what he has expressed is exactly how I know myself.

S.O.: *Some people we contacted had difficulty assessing your contribution to the field. Anne Roe (personal communication, May 3, 1984) said, "He has been hard to understand, but if you take the trouble to do so, it is worthwhile." Another person suggested anonymously that he felt that if you communicated your ideas more carefully at times, you would have had more influence. I wonder if you have any response to that comment.*

D.T.: Sure. A lot of readers don't know that they are halfway responsible in communication. I write believing that readers will read what I actually write, not what or how they think. Anne Roe is willing to meet my writing halfway. Some others can't read, except in their terms.

***S.O.:** Roughly half the individuals we contacted and asked to evaluate your work said they have had a hard time understanding your language. One person commented that you had kept rooms full of professors wondering what you meant at times. He felt there were times when you had mystified people, rather than making things clear.*

D.T.: Right. I've heard those remarks in other times, in other ways. They are a part of what happens when you speak English in a movement model, instead of in a stationary mode. David Bohm, the physicist, has a chapter called "The Rheomode," a movement language. He invents a whole language that allows you to communicate about things as if they are in motion, rather than stationary. When you try to convey truth about process, you frequently sound as if you are not speaking English to people who cannot yet apprehend that energy is more fundamental than matter or action.

***S.O.:** Other theorists, particularly John Holland, seem to have been more successful in simplifying their propositions and then rigorously testing them.*

> *"I would like to be simple, but I do not like to be simple at the expense of either accuracy or sufficiency."*

D.T.: I would like to be simple, but I do not like to be simple at the expense of either accuracy or sufficiency. In general, I select accuracy and sufficiency over other possibilities. It also gets tiresome to pore over your own theories overly long. Your ideas aren't worth that. You outgrow them.

A.M.T.: One thing that has happened as we have worked together in writing is that I have tended to say, "Okay, I don't really know what that means. I don't think our field is going to understand that. How else can we say this?" I tell him that, and this is where our most painful times arise as a couple.

D.T.: Yes, that's right.

A.M.T.: We fight.

D.T.: She cuts out my treasured words.

A.M.T.: I tell him, "Now let's see how we can say it different." So he's been doing a lot more revision of his writing.

***S.O.:** David, have you ever looked at yourself at times as a failure? Has that been a part of your perception of yourself in any way?*

D.T.: I think there are numerous kinds of things in which I have engaged and for which the outcome has not been too sufficient. Anna again has proved helpful in this regard, because she helped me to adopt Buckminster Fuller's attitude that there is no such thing as a mistake or an error. It's just the learning in these things that matters.

***S.O.:** From your vantage point, what theme has been there—and surfaced repeatedly—throughout your lifecareer?*

D.T.: My career has been a career of trying to do honor to professorship. I take a professorial appointment to be that of trustee of an endowment that is supposed to be administered in the moment of your intelligence for the good of the world, for the good of the universe.

When I started in the faculty of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, I was conscious of following in the tradition of John Brewer and of Robert Mathewson. I was saying to myself, "What in the world could I contribute from my intelligence to this matter?" So my approach was, "How can I improve the resources that we have at the disposal of trying to guide? How can I improve the understandings that guides have about how they help? How can I make this more specific, or write about it or something of this nature?"

I have subsequently realized that the activities that are supportable in society as professional guidance activities really deal with the process involved in becoming, in moving up levels of consciousness. I think that's really the basic purpose of education, to help people develop, not to fill their memories with facts. I have also come to know that there is value in experience, which I couldn't understand when I was 30. I kept saying, "Why in the devil would people want to employ older persons in this kind of thing? What do they mean by experience?" I gradually found that if you live so that you continually open yourself and change your perspective, then you do find that you are just making available more of the universe's power, which every one of us has. And we all know it all the time—but it sure takes time and examined experience to emerge!

***S.O.:** What are your plans for the future?*

D.T.: Anna and I are completing a transition to self-employment. We have recently formed a Lifecareer Foundation, which will be publishing lifecareer materials, like Anna's book, offering workshops for professionals and the general public, and publishing a newsletter, *The Growing Edge: Pathways to Career Transformation*. We will also offer individual career counseling.

I plan to adopt the attitude of being a Buckminster Fuller with regard to career: a comprehensive, anticipatory, design-scientist. My goal is to provide commentary about where our institutions are muscle-bound, about where they are not attending to the fact that we are moving toward wholeness, that we are dealing with greater comprehensivity, that national boundaries are inadequate and inappropriate, that we are global—no, that we are not global, we are universal, that we are not alone universal, we are unity.

***S.O.:** On that note, I'd like to end the interview by quoting Rich Feller (personal communication, May 16, 1984) from Colorado State, who was asked to estimate how you and Anna would be remembered in the 21st century. His comment was, "They will be the career theorists who integrated principles of transformation and holistic life-style into personal empowerment. They will be seen as thinkers that led way from the 20th century career thinking into the 21st century." Any last comments?*

D.T.: Yes, we are trying.

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Editors' Note. This interview is based on edited transcripts of audiotapes that are housed in the AACD Library.

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PART II

Measurement Pioneers

On the Influence of the Vocational Guidance and Psychometric Movements on Counseling

WALTER CAL JOHNSON, JR., and P. PAUL HEPPNER

Of all the influences that Whitely (1984) noted as crucial to the development of counseling and counseling psychology, the confluence of the vocational guidance movement with the psychometric movement in the 1920s and 1930s deserves special attention. Initially those in the two fields kept different priorities; the original vocational guidance people were intent on fostering career development through "exploratory experiences" (see section I in this book) and the psychometricians concentrated on developing tests as the basic tool for guidance. Our history reveals that the two movements influenced each other in important ways (Whitely) because together they provided a major source of definition early in what was to become counseling and counseling psychology.

Events both during and after World War II had a profound impact on the field of psychology and counseling in particular (e.g., Scott, 1980; Whitely, 1984). Psychologists worked on a wide range of applied problems during the war (see Heppner & Ness, 1985; Heppner & Reis, 1987). In addition, the vast numbers of returning veterans who needed to be reintegrated into American society presented other problems for the U.S. government. Whitely noted that two issues in particular increased the impact of psychometrics within the field of counseling. In essence, the Veterans Administration (VA) was concerned about the quality of services being rendered. First, in response to the task of reintegrating returning veterans, the VA established as goals the provision of help with emotional difficulties (a job given to clinical psychology), and vocational-educational advisement, which was the province of counseling. Second, the existence of instruments such as the Strong Vocational Interest Blank and the Kuder series of tests provided counselors the tools with the scientific basis to perform the vocational-educational advisement. A merger between psychometrics and vocational guidance was solidified.

Consequently, in pragmatic terms, the VA was willing to fund the creation of both new counseling programs and counseling centers to further its goal of reintegrating veterans (Whitely, 1984). In the 3 or 4 years immediately following World War II, the typical client at a college counseling center was an ex-GI who felt an imperative to obtain a college degree and start a career path. Every client who entered a counseling center funded by the VA was given some measure of intellectual assessment as well as vocational interest. If it was deemed appropriate, he was also given some measure of personality assessment. In fact, in many centers funding was contingent upon the number of assessment instruments administered to GIs. The measures of vocational interest were usually either the Strong Vocational Interest Blank or one of the Kuder series. Although the Strong gave more information, it took extra time because it had to be mailed away to be scored; the Kuder had the advantage of being quickly hand-scorable. This rather standard assessment procedure lasted in some college counseling centers up to 20 years after World War II (Robert Callis, personal communication, October 21, 1988). Practically, a large part of what counselors did was give assessment instruments, most notably for vocational assessment.

This role was explicitly recognized by the founding figures of counseling in the early Division 17 bylaws. The initial bylaws, drafted by John G. Darley in about 1945, included the promotion of "high standards of practice in the *psychometric*, diagnostic, and therapeutic phases of counseling and guidance. . . ." [emphasis ours] (Scott, 1980). Bell (1949) explicated the implication of these bylaws for a counseling psychologist: "He works primarily with normal individuals, he is a specialist in the interpretation of standardized tests, particularly group tests, [and] his counseling activities include the fields of educational, vocation, and personal adjustment" (Whitely, 1984). In 1954, the revised bylaws of Division 17 continued to include the promotion of "high standards of practice in the use of individual and group psychometrics, diagnostic, and counseling techniques; [and] in the use of educational, occupational, and related information. . . ." Clearly, the use of vocational psychometrics was seen as a defining facet of counseling at this time.

In recent years, the theory of John Holland and the testing procedures he and his colleagues have devised to implement that theory have refocused the place of testing within counseling. One assertion that Holland in particular has stressed is that interest measures can be used as indices of personality (Holland, 1985). Holland's theory has great heuristic value; aided by the ease of Holland-based tests, the theory has spawned a significant contribution to the career development literature.

Reading the following articles on Edward K. Strong, Frederic Kuder, and John Holland reveals several commonalities. Although Frank Parsons had advocated the use of vocational testing and guidance to help young people plan their entry to the world of work (Whitely, 1984), it is evident that neither Kuder nor Strong entered the counseling field in any systematic way. Kuder stated, "Many of the fortunate things that have happened to me can be classified as serendipities. They almost didn't happen" (Zytowski & Holmberg, 1988, p. 153). Likewise, Strong wrote of himself that he did not find work in which he was "thrillingly interested" (p. 121) for several years and engaged in a good deal of hands-on career exploration in the process (Hansen, 1987).

Kuder and Strong came from an era when the "psychologist" hat was fashionable. They were people in love with their data, empirical psychologists. However, they were also people who had a feeling for what those data meant in terms of people's lives and who could help apply knowledge from those data. Kuder said of Strong:

> [He] was . . . totally dedicated to the task of helping young people find the lines of work for which they were suited. . . . He did not pretend to answer all of the questions he raised, but he was always working on them. (Zytowski & Holmberg, 1988, p. 155)

Strong himself noted that he was interested in applied problems. "Some pure psychologist should investigate experimentally the nature of interests and how they develop early in life" (Hansen, 1987, p. 120). Likewise, Stephen Weinrach (1980) wrote of his expectations about John Holland: "People who write theories and conduct a lot of research are often more concerned with correlations and reliability coefficients than with the pragmatic problems that practitioners experience. I was wrong" (p. 406).

Finally, it is striking that the energies of a lifetime went into the work of these three men. John Holland rather modestly noted that the development of the typology and measurement interests took "a long time"; in 1980, Holland was still making plans for "several things I would like to explore" over the next 5 years in relation to his theory (Weinrach, 1980, p. 413). Kuder declared that the answer to one improvement in his scheme "took twenty years," but that "I guess that the answer was the best idea I got while I was at Duke . . ." (Zytowski & Holmberg, 1988, p. 155). This lifetime perspective may be one of the largest contributing factors to Strong's high level of insight about the place of a career within a person's total life: "Vocational choice is a process, not an event" (Hansen, 1987, p. 121).

These people leave us a legacy of their instruments and the work that went into them. There is still a great deal of potential for further development and research using their methods and their accumulated data bases. These tools have been a part of counseling for some time now and indeed are credited with forming a major part of our profession.

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Edward Kellog Strong, Jr.: First Author of the Strong Interest Inventory

JO-IDA C. HANSEN

Edward Kellog Strong, Jr., was the person whose genius provided such a solid base of research for the Strong Interest Inventory that, almost 60 years after the inventory was first published, it is still a viable instrument. The inventory has undergone tremendous revisions during the last 12 years: the merging of the original separate-sex forms and the addition of the general occupational themes (Campbell, 1974), the expansion of the profile from 37 matched-sex occupations in 1974 to 77 matched-sex occupations (Campbell & Hansen, 1981), the extension of the profile to include nonprofessional occupations and over 100 matched-sex occupations, and the complete reconstruction and restandardization of all scales (Hansen & Campbell, 1985). Despite these major changes, essentially the same methods are used today to construct occupational scales as were used by Strong. The original techniques have been refined and computers now do much of the labor, but the continued ingenuity of the method is the result of Strong's original empirical savvy.

Strong's insightfulness about interests, interest measurement, and career decision making, demonstrated in his book, *Vocational Interests of Men and Women* (Strong, 1943), is still obvious. Yet, at the time of the book's original publication, the field of interest measurement was less than two decades old.

STRONG AND INTEREST MEASUREMENT

Strong's first publication on interest measurement was in 1926, and only a few other psychologists, such as Moore (1921), Freyd (1923), Ream (1924), and Miner (1925), preceded him in the field. Strong produced an impressive volume of material in a short period of time. He published the first Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB) in 1927 and published the first women's form in 1933; yet, the *Vocational Interests of Men and Women* (1943), based on only 15 years of research, was 746 pages long—a large volume by anyone's standards. It contained 197 tables and 52 figures consisting of over 20,000 numbers. All of this work was done without a computer to "crunch" the numbers.

The empirical method of scale construction that Strong developed is also very durable. With very little modification, the same method of contrast groups is used today to develop occupational scales. Although homogeneous scales have been added to the current version of the Strong Interest Inventory profile, the occupational scales continue to be the most important set of scales on the profile as well as the best means of predicting future occupational entry.

Strong (1943) concluded that entry into occupations could be predicted from scores on interest inventories at a rate better than chance and that interests were very permanent. Comparisons between interest data collected on specific occupations in the 1920s and 1930s and data collected for the same occupations in the 1980s confirm his conclusions: Interests are incredibly stable, even over periods as long as 50 years (Hansen, 1981). In fact, the interest profiles for the 1930 and 1985 in-general samples used to develop the Strong Interest Inventory are so similar that it is pointless to plot them on a profile because the points land on top of one another (Hansen, 1985).

Strong (1943) also concluded that there are sex differences in interests. This area of interest has been extremely controversial in the field of interest measurement; yet, the sex differences identified by Strong in the 1930s still exist today to the same degree (Hansen, 1982). Strong (1943) found then, as interest measurement researchers do now (Fouad, Hansen, & Arias-Galicia, 1986), that interests have cross-cultural similarity. There are interests within occupations that are universal—there is a common thread from country to country and from culture to culture.

Strong was very accurate in his conclusions about the timing of career guidance. For example, he wrote that:

> The need for guidance is similar to the need of a dentist. Only once in a while is guidance desired, but then it should be provided. And the need is not restricted to youth—it occurs all through life. Adults, as well as boys and girls, have serious problems. (Strong, 1955, p. 187)

There was a period in the history of career counseling when the popular opinion was that high school and college students were the appropriate recipients of career exploration. Today, as Strong suggested, career counseling is also recognized as important for adults as they consider midcareer changes and plan for retirement.

Another example of Strong's wisdom was his understanding of the complexity of interpreting a Strong inventory profile. He wrote:

> Frequently scores on all the occupations lead to an interpretation different from that obtained on only one scale. Thus, a [high score] on personnel manager means interest in social service work when accompanied by high ratings in Group V [social service occupations] and not high ratings in business activities, but it suggests personnel work in industry when accompanied by significant ratings in production manager, sales manager, office work, accounting, etc. Or it may be interpreted as meaning manager of production or sales with personnel interest to back these up. (Strong, 1943, p. 53)

He concluded by saying that "the more one handles such cases, the more loath one becomes to base guidance upon only one score" (p. 53).

Finally, the topics that Strong identified as important research questions for the field of interest measurement must be con-

"The need for guidance . . . is not restricted to youth—it occurs all through life."

sidered. We continue 40 years later to grapple with the questions and the problems in searching for basic answers. For example, Strong (1943) wrote:

> The study of interests was initiated in an atmosphere of applied psychology. Most of the worthwhile work has been directed toward the use of interests as a measure of solving practical problems. Some pure psychologist should investigate experimentally the nature of interests and how they develop early in life. (p. 2)

Today there are theories about how interests develop but still relatively little data that satisfactorily confirm the theories or provide an explanation of the development of interests.

Strong (1943) grappled with the organization of the world of work and the structure of interests, relying heavily on factor analyses to organize the profile for his inventory. A quick scan of counseling journals indicates that vocational psychologists are still attempting to find a better way to understand the structure of interests.

Strong (1943) even attempted to create an analogy to explain the relationship among abilities, interests, and achievements. He suggested that:

> The relationship among abilities, interests, and achievements may be likened to a motor boat with a motor and a rudder. The motor (abilities) determines how fast the boat can go, the rudder (interests) determines which way the boat goes. Achievement might be thought of as the distance traveled in a straight line in a given interval of time, resulting from operation of both motor and rudder. (p. 17)

PRE-SVIB HISTORY OF STRONG

Strong was born in Syracuse, New York, on August 18, 1884. He was the son of a Presbyterian minister who gradually moved his family West. Strong's childhood was spent primarily in Bloomington, Illinois, and Bay City, Michigan. As a boy, he enjoyed roaming the Michigan woods, cataloguing birds and flowers, fishing, and running logs (Strong, 1960). His family moved to San Francisco to a new pastorate in 1902, and Strong entered the University of California—Berkeley. He majored in biology and spent a year after graduation (1906) as a ranger for the U.S. Forestry Service. His work included cutting trails and building bridges, and he developed a love for the outdoors and the Sierras that continued throughout his life.

Strong returned to Berkeley to work on a master's of science degree in psychology in 1909 and, after graduating, applied for a teaching position in China. Clearance for the appointment by the Chinese and U.S. governments was slow, and, as a result, Strong decided to go to Columbia University to study for a PhD in psychology. During his graduate school career, he worked as a laboratory assistant for H. L. Hollingworth at Barnard College (Carmody, 1965). Hollingworth suggested that Strong pursue a study on the relative merits of advertising for his dissertation, and subsequent research during Strong's career (1911–1926) included numerous experiments in advertising research that resulted in several publications and a book, *The Psychology of Selling and Advertising* (1925). As a laboratory assistant, Strong met Margaret Hart, a student at Barnard; they were married in 1911, the same year that Strong received his PhD from Columbia University.

In 1914, Strong moved to George Peabody College in Tennessee and made his mark on the introductory psychology literature with the publication of *Introductory Psychology for Teachers* (1920). During World War I, he was part of the Committee on Classification of Personnel in the Army, and later he was a personnel specialist at Camp Taylor, Kentucky, and Camp Kearney, California. During his time in the army, Strong began to identify the need that individuals have for career guidance and vocational development, and he began to appreciate the efficiency of the army trade tests in determining a person's fitness for a job (Strong, 1919).

"The motor (abilities) determines how fast the boat can go, the rudder (interests) determines which way the boat goes."

After his military service, Strong joined the faculty at Carnegie Institute of Technology. He continued his work in educational design, focusing on the fusion of course content with methods that would be applicable to the world of work. He also was an interested observer of the work of graduate students in the Bureau of Personnel Research directed by Clarence S. Yoakum; this group produced the first work in interest measurement.

The Department of Applied Psychology at Carnegie Institute of Technology was dissolved in 1923 and Strong moved on to Stanford University, where he was a professor of psychology. He also taught courses in business administration, conducted research on the opportunities of American citizens of Oriental races, and, in his spare time, pursued research in vocational interest measurement. He encouraged one of his graduate students, Karl Cowdery, to use a modification of the Carnegie Interest Inventory to attempt to differentiate engineers, lawyers, and physicians. Strong then expanded Cowdery's inventory and published the Vocational Interest Blank in 1927. After 1927, his publications were almost exclusively in the field of interest measurement and test construction.

A PERSONAL GLIMPSE OF STRONG

I never had the opportunity to meet Strong; he passed away in 1963, just about 5 years before I filled out my first Strong Interest Inventory. One of my regrets is that I do not have a feel for the personal side of the man whose work I so admire. His writing is scientific, not passionate; however, he certainly must have felt the same delight that I do after plowing through piles of data and having some interesting hypotheses jump out from the numbers. Also, he probably experienced the same frustration of having few other interest measurement psychologists with whom to share the small discoveries. I often wonder if he, too, would corner an unsuspecting graduate student and, clutching tables in hand, try to explain the excitement that can be found in a page of numbers.

A few paragraphs at the end of Strong's 1955 book, *Vocational Interests 18 Years After College*, reveal just a little corner of the man. He was writing about the complaints he often received from parents that their children would not settle down and decide on a career. Strong, speaking here of himself, said:

> The writer was that kind of boy and he was not dead sure he wanted to be a psychologist until his second year of graduate work, four years after graduation from college. He [then] realized that he was far more interested, more thrillingly interested, in what he was doing than in any of the considerable

> variety of activities he had tried out, that he was using his energies as never before. (pp. 197–198)

He continued in a less personal vein, but one indicating that he had an excellent perspective on how interest measurement fits into career counseling. He concluded:

> Instead of trying to force adolescents to decide upon a vocational career we should remember that "vocational choice is a process, not an event." . . . Test scores are a valuable aid but the process of choosing a vocation continues over many years and cannot be made on the basis of such scores alone. (Strong, 1955, p. 198)

In an effort to learn more about the personal side of Strong, I interviewed his daughter, Fran Berdie Berninghausen, and one of his colleagues, John G. Darley, professor emeritus, University of Minnesota. In a letter that Fran later sent me accompanying a picture of her father, she commented:

> After our talk the other day, I have been thinking about my dad, and I realize that I didn't stress strongly enough his great love of the outdoors. In fact, I would say that there were three strong loves in his life:
>
> 1. His love for my mother. They had a very firm, loving relationship. His life centered around her. He was a happy man because he had her. His children were also very important to him.
> 2. His love for the outdoors. He loved his garden and his golf. He especially loved the mountains, the ocean and the desert. He knew the names of the plants and trees and was continually teaching them to us. He also knew the constellations of stars. He loved to be in the outdoors—to hike, to swim, or to fish. His great love for the outdoors was transmitted to all three of his children.
>
> I mentioned to you that he had, as a young man, applied for a post as missionary to China. I believe he may have been religious then, but in later life his real religion was the love of nature.
>
> 3. His love of his work. He really enjoyed what he was doing, and because he did he wanted others to enjoy their work. Hence his continual expansion of the vocational interest test.
>
> He did a good deal of counseling at Stanford and I'm sure this made him aware of the usefulness of the interest test and encouraged him in his work. (F.B. Berninghausen, personal communication, August 18, 1985)

". . . in later life his real religion was the love of nature."

INTERVIEW WITH FRAN BERDIE BERNINGHAUSEN

Strong's Family Background

J.H.: I did find various readings that gave me a feel for some of the history of your father's life and career. There were a couple of gaps, however, so I will try to ask questions about those to fill in. One resource that I read reported the family moving to California after living in New York, Illinois, and Michigan when your father was a young person, and I was wondering if his parents then stayed in California.

F.B.: Yes, they did. They moved to Berkeley, where my grandfather was a minister for all of Northern California. My father had two sisters and a brother who also lived in California.

J.H.: Were they a close family?

F.B.: Yes, very close. We spent every Thanksgiving and Christmas with them. Mother and Dad got together with his brother and sisters frequently going back and forth—overnight and to play bridge, and so forth.

J.H.: Can you tell me a little bit about the interests of other family members—like your father's brother and sisters and his mother?

F.B.: His mother, my grandmother, was very musical. I don't know that she did anything with it, other than play the piano and enjoy it. His brother was a certified public accountant, and both sisters taught. One of them married and quit teaching; the other one never married and taught are in the Berkeley school system from one school to another. She was very artistic, and the music and art interests turned up in the nephews and nieces. One of my father's nephews worked for Disney as an artist. He was very good. And another of his nephews was a professional singer. Our family was a little bit more stodgy. My brother was a doctor. My sister was a history major but worked on interest measurement, and I was a psychology major and worked in that field until I got married.

J.H.: How about your mother?

F.B.: Mother was an English major and read extensively. She read practically everything that fell into the library. After she was married and we were grown up, she became interested in the PTA, was state president of the PTA, and that led to her being on the State Board of Education. She was very active.

J.H.: A lot of achievement there.

F.B.: Yes. She was on the grand jury of our county, and they investigated crime in the county. She was into things.

J.H.: Did your father show some of the artistic interest as well?

F.B.: No. Actually, he didn't have the writing skills either. When I was first working, I wrote three small monographs that he was really proud of. He said to me at one point: "It's funny that the two of us in the family that can't write well are the ones who have done the writing." Mother always edited his writing and rewrote a lot of it.

J.H.: How did your family spend time together?

F.B.: We traveled a lot. In fact, we went somewhere every summer, mostly in this country. Mother and Dad went to Mexico after we were grown. They went down there almost every year and traveled in Europe. In the summers we'd go up in the mountains and see the bridges Dad helped make [when he was in the forest service in 1906] and hike on the trails he developed. Dad was an outdoor person. He loved raising flowers; our yard was an array of color. He was a good golfer, and on summer vacations we camped all over. Mother enjoyed the camping, too. And, even when they were getting old together, they used to camp out in the desert.

J.H.: Tell me more about leisure times.

F.B.: Well, we played bridge. Mother and Dad played bridge and enjoyed it. We used to play on Sunday afternoons; my brother and I hated it, so it was always a contest to see who would get roped into playing bridge. My sister loved it. I don't think they realized how much we disliked it. My dad didn't like movies, he didn't like plays, he didn't like music—he claimed music hurt his ears. My sister also cannot stand high notes, so it may be that it did hurt his ears. He really just liked his books, his work, bridge, and going camping.

J.H.: Did your parents do much entertaining?

F.B.: Very little. They had about one dinner party a year. They had one couple with whom they went back and forth for dinner and bridge. That was about it—it was a quiet social life.

J.H.: How would you describe your father on an introversion-extroversion dimension?

F.B.: Given that he didn't want to socialize that much, I would put him at the high level [introverted], but, nonetheless, he certainly was a very socially skilled person. He enjoyed people when he was working with them, but he also relished time alone. He didn't drink and he really didn't like cocktail parties. For years

"He really liked his books, his work, bridge, and going camping."

professors could not serve liquor—even after prohibition was repealed it was frowned on—and that was fine with my parents. Dad loved his grandchildren and was very good with them. He loved to play with them—tickle them, chase them. He had a real skill with small children; not all men have it.

Strong's Work Style

J.H.: *My impression is that your father worked pretty much alone at Stanford, that he didn't have a lot of colleagues or graduate students who were interested in vocational interest measurement. Is that accurate?*

F.B.: I think that's pretty accurate. He occasionally had a graduate student who was interested in his work. He had graduate students who worked with him in business, but I don't think there were too many in psychology. Gilbert Wrenn did his PhD under Dad, but he's the only one I can think of. (Wrenn, in his own interview in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* [Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976], stated that "Strong, of course, was one of my graduate advisors, chairman of my committee . . . and I worked with [him] on his famous Vocational Interest Blank. This supported my belief that how you felt about things, whether you felt uncomfortable in a given environment, the things you liked and didn't like, had a lot to do with your success in life, not only your occupational life, but life generally" [p. 83].)

He tended to do his research at home and would pass out things to my sister, saying "I'd like you to do this bit of statistics." He'd do a lot of statistics himself, too. He had, I think, the perfect life. He'd sleep until 8:30 or 9:00, get up and eat breakfast, go to the campus, have his classes until noon, come home for lunch, go play golf, go down to the faculty club and play bridge, come home for dinner. He'd go into his study and work from about 7:00 to midnight, and then he'd read a mystery for about an hour. He also would make trips to San Francisco that were regular field trips for business classes; that would take about a day.

At home, there were no distractions, so he could focus on his work. He'd go in the study and expect it to be quiet. This was his pattern when I was in college, but when I was in high school and grammar school he was working longer hours on campus because I can remember bringing friends home and not seeing him.

Strong's Scholarly Work

J.H.: *It's little known, but your father was quite a pioneer in the psychology of advertising before he went into interest measurement, wasn't he?*

F.B.: Yes. In fact, I think his book, *Psychology of Selling and Advertising* (1925), was the first one in that area.

J.H.: *Some of the research he did seems to be involved with the very basics of understanding visual advertising.*

F.B.: Yes, they did it by watching eye movements in subway cars—people read those ads up above in the subway. They examined which ads received the most eye attention.

J.H.: *Did he ever talk about that period of his research? Do you think he was aware of being a pioneer in this work?*

F.B.: I don't think so. I think it was something he was interested in at the time. He just did it and enjoyed it.

J.H.: *Why did your father go to Stanford in 1923? Was it to get back to California?*

F.B.: No, I don't think so. He was at Carnegie Tech and, I think, expected to stay there, but then the usual university politics interfered. They wanted to get rid of the psychology department, so they did—they cancelled the whole department. I think Stanford came along with an offer at that time and my parents went there. I think that's the only reason. Dad probably would rather have gone to Berkeley [his alma mater].

J.H.: *My impression was that once he was at Stanford, he was primarily involved in vocational interest measurement. But I discovered that in 1938 he published a book called* The Psychological Aspects of Business. *Did he work in a variety of different areas of psychology?*

F.B.: He was in the psychology department. Later he was in the Graduate School of Business, and he taught Psychology of Advertising and Introduction to Business Management. He took his classes out to different businesses in the Bay Area for tours and to see how the businesses were run. He also wrote three books on second-generation Japanese in California. The Japanese community that came to Stanford said they would like research done on this topic and asked my dad to do it. I think he really would have preferred not to take that time away from his own research, but he got to know a lot of Japanese people, which was a plus, and he obtained interesting results: Second-generation Japanese children score higher on IQ tests than do White children.

Although he had an office in the psychology department, it was primarily for the interest research. I believe he got some funding from psychology, but I'm not sure. Often, he supported his own research.

J.H.: *I have read that Kuder borrowed against his life insurance to support his research (Kuder, 1977), and I was wondering how your father was funded.*

F.B.: There weren't grants in those days; there wasn't any place where you could write and get a grant for research. My father's work was supported by money earned from scoring the tests that people would send in to him. All through the depression, every day at noon, we'd get these stacks of tests in the mail and we would go through them at lunch. We got one dollar for scoring each blank. Mother, who was paying our household bills out of a very small fund, would see this money and think it would be nice to have for family expenses.

J.H.: *But that was for research?*

F.B.: That was for research. That took care of that. I think about that many times now that nobody does research unless they get grants for it. It's such a change.

J.H.: *I haven't been able to find much correspondence on how the decision was made to send your father's data and archives to Minnesota.*

F.B.: I think it was a verbal agreement. When Dad and Ken [Kenneth E. Clark] worked together on the SVIB revision, my father felt that Minnesota was where the research was being done. And, really, there was much more interest at Minnesota than at Stanford. Even later, when I was in school at Stanford, nobody knew about the interest test; however, when I came back here [Minnesota], everybody knew about it and knew about my father. And the people here—[D. G.] Paterson, [John G.] Darley, [E. G.] Williamson—were enthusiastic about the use of the SVIB in research and practice. So it seemed logical to store it here.

J.H.: *When I look back on that move now, it was such an important transfer; yet, like many significant events, it seems to have happened so casually. The research on the inventory simply could have died if the data and archives had remained at Stanford.*

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN G. DARLEY

John G. Darley was a young colleague of Strong's who first became acquainted with the Strong Interest Inventory in the

1930s. His book, *Vocational Interest Measurement* (Darley & Hagenah, 1955), along with Strong's *Vocational Interests of Men and Women* (1943), served as the primary reference for the Strong Interest Inventory until the publication of the *Handbook for the Strong Vocational Interest Blank* (Campbell, 1971).

J.H.: *Do you recall first meeting Strong—what the occasion was and where that might have been?*

J.D.: It must have been in conjunction with something Donald Paterson had done, because they were close friends. Strong was a terrifically conservative man—politically and every other way. His wife was very interesting. She was president of the California PTA. Mrs. Strong was a remarkable woman considering the fact she had to live with E.K. Strong. He was slightly to the right, I think, of Barry Goldwater. But this never materially affected his judgment. I found him a delightful person.

J.H.: *Do you recall when you first became aware of and started to use Strong's interest inventory?*

J.D.: I first became aware of and interested in the Strong inventory during the Employment Utilization Research Institute days. That was where we administered the item pool to a standard sample of 500 employed men and a comparable standard sample of women.

J.H.: *In terms of interest measurement, my impression is that Strong's closest colleagues were all people at Minnesota rather than at Stanford. He seemed to work pretty much alone at Stanford; is that accurate?*

J.D.: He was in the Graduate School of Business. Terman, who was working on the Stanford-Binet, encouraged him greatly. Terman and Strong conducted two of the greatest longitudinal studies in early psychology. I think he found that his colleagues here in Minnesota were much more interested in what he was doing. We became greatly interested in his work in the very early days because he and Pat [Paterson] were such friends. They'd known each other through the World War I Committee on Classification.

J.H.: *How would you describe his personality?*

J.D.: He was like a grizzly bear.

J.H.: *A grizzly bear?*

J.D.: Right. He was not hesitant to express his opinions. He was in no way reluctant to say what the world was like. He would growl at you, look at you, and then tell you what the truth was.

J.H.: *I understand he spent at least one summer teaching here at Minnesota.*

J.D.: Yes, we brought him here—those were the days when we had money to bring people. We also brought Anne Anastasi and Leona Tyler here.

J.H.: *Could you summarize what you see as Strong's major contribution?*

J.D.: Probably his contribution to people's success and satisfaction is incalculable. He contributed much to the great tradition of applied psychology. He didn't, however, believe some of the things we were trying to say about the SVIB. For example, we were maintaining that the Strong inventory was really a kind of personality measure. It took Strong a long time to accept that as a concept. But because his work is so important in our culture—more important than in any other culture—he has set up a body of knowledge that nobody can neglect if they want to understand human motivation in the Western world. That, I think, is a great contribution. Psychology has yet to weave the theoretical and empirical strands of its own history as a science into the whole cloth of understanding of human behavior. When that time comes, Strong's superior contributions to an understanding of people's satisfaction in the world of work will provide a solid foundation of data without which theory cannot be built. He, himself, claimed never to be a theorist; he was just a dirty-handed empiricist. But if you read the *Vocational Interests of Men and Women* (1943), there are many points where he is trying to frame a theoretical system; however, he didn't like that. He said to hell with it, let's go on and get some more data.

> *"He . . . claimed never to be a theorist; he was just a dirty-handed empiricist."*

J.H.: *For so early in the history of the field, the quantity of data in the* Vocational Interests of Men and Women *seems immense.*

J.D.: Some 750 odd pages; an amazing collection of data.

J.H.: *Thousands of numbers.*

J.D.: Yes, I have always believed that the most important things in psychology have been the great longitudinal studies. The genetic study of genius, which was Terman's contribution, and Strong's studies are hallmarks of this type of research.

STRONG'S MEASURED INTERESTS

Strong's interest profiles, shown in Figure 1, reflect his love for the outdoors (Nature Scale) and his career of scientific inquiry (Investigative, Science, and Mathematics Scales). Strong took his inventory in 1927, the year it was first published (scores in Column 1), and in 1949, a year before his retirement from Stanford University (scores in Column 2).

Strong's work habits and leisure life, described in the interview with his daughter, suggest that he was an introverted person who, when necessary, could exhibit social skills. His high scores of 62 in 1927 and 67 in 1949 (introverted direction) on the Introversion-Extroversion Scale confirm these observations.

Most notable, perhaps, as Strong neared retirement, were his increased scores on the Nature Scale and Adventure Scale (a scale that often reflects the interest of a person who loves to travel), reflecting the dominant interests of his leisure life. Also noteworthy were his decreased interest scores on the Public Speaking, Law/Politics, and Business Management Scales, all interests that were necessary components of his work life but of little importance to him during retirement, when he devoted himself to continuing his work on the Strong Interest Inventory, to growing old together with his wife, Margaret, and to his love of nature.

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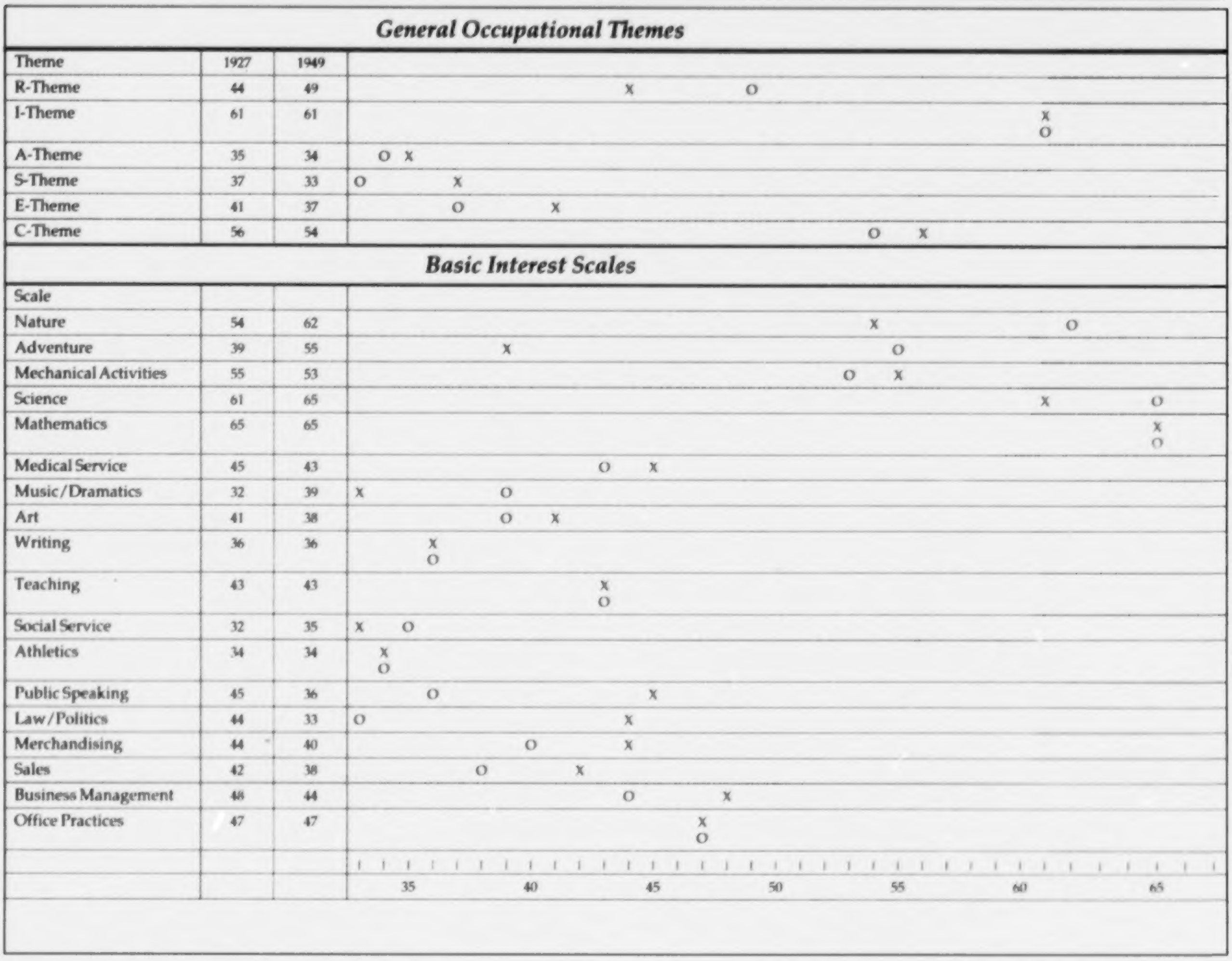

General Occupational Themes

Theme	1927	1949
R-Theme	44	49
I-Theme	61	61
A-Theme	35	34
S-Theme	37	33
E-Theme	41	37
C-Theme	56	54

Basic Interest Scales

Scale		
Nature	54	62
Adventure	39	55
Mechanical Activities	55	53
Science	61	65
Mathematics	65	65
Medical Service	45	43
Music/Dramatics	32	39
Art	41	38
Writing	36	36
Teaching	43	43
Social Service	32	35
Athletics	34	34
Public Speaking	45	36
Law/Politics	44	33
Merchandising	44	40
Sales	42	38
Business Management	48	44
Office Practices	47	47

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Preferences: Frederic Kuder's Contributions to the Counseling Profession

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Some 100 million persons have taken his interest inventories in the nearly fifty years since the first one was published. They have been the subject of a parody in *National Lampoon*, the source of an episode on Candid Camera, and have provided the opening scene for a Phillip Roth short story. He is Frederic Kuder, and he is the author of six interest inventories that all of us have used, or perhaps taken, at one time or another.

Kuder was born in 1903, the year after Pearson described the correlation coefficient and 2 years before Binet introduced his intelligence tests—at the outset of interest in psychological measurement.

Like many psychologists of his time, he was the son of a minister. He says (Kuder, 1980b) that when he was young he declared that he was going to "preach and sing like papa" (p. 201). By the time he reached high school, however, a number of his friends decided they would be civil engineers, so he decided he would be one too. When he became editor of his high school newspaper, almost by chance, he thought he would become a journalist. When he graduated from the University of Arizona in 1925, he was an English major.

This course of study apparently was enough qualification for Kuder to be offered a job working on J. McKeen Cattell's *American Men of Science* and Cattell's four journals. Cattell was a pioneer in the new science of mental measurement, and along with E. L. Thorndike, founded the Psychological Corporation and published the magazine that later was to become *Popular Science*. Through him, Kuder met a number of Cattell's former students, such as E. L. Thorndike and R. S. Woodworth, who had produced the most popular introductory psychology textbook of the day.

Kuder's interests were in vocational guidance, and after a couple of years with Cattell, he began work in 1927 on his master's degree at the University of Michigan under one of the founders of the guidance movement, George Myers. He completed these studies only a few months before the financial crash that signaled the Great Depression and felt himself lucky to find a job at all. The job was one in which he had to learn more about testing, in the personnel research department of the Cincinnati soap maker, Procter and Gamble. The head of his department, Robert Lovett, came from another pioneering strain of measurement people (including E. K. Strong) who had been at the Carnegie Institute of Technology. It was at this time, too, that Kuder and Linn DeBeck were married, beginning a partnership that has continued beyond the 50-year mark.

Still wanting to learn more about measurement, Kuder went to Ohio State University in 1932 to study with Herbert Toops, author of the Ohio State Psychological Examination, a widely used college admissions and placement test. Although in 1935 he tried out some ideas for what was to become the Kuder Preference Records, his dissertation under Toops's direction involved a problem in scholastic aptitude test development.

Kuder's next position, starting in 1936, was as the examiner in the humanities at the University of Chicago, a position created by the innovative chancellor, Robert Hutchins. Each of four areas of study had an examiner who served under the direction of L. L. Thurstone. Kuder's colleagues were Harold Gullicksen, Dael Wolfle, and Marion Richardson, who all became well-known in tests and measurement, and the last with whom Kuder later developed the famous formulas for estimating test reliabilities.

According to Kuder (1977, p. x), when he was a junior member of the faculty there was no possibility that he could obtain a grant to further his research on interest measurements, so he borrowed against his life insurance and did his development work in his spare time. By 1939 a first form was ready and was made available through the University of Chicago bookstore. The bookstore manager, in turn, introduced him to two young graduate students at the university who had started a small business providing vocational guidance materials to counselors. They called it Science Research Associates.

In the spring and summer of 1940, Kuder took a temporary position teaching at another great source of measurement expertise, the University of Minnesota. When Kuder decided to join the Social Security Administration in Washington, D.C., in 1940, Science Research Associates (SRA) took over the publication of what was then the Kuder Preference Record, Vocational. Also, SRA asked Kuder to found the journal *Educational and Psychological Measurement*; he served as its editor for 29 years, and even now is its publisher.

Form B of the Preference Record, scored for nine areas of interest, was published in 1943. The army asked permission to use the form, and Kuder granted it on the condition that he could use the records for a follow-up. The data still exist, he says, and the opportunity for a significant study awaits only the availability of funds and a dedicated researcher.

He held several federal jobs during the war years, until in 1945 he spent a period of time devoted entirely to the development of Form C and to editing and publishing. He remained in Washington, sharing an office with an accountant near 15th and M Streets. He largely employed housewives to write items while he and Linn analyzed data. The results were published in 1946, with the final scale, Outdoor, added to the nine scales of Form B. Two years later, along with several other industrial psychologists, he founded and intermittently edited the journal, *Personnel Psychology*.

In 1948, Kuder went to Duke University as professor of psychology, teaching statistics and psychometrics. It was this year, also, that the American Association of Applied Psychology merged with the American Psychological Association (APA), and the Division of Counseling and Guidance (later to become the Division of Counseling Psychology) was founded under the leadership of E. G. Williamson. Kuder served as the second president of the division, continuing his commitment to the guidance field.

Ten years later, while still at Duke, Kuder brought out the Occupational Preference Record, Form D. It used the familiar triad of activities with the most/least preferred responses, but was scored in a radical way—in terms of occupational groups. It was hand-scorable, albeit laboriously, and careful instructions were available for anyone to construct a scoring key for any occupational or other group that was desired. It also used Strong's method of a reference group to identify items to be scored on each occupational scale. Kuder knew that Strong was not satisfied with the reference or contrast method of scoring occupational scales, and continued to work on scoring methods, until in 1966, he issued Form DD, the Occupational Interest Survey. It employed a method of differentiating among occupations without use of a reference group. Among other things, it permitted the direct comparison of ranks from male and female occupational groups (see page 152).

Kuder was present at the virtual birth of high-speed electronic test scoring. He said (personal communication, October 25, 1986) that at the 1954 ETS Invitational Conference, several developers described their hopes, but E. F. Lindquist announced that the following February he would be ready to start large-scale scoring. Shortly after, Kuder visited Lindquist's "hot room" at the University of Iowa, where Lindquist had installed a large number of vacuum tubes in a relatively primitive computer to score heretofore unimaginable numbers of test answer sheets. Kuder described it as "the industrial revolution come to testing."

He retired from Duke in 1964 to devote full time to editing and the development of Form DD. He summed up a lifetime of experience in the measurement of interests in his 1977 book, *Activity Interests and Occupational Choice*. In this book he stated:

> The multitude of data from the thousands upon thousands of subjects who obligingly filled out experimental interest inventories for the writer over the past forty years has almost demanded a report in the form of a book . . . there is no possibility of reporting everything in a single volume. What has emerged is a presentation of some data collected and some ideas developed on the problem of helping young people make satisfying career choices on the basis of a systematic survey of their interests. (p. x)

The last sentence is characteristically modest, but might stand as a succinct representation of Kuder's long career.

Professor and Mrs. Kuder reveal another side of themselves in the fact that they have been visitors to Sanibel Island, on the gulf side of Florida, since 1939. Although the area and the island have developed a large tourist trade in recent years, the Kuders have been interested in preserving its natural tracts through the Sanibel-Captiva Conservation Foundation, and they retain friendships with like-minded residents. They now make their home on the island through most of the year, returning only briefly to Durham during the summer.

Kuder has been honored by Ohio State University with its Centennial Achievement Award. In 1968 he received the E. K. Strong Memorial Gold Medal for his contributions to interest measurement, and in 1985 the Leona Tyler Award of the Division of Counseling Psychology of APA for his early and sustained contribution to the field of counseling. In 1986, Educational Testing Service presented him its award for Distinguished Service to Measurement. The citation enumerates his contributions, including the scoring of vocational interests in terms of similarity to occupational groups, instead of differences between occupational groups and a general reference population. It continues,

> Through this insight, Dr. Kuder provided a firm psychometric foundation for a perennial problem in vocational counseling—not matching people to jobs in terms of predicted job performance, but rather, matching people to people in jobs in terms of anticipated job satisfaction.

It is fitting, as well, that Kuder is included in the series on which he worked earliest in his area, *American Men and Women of Science*.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DR. AND MRS. FREDERIC KUDER

The following interview took place on March 12, 1986, in the Kuder's apartment on Sanibel Island, Florida, the ocean waves smashing onto the beach a few yards from where we were sitting. The interview has been edited for clarity and supplemented with selected passages from his recent public speeches. We have addressed Dr. and Mrs. Kuder as they are known by their friends: Fritz and Linn.

D.Z.: *Fritz, let's begin by trying to identify a theme—a thread in your life that has been important.*

F.K.: Many of the fortunate things that have happened to me can be classified as serendipities. They almost didn't happen. What a difference it would have made in my life if they hadn't! There was that occasion in Cincinnati that turned out to be the most important of all. My good friend, Al Grant, invited me one evening to go with him to a discussion group at the Unitarian Church. I was not highly enthusiastic. I liked Al, and I wanted to please him, so I went. But it was really a toss-up. That was when I met the delightful Linn, who has been my roommate for the past 54 years. I learned later that she almost didn't go.

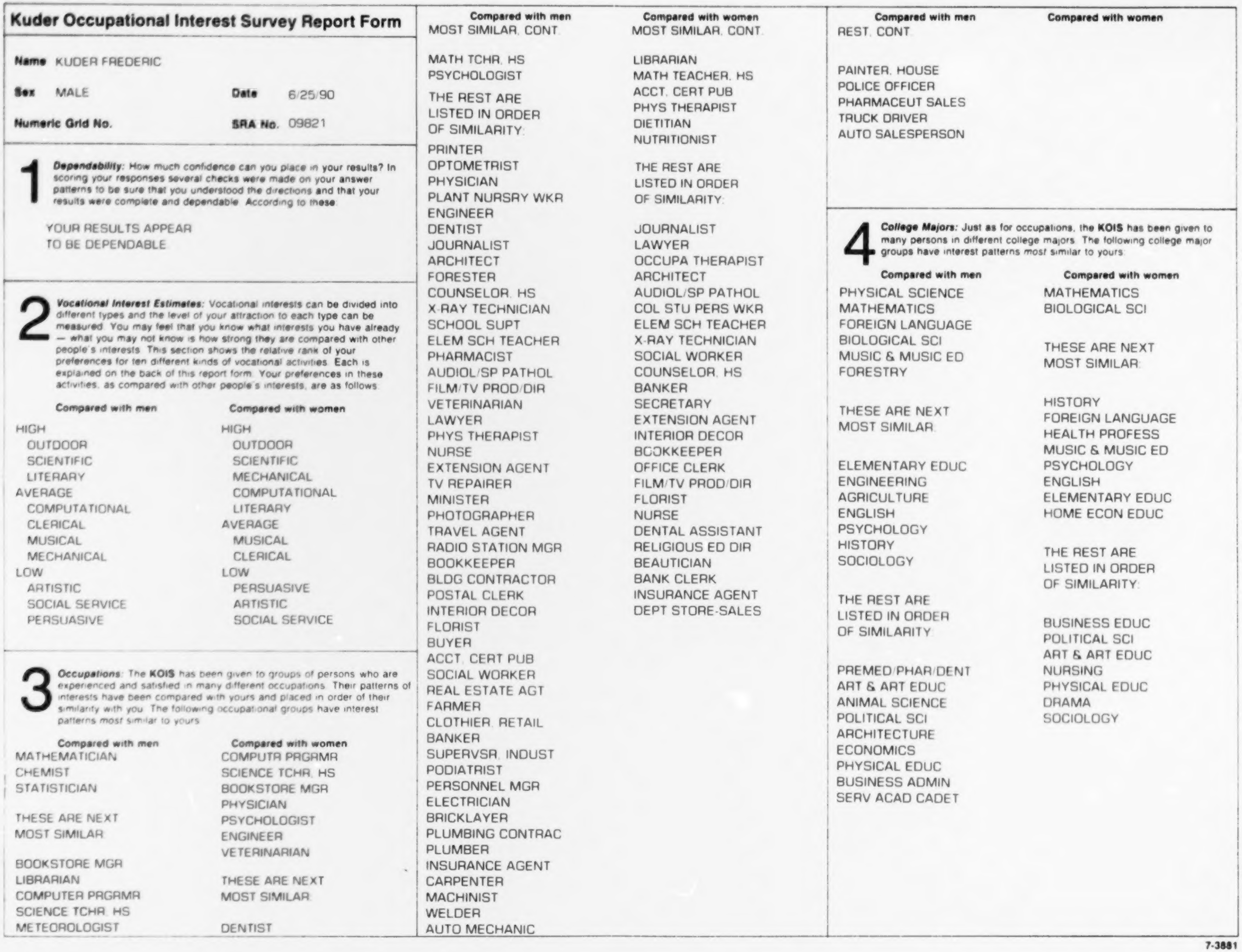
"Many of the fortunate things that have happened to me can be classified as serendipities."

Early Influences

K.H.: *Were there other serendipities?*

F.K.: Another happy coincidence that greatly affected my life occurred some years before, in 1923, at the large dining room at the University of Arizona. I sat, quite by chance, next to Jack Cattell. We were both a little late, and there were only two seats in the area where we were looking. They happened to be next to each other. We almost had to sit together. It would be hard to imagine two people who had less in common. There was no possibility we would have gotten together any other way.

Jack was a special student from the East with a unique background that included an overwhelming interest in entomology.



Kuder Occupational Interest Survey Report Form

Name KUDER FREDERIC
Sex MALE **Date** 6/25/90
Numeric Grid No. **SRA No.** 09821

1 ***Dependability:*** How much confidence can you place in your results? In scoring your responses several checks were made on your answer patterns to be sure that you understood the directions and that your results were complete and dependable. According to these:

YOUR RESULTS APPEAR
TO BE DEPENDABLE

2 ***Vocational Interest Estimates:*** Vocational interests can be divided into different types and the level of your attraction to each type can be measured. You may feel that you know what interests you have already — what you may not know is how strong they are compared with other people's interests. This section shows the relative rank of your preferences for ten different kinds of vocational activities. Each is explained on the back of this report form. Your preferences in these activities, as compared with other people's interests, are as follows:

Compared with men	**Compared with women**
HIGH	HIGH
OUTDOOR	OUTDOOR
SCIENTIFIC	SCIENTIFIC
LITERARY	MECHANICAL
AVERAGE	COMPUTATIONAL
COMPUTATIONAL	LITERARY
CLERICAL	AVERAGE
MUSICAL	MUSICAL
MECHANICAL	CLERICAL
LOW	LOW
ARTISTIC	PERSUASIVE
SOCIAL SERVICE	ARTISTIC
PERSUASIVE	SOCIAL SERVICE

3 ***Occupations:*** The **KOIS** has been given to groups of persons who are experienced and satisfied in many different occupations. Their patterns of interests have been compared with yours and placed in order of their similarity with you. The following occupational groups have interest patterns most similar to yours:

Compared with men

MATHEMATICIAN
CHEMIST
STATISTICIAN

THESE ARE NEXT
MOST SIMILAR:

BOOKSTORE MGR
LIBRARIAN
COMPUTER PRGRMR
SCIENCE TCHR, HS
METEOROLOGIST

Compared with women

COMPUTR PRGRMR
SCIENCE TCHR, HS
BOOKSTORE MGR
PHYSICIAN
PSYCHOLOGIST
ENGINEER
VETERINARIAN

THESE ARE NEXT
MOST SIMILAR:

DENTIST

Compared with men

MOST SIMILAR, CONT.

MATH TCHR, HS
PSYCHOLOGIST

THE REST ARE
LISTED IN ORDER
OF SIMILARITY:

PRINTER
OPTOMETRIST
PHYSICIAN
PLANT NURSRY WKR
ENGINEER
DENTIST
JOURNALIST
ARCHITECT
FORESTER
COUNSELOR, HS
X-RAY TECHNICIAN
SCHOOL SUPT
ELEM SCH TEACHER
PHARMACIST
AUDIOL/SP PATHOL
FILM/TV PROD/DIR
VETERINARIAN
LAWYER
PHYS THERAPIST
NURSE
EXTENSION AGENT
TV REPAIRER
MINISTER
PHOTOGRAPHER
TRAVEL AGENT
RADIO STATION MGR
BOOKKEEPER
BLDG CONTRACTOR
POSTAL CLERK
INTERIOR DECOR
FLORIST
BUYER
ACCT, CERT PUB
SOCIAL WORKER
REAL ESTATE AGT
FARMER
CLOTHIER, RETAIL
BANKER
SUPERVSR, INDUST
PODIATRIST
PERSONNEL MGR
ELECTRICIAN
BRICKLAYER
PLUMBING CONTRAC
PLUMBER
INSURANCE AGENT
CARPENTER
MACHINIST
WELDER
AUTO MECHANIC

Compared with women

MOST SIMILAR, CONT.

LIBRARIAN
MATH TEACHER, HS
ACCT, CERT PUB
PHYS THERAPIST
DIETITIAN
NUTRITIONIST

THE REST ARE
LISTED IN ORDER
OF SIMILARITY:

JOURNALIST
LAWYER
OCCUPA THERAPIST
ARCHITECT
AUDIOL/SP PATHOL
COL STU PERS WKR
ELEM SCH TEACHER
X-RAY TECHNICIAN
SOCIAL WORKER
COUNSELOR, HS
BANKER
SECRETARY
EXTENSION AGENT
INTERIOR DECOR
BOOKKEEPER
OFFICE CLERK
FILM/TV PROD/DIR
FLORIST
NURSE
DENTAL ASSISTANT
RELIGIOUS ED DIR
BEAUTICIAN
BANK CLERK
INSURANCE AGENT
DEPT STORE-SALES

Compared with men

REST, CONT.

PAINTER, HOUSE
POLICE OFFICER
PHARMACEUT SALES
TRUCK DRIVER
AUTO SALESPERSON

Compared with women

4 ***College Majors:*** Just as for occupations, the **KOIS** has been given to many persons in different college majors. The following college major groups have interest patterns *most* similar to yours:

Compared with men

PHYSICAL SCIENCE
MATHEMATICS
FOREIGN LANGUAGE
BIOLOGICAL SCI
MUSIC & MUSIC ED
FORESTRY

THESE ARE NEXT
MOST SIMILAR:

ELEMENTARY EDUC
ENGINEERING
AGRICULTURE
ENGLISH
PSYCHOLOGY
HISTORY
SOCIOLOGY

THE REST ARE
LISTED IN ORDER
OF SIMILARITY:

PREMED/PHAR/DENT
ART & ART EDUC
ANIMAL SCIENCE
POLITICAL SCI
ARCHITECTURE
ECONOMICS
PHYSICAL EDUC
BUSINESS ADMIN
SERV ACAD CADET

Compared with women

MATHEMATICS
BIOLOGICAL SCI

THESE ARE NEXT
MOST SIMILAR:

HISTORY
FOREIGN LANGUAGE
HEALTH PROFESS
MUSIC & MUSIC ED
PSYCHOLOGY
ENGLISH
ELEMENTARY EDUC
HOME ECON EDUC

THE REST ARE
LISTED IN ORDER
OF SIMILARITY:

BUSINESS EDUC
POLITICAL SCI
ART & ART EDUC
NURSING
PHYSICAL EDUC
DRAMA
SOCIOLOGY

7-3881

I was a transfer student from the College of Wooster in Ohio, with a major in English. But Jack was an enthusiastic and friendly soul with a nice sense of humor, and we hit it off from the start. Then when my dormitory roommate moved out to go into a fraternity later that fall, Jack moved in. His very first act was to hang a picture that reminded me a little of a teddy bear. It was of his father, Dr. J. McKeen Cattell!

I met Dr. Cattell when he delivered the commencement address at the university in 1924, after which he and Jack asked me to accompany them on a trip to Los Angeles via a number of points of interest.

I guess Dr. Cattell decided he liked me, for he offered me a position with his Science Press a year later when I graduated. In the course of time I learned a great deal about Jack's father. I learned to my surprise that he was a pioneer in the field of mental measurement. I was amazed when I heard he had studied with Galton, for I thought of Galton as belonging to the dim and distant past.

***K.H.:** But how was it that you became interested in interests?*

F.K.: I became mildly interested when I learned about the work that Strong was doing at Stanford. When I was back at the University of Arizona visiting friends in 1927, Bob Pettengill, a good friend of mine, showed me a questionnaire that he had just recently received that was supposed to help people select occupations. It bore the title, Strong Vocational Interest Blank. It turned out that it had been developed by Professor Strong at Stanford University on the basis of a thesis by one of his students, a fellow by the name of Cowdery. There were a lot of interesting questions in that inventory, although many of them seemed inappropriate for students who might know little about occupations.

Strong had been in the department at the Carnegie Institute of Technology that was doing quite a lot of work with testing. Walter Bingham was the head of that department, and there were a number of other people who became very prominent in the testing field later. It included several people who had worked together during the war and had developed the Army Alpha, and had also developed a number of experimental tests. Among those tests were some tests of interests, most of which seemed sort of silly to me, because they consisted of simply titles of occupations, with a little rating scale after each title: "Would you like this a lot, a little, are you neutral, not at all, and dislike a lot." Those seemed to me quite inadequate for the purposes of guidance or selection. If a person knows enough about occupations to answer such questions intelligently, he doesn't need any help in selecting an occupation. If the person doesn't know enough about them to answer such questions intelligently, the questions used should be restricted to activities he or she knows something about, it seemed to me. So I didn't see much sense in those questions, but that's what they were using in the early days. So it was while I was with P&G that I began to think I might be able to produce something better.

> *"If a person knows enough about occupations to answer such questions intelligently, he doesn't need any help in selecting an occupation."*

***D.Z.:** You've always been in both industrial psychology and counseling, selection and vocational guidance. Do you see that as unusual?*

F.K.: No, I see it as only accidental. You see, I had worked for Cattell. His interests were in psychological measurement in general. He was a real pioneer in mental measurement; in fact, he invented that term. So I became interested in the measurement of human characteristics in general at that point.

***K.H.:** So how did you get connected to the guidance field?*

F.K.: Oh! Well, after I had been working for Science Press, I was at somewhat loose ends as to what I should do, and the University of Michigan was one of the few universities in the nation that had a program in vocational guidance. So that's why I went up there. It was close by, too. My parents were living in Napoleon, Ohio, which is in northwestern Ohio. It wasn't much of a jump to get up there.

I studied with Professor George E. Myers, who was president of the National Vocational Guidance Association, and continued being interested in testing applied to guidance, and also for selection purposes, as far as that was concerned. Myers was preparing a book, called *Planning Your Future*, in collaboration with a couple of his students. He asked me to write up a couple of occupations, and he used my material in his book. So I got somewhat involved in the guidance field.

***D.Z.:** And after you received your degree. . . .*

F.K.: When it came to the practical matter of what I was going to do, strangely enough when I left Ann Arbor, I got a job with Procter and Gamble. That was more or less accidental. We had a good placement bureau at the University of Michigan, and I interviewed a few industrial people. One was a fellow at Burroughs over in Detroit, who offered me a nice job. Another was Procter and Gamble. They offered me a job that was not as good in terms of money as the Burroughs one, but I thought I'd learn a lot more. Procter and Gamble was very prominent in the personnel field at that time. I wasn't insisting on a guidance job; I was interested in a job! I went to P&G in the summer of 1929.

***D.Z.:** Who were some of the people you met there that helped to influence you?*

F.K.: Robert Lovett was the head of the Personnel Research Department. He had been one of the group at Carnegie Institute of Technology, along with Bingham and Thurstone, and Strong. And a fellow by the name of Moore, who later wrote some articles about interest measurement. I think Freyd was there, too.

My immediate supervisor at P&G was Jack Elliott, a personable young man, who was one of Bob Lovett's protégés. Anyway, I learned quite a bit at Procter and Gamble, and I participated in developing a number of tests, but the main one was for general salesmen for the soap division. Then in 1932, we went up to Columbus to study.

L.K.: So right after we were married, we went to Ohio State.

F.K.: That was largely at the suggestion of Marion Richardson, who had a very high regard for Toops. He (Richardson) was also at the time working on his own PhD under Thurstone.

Developing the First Kuder Preference Record

***D.Z.:** Then when did you begin to work on the idea of a preference record?*

F.K.: While we were at Ohio State, I began to get active in the field of interests. I tried out some experimental forms in 1932 and 1933.

***K.H.:** Linn, did Fritz talk about his ideas with you?*

L.K.: Oh, of course, yes.

***K.H.:** So you saw the beginning?*

L.K.: [*to Fritz*] I didn't recognize it when you were at P&G.

F.K.: No, you weren't around when I saw Bob Pettengill's copy of the Strong Blank.

L.K.: But when you got your PhD, that's what really gave you the impetus to do it.

K.H.: *Do you remember the early work? Did he try out some experimental forms on you?*

L.K.: Oh yes, and we sat and worried with items. Was something comparable with something else, and how could they be put together? And we'd get started and try them out on friends. That was very early on.

D.Z.: *And Linn helped with collecting norms?*

F.K.: Yes, that was later when I was with the Social Security Administration.

L.K.: We had many telephone directories from which we chose names at random.

F.K.: That came later. In my first experimental form, which I developed in something like 1935, she helped out by punching items on Hollerith cards, as they were then called, on a hand punch! Punching those holes was a difficult manual operation.

L.K.: And all the answers were coded.

F.K.: There were 5 choices in items I tried out at first. There were 10 comparisons involved if you counted all the possible combinations.

K.H.: *It wasn't Most-Least then?*

F.K.: No, but I was getting ready for the Most-Least thing. At that time, you had to put the five items in order, to number them in order. And Linn's job was to translate those choices into paired comparisons. The first with the remaining four, the second with the remaining three. It's 10 comparisons. So we broke those rank orders down into paired comparisons and she punched them on Hollerith cards.

L.K.: So it was developed by grit and good fortune.

K.H.: *Were you able to see where it would possibly go at that time?*

F.K.: I didn't know where it would go. I knew that something like 50,000 Strong Blanks a year were being used. I thought if ever I achieved a portion of that I'd be very fortunate. That was when I was at the University of Chicago. I was trying out a form pretty seriously in 1938.

> *"In my first experimental form, which I developed in something like 1935, she helped out by punching items on Hollerith cards as they were then called, on a hand punch!"*

L.K.: I remember a specific instance that made me understand what you were doing. Because I decided to take the Preference Record, and one item said something about "or use a lathe" and I was busy answering these things, and I said to Fritz, "Well, what in the world is a lathe?" And he said, "That's what's wrong with Strong's. You have to answer things you don't know about." And you said, "You don't know what a lathe is, so how can you answer that question?"

K.H.: *So then the questions had to be activities that most persons were familiar with?*

L.K.: That's right.

F.K.: If a blank was to be useful for people who don't know a lot about occupations, it had to be couched in terms of common activities.

L.K.: Oh, we looked up words that were understood by people in certain grades in school.

F.K.: Yes, we used the Thorndike-Lorge list of 10,000 most common words.

D.Z.: *[to Linn] So you looked up words. Did you write items too?*

> *"If a blank was to be useful for people who don't know a lot about occupations, it had to be couched in terms of common activities."*

L.K.: Sure. We worked on them together in the evening sometimes. And we discussed them.

D.Z.: *Can you remember any items you wrote?*

L.K.: No. So many were thrown into the bin.

F.K.: Our main question was, "Are these comparable?" "Are these activities really comparable?"

Then there was the item they made me take out at SRA. Let's see, "Be lazy, Be stupid . . . Be mean." That's a classic one, because it was a good item for purposes of identifying the liars. And there was another one that may or may not have been a mistake to take out. I had one in there that was, "Be mentally unstable," or something like that. I found that in terms of meaning to the users and reliability, it was much better to use "Be crazy." But the publisher objected to that. That was another casualty.

L.K.: But we worked on separate words to be sure they were . . . proper.

F.K.: Linn spent quite a few days, quite a few weeks punching cards one hot summer in Tontogany, Ohio.

L.K.: That's right.

F.K.: My brother spent quite a little time punching cards for me, come to think of it.

D.Z.: *We don't have anything about your time at Duke. Is there anything you'd like to add?*

L.K.: That was a period of growth for you.

F.K.: Yes, *[pause]* yes, that's true. I taught statistics; I taught mental measurements. Those are the main things. I had psychology students, and some of the people in education came over. . . . I learned a lot about how departments of psychology are—and are not—run. I was offered the chairmanship of the department, but . . . I didn't want to get involved in that!

D.Z.: *People thought that you could be an administrator!*

F.K.: Well, I thought they weren't very impressed with the alternatives *[laughter]* and it wasn't what I wanted to be.

L.K.: Which was fine with me, because administrators didn't get sabbatical years, did they?

F.K.: We did a good deal of traveling during those years. I took some years off and I had some sabbatical years. So starting around 1954, we traveled to South America, Switzerland, around Europe. And occasionally I found somebody who had encountered the Kuder Preference Record, which was what it was then called.

K.H.: *Kuder and Strong are the two names that are most closely identified with interest measurement. Did you ever meet Strong?*

F.K.: Only once. When I was on the Board of Examiners at the University of Chicago, Thurstone had a luncheon for Strong and the four examiners at the university. One of the things that Strong mentioned at the time was how important the general reference group was to him in terms of the intercorrelations of his scales. They varied outrageously depending on whether his reference groups consisted of professionals only, or was made representative of the general population.

Strong was an interesting man—outgoing and friendly, and totally dedicated to the task of helping young people find the lines of work for which they were suited. I can't resist saluting him for the firm foundation of scholarly research he provided in his career. He was an ingenious man and a persistent one. He did not pretend to answer all of the questions he raised, but he was

> *"Strong was an interesting man—outgoing and friendly, and totally dedicated to the task of helping young people find the lines of work for which they were suited."*

always working on them. Even today it is hard to find a subject in the interest area that does not have some background in Strong's work.

I suppose that visit with Strong is what spurred me to search for a way to eliminate the complications that arise from the use of a general reference group. While I was at Duke, the idea occurred to me, finally, that it was possible to deal with the problem of differentiating between occupations without using a general reference group. That search took 20 years, but I guess that the answer was the best idea I got while I was at Duke.

***D.Z.:** That was the Occupational Interest Survey! Form DD.*

F.K.: Yes, which was scored by occupations, and which used this new system of differentiating among occupational groups. I have never understood why the Strong people have never chosen to use that system because it is a *better* system. They'd get better differentiation among their occupations if they did do that. I know!

The KR-20 and 21 Formulas

***D.Z.:** And it was at Duke that you developed your famous formulas with Richardson for estimating reliability, wasn't it?*

F.K.: No, it was while I was at the University of Chicago, Richardson and I and Dael Wolfle, and Harold Gullicksen all were there at the same time.

I had noticed that when tests were of equal length, there seemed to be a rather pronounced relation between the standard deviations of the tests and their reliabilities as estimated by the Spearman-Brown formulas. That observation made sense in the light of the derivations I had been through in my statistics classes for estimating the standard deviation of a test formed by adding together the scores of two or more shorter tests. And, of course, reliability was obviously a function of the intercorrelations of the lesser tests. It was a simple matter to extend the reasoning to test items. All this seems very elementary to us now, but remember, people at that time had barely begun to think of the possibility of dealing with the intercorrelations of items, and even if they had the idea, the thought of getting all the intercorrelations of the items of a test was simply preposterous.

At any rate, I finally hit on a formulation that seemed to give me a handle on the problem, and I derived a series of formulas to fit various circumstances and assumptions. When I mentioned what I had been doing to Marion Richardson, he exclaimed, "What a coincidence!" He pulled out a sheet of paper from a drawer and showed me a derivation of a formula that turned out to be identical to one of mine. I could hardly believe my eyes. It was actually the one that has come to be most commonly used that assumes equal intercorrelations and equal item difficulties. Well, it wasn't long before we published it in *Psychometrika*, and we included the various other special cases in the article. It was an idea whose time had come, for there were other articles published quite soon that arrived at the same formula by different paths.

> *"I don't know to what extent the scoring of interest inventories can be stretched. I think, eventually, we're going to have to allow, even more than we do now, for the existence of individual differences."*

Significant Events in the Life of Frederic Kuder

1903	*Born June 23*
1921–23	*College of Wooster*
1925	*BA, University of Arizona, Major in English*
1926–27	*Employed by Cattell's Science Press*
1929	*MA, University of Michigan*
1929–32	*Employed by Procter & Gamble, Personnel Research Department*
1931	*Married, Dorothy Linn DeBeck*
1937	*PhD, Ohio State University*
1936–40	*Employed, University of Chicago, Board of Examiners*
1937	*Kuder-Richardson formulas published*
1940	*First publication of the Preference Record, Old Form A; Taught spring and summer terms at the University of Minnesota; Employed, Social Security Administration; Founded* Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Editor 1940–1969*
1942	*Employed, Civil Service Commission*
1943	*Employed, War Department; Preference Record, Form B published*
1946	*Preference Record, Form C published*
1948	*Participated in founding* Personnel Psychology*, Editor intermittently for several years*
1948–64	*Professor of Psychology, Duke University*
1950	*2nd President, Division 17, APA*
1956	*Publication of Occupational Interest Survey, Form D*
1966	*Publication of Form DD*
1968	*Awarded E. K. Strong Gold Medal*
1977	*Publication of* Activity Interests and Vocational Choice
1985	*Leona Tyler Award, Division 17, APA*
1986	*ETS Citation for Distinguished Contribution to Educational Measurement*
1988–	*Publisher,* Educational and Psychological Measurement

***K.H.:** Richardson must have had a great impact on your life. Would you tell us more about him?*

F.K.: He (Richardson) had a way of stimulating others to become interested in problems, which he often introduced in an offhand way into his conversations. I have been told by a number of his students that they considered his course in tests and measurements a high point in their graduate work. A number of them have gone on to make substantial contributions in the measurement field.

***D.Z.:** Now, one of the lasting contributions you made to measurement was self-scoring.*

L.K.: And staggered pages so that nothing went through the wrong circle. Now that took a lot of thought and a lot of work!

D.Z.: *Where did that happen?*

F.K.: That happened at Ohio State University, where the Ohio State Psychological Exam was used as one of the entrance devices. And I worked on that with Toops a little bit. One feature of that was that there was in the back of the booklet an answer pad that was gradually pulled out, and the answers were recorded on that answer pad with a stylus that went through the answer pad. The only original thing that I contributed was to score several scales at a time, and to use the pages that were staggered.

L.K.: So that they could be bound together. You figured out—you worked for hours and hours to put those lines drawn from number to number, to be sure that no two answers would be punched in the same place.

F.K.: That system was new to me, or new with us.

D.Z.: *So now a final question, a projection. How do you see the future in interest measurement?*

F.K.: [*after a long pause*] I don't know to what extent the scoring of interest inventories can be stretched. I think, eventually, we're going to have to allow, even more than we do now, for the existence of individual differences. I summarized these ideas on the homogeneity of occupations in my 1980 *Educational and Psychological Measurement* article, where instead of matching a person to a job, I proposed the possibility of matching a person to a person-in-a-job or a career. That's a problem that a couple of colleagues and I are turning our attention to now.

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THE KUDER INVENTORIES

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Kuder Preference Record, Vocational—Form B
Kuder Preference Record, Vocational—Form C
Kuder Preference Record, Occupational—Form D
Kuder Occupational Interest Survey—Form DD
Kuder General Interest Survey—Form E

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Year of Article: 1980

Have Hexagon Will Travel: An Interview With John Holland

STEPHEN G. WEINRACH

Although I had been familiar with John Holland's theory since the early 1960s it wasn't until the spring of 1973 that I gave it serious consideration. It was then that I first saw a copy of the newly published Self-Directed Search (SDS). Until that time I had viewed his approach as rather static, mechanistic and inconsistent with my humanistic values. Then, in March of 1973 I met John for the first time at a reception at APGA's Atlanta regional convention. It was a small group in a large, stuffy meeting room, and John was unquestionably the center of attention. His ability to weave a yarn, entertain, and poke fun kept our attention focused on him. At the same time, John was angry and upset that his SDS was being attacked by various feminist groups. He seemed harassed. Frankly, I was surprised that this internationally known theorist would be so deeply troubled over being criticized. I thought that by the time people had met fame and fortune, they would be less affected by criticism.

In preparation for the interview, John and others supplied me with the names of people who were familiar with him and his work over the years. The following responded to my inquiry: Craig W. Ewart, Gary Gottfredson, Thomas Magoon, Donald Super, Charles Warnath, and Edwin Whitfield. James Cleary, David Brecht, and Henry Nichols, all from Villanova University, provided financial support for this project.

I expected Holland to be somewhat remote during the interview. After all, he is a theorist, not a practitioner. People who write theories and conduct a lot of research are often more concerned with correlations and reliability coefficients than with the pragmatic problems that practitioners experience. I was wrong. John would be one of the first people I would go to for help if I had a career-related problem. At one point, John commented that within the context of his theory, he could explain our getting along so well because we both share high artistic values. In fact, John is a "Big A," according to his typology. He's an artist in temperament and interest both.

In John's office, in addition to the usual clutter one accumulates on campus, are several graphics and a photograph taken in Australia of himself and a kangaroo ostensibly looking at a copy of the SDS. As paperweights, he uses highly colorful rocks given to him by one of his children. His home truly reflects his artistic personality. There are numerous graphics by contemporary artists, a few oils and watercolors, plus multiple furniture-specific examples of John's own woodcraft. The lines of the tables and benches reflect the same cleanness of line as his theory. And then there is his Yamaha concert grand. Holland practices before and after he goes to his office. Occasionally, he goes home early to practice when things don't go well at work. His tastes, as one would expect, run to the classical. During the portion of the interview that was conducted in his home, John's 18-year-old cat perched on his lap, while his dog sat at my feet.

The contradictory effects of having been ignored by what he calls the "career development establishment" early in his career and acclaimed by practitioners now is a paradox he has trouble reconciling. He is defensive and hurt on the one hand, and embarrassed, humble, and grateful on the other. The wide acceptance of the Self-Directed Search has, by his own admission, made him a wealthy man. Yet other than the piano, there was little evidence that his life-style had been affected. His new car, which he bragged about driving smoothly at 90 miles an hour, is a Dasher with an AM/FM radio tuned to a classical music station. John dresses simply, like Mr. Chips. His rented single-family home in a Baltimore suburb is tastefully decorated, for the most part in Scandinavian modern style. Simple, with clean lines. The word *simple* applies to both how John lives his life as well as how some describe his theory. Holland, I believe, would prefer being called pragmatic. The interview began while he was finishing his lunch of crackers and sardines, which he was eating directly out of the can. After four and a half exhausting, and at times stressful, hours for us both, he sat down at his piano and gracefully played "Romance" by Sibelius and Alkan's "La Vision." John Holland, more than anything else, is an artist.

There is a dimension to John Holland that transcends the printed word. John is a soft-spoken, humorous fellow who loves to embellish and elaborate his comments with amusing anecdotes or stories. While I was listening to the tapes, my wife Esther commented, "John sounds like Will Rogers; not to be confused with Carl Rogers." She was right.

—SGW

THE EVOLUTION OF A THEORY

***Steve:** For those who were trained in the early 1960s, and read your original theoretical article first published in 1959, how would you say the theory has changed?*

John: It has come closer to having the qualities that a theory ought to have. That is, clear and unambiguous definitions for most of the concepts. The axiomatic statements and the structure of the theory are much clearer. The hypotheses are cleaner, as are the interactions. However, the basic model is much the same. Every theory should have a calculus—a model or mathematical formula for organizing all of the concepts so that they can be tied together and used simultaneously. The difference between a theory and a phone book is that a phone book is just a list. In my scheme, the calculus is the hexagonal model. It defines interactions between the person and environmental concepts. It also defines consistency and congruency. The other difference be-

Ten Significant Events and Experiences

1. *Shaping experiences of parents, teachers, spouse, children, and professional colleagues.*
2. *Developing the typology and classification.*
3. *Developing the* Vocational Preference Inventory *and the* Self-Directed Search.
4. *Starting the research programs at National Merit and ACT.*
5. *Military experience 1942–1946.*
6. *Spending a year (1965–1966) at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.*
7. *Getting a grand piano.*
8. *Getting fired by ACT (1969).*
9. *Discovering the hexagon with Whitney (1968).*
10. *Helson & Mitchell's recognition of my work in their chapter on personality in the* Annual Review of Psychology *(Vol. 29, 1978).*

tween now and then is that now there is a substantial body of evidence that supports the main ideas. I had help in modifying the theory. Bill Alston, a consultant on philosophical matters, indicated that I needed to clarify and clean up the theory so that its hypotheses would be more amenable to testing. He was and remains an important silent partner.

Steve: *What are the origins of the theory? How did you get started and what were the benchmarks?*

John: That's a hard question. The origins of the typology are multiple; the key experiences are stretched over most of my work history; and I have noticed that I give different explanations on different days. My recollections today go like this.

My military experience as an induction interviewer led me to think that people fall into a relatively small number of types. This belief at that time [1942–46] was unpopular and occurred just before I entered graduate school. My counseling experience with college students and with physically disabled and psychiatric patients only reinforced my belief that it is useful to see people as types. My counseling experience also made me anxious to find a way to organize occupational information so that the counseling assessment (usually the SVIB and a collection of tests) could be related more explicitly to occupations. Most of all I was frustrated by the multiple and massive occupational classification systems that I could not easily remember or use well. These experiences have guided my thinking for a long time.

Another major influence was my dislike for scoring tests or having to mail tests for scoring and wait for the results. This experience led to the development of the Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI). It started somewhat as a lark. The first set of scales was scored all "yes." And I made up the key without relying on data; item analyses, revisions, and refinement came later. Much to my surprise, it seemed to agree with the SVIB and Kuder. I learned a lot from the development of the VPI, and it became the vehicle for the first version of the theory. The rationale for the first six scales of the VPI form a primitive account of the typology. At the time I didn't know this. The use of the VPI [1953–58] provided a method for organizing my thinking about vocational counseling. Something I forgot. The formulations for the VPI scales were obtained in large part by reviewing the 30 plus handscoring keys for the Occupational scales of the old SVIB and writing up brief interpretations that I had learned how to do by reading an obscure article by Forer [1948]. These experiences increased my confidence, and I decided to write a theory of vocational choice. I made one attempt to write one in self-concept terms and gave it up when I made no real progress. Then I saw that if I elaborated the rationale for the VPI, I would have a typology. The environmental notions come from reading Murray [1938] and Linton [1945] as a part of my graduate course work. Later, Sandy Astin and I developed the Environmental Assessment Technique [1961] so that I could assess both the person (VPI) and the environment (EAT). The hexagonal model came about as Doug Whitney and I were searching for a way to order the typology by recording the correlations between the different scales of the VPI. If Anne Roe had not preceded me, we would have called it a circle. I remember telling Doug Whitney that Roe had a circle, so we called the resulting configuration a hexagon. Actually it's a misshapen polygon. But I did see that it might be a way to organize the relations among all the constructs in the theory and to define degrees of consistency and congruency.

Steve: *Let's talk about the theory a bit more. Your work is centered around vocational choice theory, which may be a part of a greater whole that we call counseling. With which theory of counseling do you identify?*

John: I'm much closer to a behavioral counselor. My orientation is similar to the attitude that agricultural experts have about trees and plants. Don't try to tell them how to be a tree; give them the fertilizer and the water. That's what your job is; provide the environment that will stimulate learning, self-understanding, and decision making; get them the information; tell them all you know; support them to explore and express confidence in any direction that they take. I continue to be impressed with the ingenuity and skill that people display in handling their careers, if they are given information and encouragement and a structure for organizing their thinking about themselves and occupations.

Steve: *To what extent do you consider your theory behavioral? After all, you rely heavily on environmental press.*

John: Well, I think it's behavioral, but I don't know how much so. It also has a little of Adler, Lewin, learning theory, and everything else. For example, I deal with self-concept, but I don't make much of it as Super and others do. They use self-concept really to mean personality. I use the world *personality*, and self-concept is a subpart. I regard the whole question about whether it's behavioral or not, or whether it involves learning theory, as relatively unimportant. I'm more concerned with how well my theory handles the problems it claims to deal with and revising it so it is a better model.

Steve: *To what extent do you consider your theory a metatheory? Or as having the capacity to describe or account for far more than vocational behavior or possibly more than personality?*

John: I don't know whether I would use the word metatheory. I would say that the original scope of the theory was limited to vocational choice. I now prefer the work career, because career connotes a person's work history or history of choices. I'm concerned with dealing with vocational life, from birth to death, but it is clear to me now that the typology is useful for understanding many human interactions. For example, a few people are using it in marriage counseling, and it is beginning to creep into sociology.

Steve: *How does your theory deal with vocational maturity?*

John: First of all, I don't have to deal with the question of vocational maturity. Someone else created that problem. It's really a matter of what questions do clients have that are important that my typology can help them with. I have said that I equate vocational maturity with having a consistent and well-differentiated SDS or VPI profile, although that needs more testing. In the future, a sense of vocational identity may become a more useful concept.

***Steve:** What do you see as some of the weaknesses of your theory?*

John: The biggest weaknesses in my opinion are in the formulations about stability and change. We all know that people change somewhat. Some people change a lot; most people don't change much. There are some formulations about change, but no one has ever done any research on them. The predictive research focuses on stability. Another weakness is the lack of the research about development. There are some general formulations, but they have attracted little research. Gary Gottfredson and I have indicated in *The Counseling Psychologist* [1976] how a structured view can cope with careers and developmental problems.

The hypotheses about congruency, or the interaction of persons and environments, have been tested only a few times, and they don't work very well. No one has been able to do very well with things like job satisfaction, which is a person-job interaction. I think that people get smarter and smarter about where they belong, so when you come along to do your research, the bottom end of the distribution has dropped off. Most people are happy, contrary to popular sociology. The national surveys continue to indicate that most people are satisfied with their jobs.

THE SDS: DEVELOPMENT AND CONTROVERSY

***Steve:** Describe the Self-Directed Search (SDS). Bear in mind that some of our readers may not be familiar with it.*

John: The SDS is a practical, self-help device—a pair of booklets that helps a person summarize who he/she seems to be and explore some occupational alternatives. It's just a beginning for many people, and for other people it's enough. They want a little reassurance and it provides a structure for giving just that.

***Steve:** How did you go about creating the SDS?*

John: I am tempted to say that I looked in a psychometric text and did just the opposite. Like the typology, the SDS evolved over a long period, and the development of the SDS was interwoven with the development of the typology and the VPI. The VPI came first and demonstrated that short scales—scored all "yes"—would work; and that such an inventory was easy to score by hand if the scales were of equal length and arranged in cyclical order. It took from 1953 to 1958 to go from scales of unequal length and randomized items to these simple solutions.

The comprehensive booklets for doing survey research that we developed at National Merit [1957–63] began to look like elaborate value, personality, competency, and interest inventories. At one point, I constructed the Personal Survey [Holland, 1966] out of old item analyses to assess a person's resemblance to each of the types. It was very unwieldy to score. I tried it out on a few friends and decided that it wasn't any better than the VPI. Later I developed the ACT College Guidance Profile [1967]. It contained activity and competency items, the whole VPI, self-ratings, and an educational and occupational plans section. It used norms and had to be scored by machine. It was an asymmetrical inventory; the different sections and individual scales were not comparable. It proved to be an artistic and financial failure. Perhaps it had too many goals, but it did help me conceptualize the SDS. At the time I could not imagine how you could get a simpler device out of such divergent asymmetrical ideas and materials, and I never believed self-scoring would be possible. I also thought that a self-scored inventory would not be useful, unless you could create a comprehensive occupational file of possibilities.

Shortly after I arrived at Johns Hopkins University, E. J. McCormick at Purdue offered readers of his technical reports his data on more than 800 occupations. I jumped at the opportunity, thinking maybe I could relate his data to my classification. At the same time I had been trying to get grants to extend the classification for research purposes; NSF, OE, and Carnegie had turned me down. A little later, Dave Campbell spontaneously donated the SVIB archives data. He had been working on the new SCII. These events stimulated me, because I saw that I could now develop a comprehensive classification. I began thinking about a simple assessment booklet in which each part contained six scales of the same length, always in the same hexagonal order, and a booklet that could be self-scored.

I spent the winter of 1970 looking at old item analyses; old monographs in which life goals, self-ratings, activities, personality scales had been organized around the VPI; selected SVIB scales; field of study; and wondering which items to use. I finally put the first form together and asked Joan, my daughter, to take it. Joan could follow the directions, but I had forgotten to work out the self-scoring procedure. Nor did I have any good ideas of how to do it.

As it turned out, the scoring was the final and most difficult task. With the aid of neighborhood kids, my family, and Tom Magoon and his University of Maryland students, we tried multiple techniques to develop a simple scoring procedure. We obtained a useful method in 1970, but some remaining difficulties were not effectively dealt with until the revision of the scoring procedure in 1977.

***Steve:** How many copies of the SDS have been sold?*

John: Several million.

***Steve:** I would imagine that has made you very wealthy.*

John: It has resulted in a nice feeling, though it may have also made me more cantankerous.

***Steve:** The Strong Campbell Interest Inventory (SCII) now provides clients with feedback on the Holland Scales, and other publishers have used your hexagonal model for multiple purposes. How do you feel about these uses of your model?*

John: I think it's great. It's another test according to Abe Kaplan, philosopher, of the usefulness of a theory. If a theory is valuable, people use it. If they are not using it, it's not valuable.

***Steve:** In the past there has been a certain amount of controversy over the SDS. I remember that in 1973 at the APGA Regional Convention where we first met, you expressed a lot of concern, almost hurt, that you were being harassed by some groups for having developed an allegedly sex-biased instrument.*

John: Yes, I was. I thought the Self-Directed Search was a useful inventory for both women and men. I went to work dealing empirically with all the criticisms, one by one, because initially I, too, thought there might be something to what critics said. Maybe if we changed the words, women would get different scores; men would get different scores. I was very concerned about revising the instrument in response to evidence rather than to threat. At any rate, after more than twenty experiments, there is no evidence the SDS or any other inventory negatively affects women.

I have turned my attention now to understanding how vocational interventions of all kinds work and to the development of materials that will increase insight or increase a person's options, if that is what she/he wants. For example, in the VEIK, the Vocational Exploration and Insight Kit, I developed a little module to increase a person's awareness of sex, social class, and racial biases. Incidentally, I prefer the concept of giving treatments to people that are consistent with their goals and values rather than terms like *sex-bias* or *sex fair*. Everyone does not want more options, or nontraditional options. Some do; some don't. It is important to let people know what to expect of a treatment before, not after, they try it.

Something else is important to say here. The giving of information and the influencing of a person's goals raises an often ignored ethical problem. When does information giving, awareness stimulation, and questioning become so strong that they become a questionable shaping of another person's goals?

Steve: *You've been upset by AMEG's Commission on Sex Bias in Measurement.*

John: A better word would be "aggravated." My criticisms of the AMEG Commission are multiple. First, they began by making recommendations based on opinions about plausible but untested ideas about the effects of inventory directions, items, formats, norms, et cetera. Then as the research dribbled in, these beliefs were often found to have little substance. Second, the commission stimulated other groups, like the National Institute of Education and the Office of Civil Rights to use some of the same erroneous ideas. They suggested that you can tell a biased test by looking at it. You cannot. Third, the commission reports its clinical and questionnaire summaries in its own journal, but the commission does not summarize the experimental evidence from more than 20 studies. Those studies indicate that there is no experimental evidence that different inventories have different effects on males or females. Finally, the commission, along with NIE, has succeeded in polarizing the participants in this controversy and in misinforming many unsophisticated personnel workers, teachers, and Office of Civil Rights people. In short, they have had a heavy hand in creating a big social psychometric mess. The situation is not improving via their good offices; it is fading away now as an issue because most people are weary of the participants on *both* sides, and because professional spectators lack the energy to follow the complexity of the evidence and argument. And finally, I felt that some of my critics were playing dirty pool because they didn't have any evidence then, and don't have any evidence now that we can agree on.

I would like to say much more, but I don't want to stimulate any more destructive activity. I have time again to engage in constructive work, and I want to keep it that way. It is hard to resist giving you a frank appraisal of the individuals and organizations involved in this social-political brouhaha. I don't question their sincerity, but I do question their objectivity. Suppose Dave Campbell, author of the SCII, and I formed a commission and made recommendations. Makes you smile, doesn't it?

Steve: *How has the SDS changed in format to accommodate criticisms about sex bias?*

John: There are no longer items with sexist endings. But I might add that we were cautious. First, we did the research showing it didn't make any difference. The revision didn't destroy the psychometric virtues of the inventory. The SDS was the first inventory to carry a warning about the potential effect of sex, social class, and race. We did that right away, then we tried to find better items that would produce smaller sex differences and have equal validity. We found a couple of items on the R scale that raise women's scores a little. But the items that many were recommending turned out to be bad items. "I can read blueprints or clothing patterns" is an example. We added "I can operate power tools such as sander," and that was an improvement. We changed 16 items in the occupational section to reduce the sex differences on the R scale and on several other scales. In all, there are more than 139 changes in the new SDS [1977 edition] and most of them are subtle. A lot of them have nothing to do with sex. But we did what we could, without wrecking the inventory.

INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Steve: *It's one thing to understand your theory and something else to apply it. How do you help those individuals whose expressed interests and SDS or VPI scores are inconsistent?*

John: It comes automatically. I don't treat the SDS the way people used to treat the Strong or Kuder. I don't try to defend the validity of the inventory. When people come to see me, I don't listen to them very long. They come to me saying they want some help and they've heard about the SDS. I don't care why they want to take it. But I do listen to see if they're in big trouble or really upset. If they're really upset, and that happens once in a blue moon, I stop and talk to them for about an hour. If the summary code is inconsistent with their goal, I tell them what it means in a general kind of way. I also say that the SDS doesn't work for everybody. Depending on what the code is, I say, "What have you been thinking about? How does this fit?" and "This doesn't support that interest very much." They're going to have to think through some of these alternatives. I can't give you a general format, but I pick up on any lead they might give me, such as what they have been thinking about and any relation between that, the SDS, and their life history.

Steve: *What problems do you see for counselors in counseling young people for vocational decisions in a constantly changing world?*

John: I don't think the problems are any different in quality than they ever were. The difference is that now though, there are going to be more fluctuations in the job market, more avocational and vocational opportunities in a growing population, increasing job shifts per unit of time. People are going to need to have a clearer sense of vocational identity and more interpersonal competency so they can cope with new situations and new people.

Steve: *How do you deal with undecided students?*

John: I don't accept as fact that they're undecided just because they tell me so. First, I find out if they have some tentative choices. What I keep discovering is that most of the people who say they're undecided have some tentative choices. They typically want reassurance that their tentative choices make sense. They are made to feel uncomfortable because they are told to see a counselor and get checked out, like a physical exam. I encourage them to explore their tentative goals and to seek out any related ones. I lean on them to explore any possible option. There is no standard sort of treatment that I provide. I proceed like I'd proceed with anyone. I listen carefully to get a clear picture of the person and how they feel about the problem. I usually ask, "What do you want to do about your indecision?" Depending on their response, I would offer my cafeteria of treatments consisting of the SDS, the VEIK [an elaborate 3-hour self-help package], my career seminar, or talking to me at regular intervals. I also ask them how much time do they want to devote to their vocational decision making. Most of my clients want a brief treatment. Those who are really upset go for the longer treatments. I am also beginning to use an experimental diagnostic form to get some estimate of the extent of a person's difficulty. It helps me separate people who need reassurance and information from those with more intractable difficulties. Much to my surprise, they often tell the diagnostic form much more than they tell me. The form may be more sensitive to people than I am.

Steve: *Research, yours and others, repeatedly indicates that expressed vocational choice or plans seem to be the best predictors of future occupation. Therefore, in what kind of client and what kind of counseling situations does gathering vocational interest inventory material make any sense?*

John: Interest inventories can be helpful to people with a wide range of questions and difficulties. Inventories can be reassuring to people who have doubts about their current goal or career, even if their predictive validity is modest. Inventories can provide a way to explore overlooked alternatives by showing people how their current goal has many related occupations. In so doing, interest inventories provide a tool for helping people get control of their lives through greater insight. Counselors can use inventories as a diagnostic device and as a teaching device. For example, I have discovered that clients in and out of workshops find it helpful to trace the origins of their likes, competencies, and self-estimates. I almost forgot something else. Both Tom Magoon and Judy Touchton, and Gary Gottfredson and I have shown that when used together—aspirations *and* inventories—you occasionally can secure very efficient predictions: hit rates of 70% to 85%, or what I call in the Salk Vaccine Range.

Steve: *How about giving me some idea of the practical implications of your theory besides those already discussed?*

John: Because I see the implications of the typology almost everywhere, you may find it more believable and helpful if I list some of the divergent areas in which the typology has been applied. For example, Hearn and Moos [1978] have studied classroom climates and found that the typology predicted the climates in some fields of study. Barclay [1967] did a similar experiment much earlier. Smart [1976] studied the duties of department chairpersons in a similar fashion. Cleveland [1979] has found that field dependence (a perceptual variable) was predictable from a person's type. Wiggins and Weslander [1979] found that the degree of congruence between couples was related to marital problems. Grotevant, Scarr, and Weinberg [1978] used the typology to demonstrate that vocational interests have an inherited component. They used a large sample of families with both adopted and biological children. In career studies, Vaitenas and Wiener [1977] and Wiener and Vaitenas [1977] found that the typology was useful for explaining mid-career change. Salomone and Slaney [1978] found the classification works for nonprofessional workers. Gary Gottfredson [1977] and Linda Gottfredson [1978], alone and with collaborators, have shown that the census data can be reorganized to show the categorical stability of the average career, to describe age, race, sex differences, and employment patterns; to indicate some of the deficiencies in current occupational information; to suggest some useful job-seeking strategies; and to show the increasing congruency between a person's job and aspiration with increasing age.

A CAREER IN PROGRESS

Steve: *How do you account for the fact that you're not especially popular with some of the older leaders in the field?*

John: Well, I'm 59. These older fellows are 60. Most younger people are critical of older people. I didn't intend to, but a long time ago I offended a few by suggesting that their work was imperfect. Others were annoyed because my ideas represented a threat to the traditional ways of viewing vocational problems and theory. These conflicts are a natural phenomenon. A young researcher usually has new ideas and usually suggests that the work of established people needs revision. I did that. Then when I was ignored, I responded with an occasional zinger in my written and oral work—all of which stimulated a cycle of mutual criticism. You may be making too much of these differences. I have also had considerable encouragement from older leaders, but many were not active researchers or writers. A more accurate assessment of my past and present popularity is not according to age but whether or not a person believes that process—or developmentally-oriented theories—are more valuable than structural theories. There are several legitimate disagreements here.

I believe that process-oriented approaches have some weaknesses. They treat people as if they were all alike—a single type. No matter what, at age X, you should have these problems. If people believe these developmental formulations, it can be very destructive. They will serve to reinforce the gross ageism in our society. If you're young, you should be disorganized. If you're middle-aged, get ready for crises of goals, attainment, sex. And if you're my age, don't read any continued stories. Arrange your personal affairs, help others, stop being so competitive or ambitious, and become a pleasant mentor. I prefer the structural view. At any age, help people analyze who they are and what they want to do. Do the same for the environment and review the possible alternatives. For my money, Frank Parsons's ideas never lost validity. Instead, he was the chief target of numerous developmental sales campaigns, which still permeate the literature. I remain unimpressed by most of the "career development" research. The attempts to document stages, problems, and solutions form a weak collection of work.

Steve: *Now let's talk about how your own career has developed. First, what influenced your decision to become a psychologist?*

John: I majored in psychology and liked it. I got some military experience in classification work and I guess that interested me. I knew I wouldn't get anywhere without a PhD.

Steve: *What impact did your experiences as a student at the University of Minnesota have on you?*

John: High standards of scientific work and a concern with answering questions with data rather than with speculation. There's no doubt that had a big effect on me. I also had a lot of role models who were good at marshalling the evidence: John Darley, Charles Bird, Paul Meehl, Ralph Berdie, and Donald G. Paterson.

Steve: *What were your experiences like at the National Merit Scholarship Corporation?*

John: That was really a fun experience because nobody had ever held the job before. The organization was only a few years old, and they didn't exactly know what they wanted done. I was able to come in and, in many ways, work leisurely. There were great expectations for research. I was able to capitalize on that opportunity. And I hired Sandy Astin, Bob Nichols, and Don Thistlethwaite. We turned it into something that was very useful for us and for the organization. After National Merit, I went to ACT, where I remained for six and a half years.

Steve: *Tell me about your having been fired from the American College Testing Program.*

John: All right. I've even got that interpreted in terms of my own delusional system. Why did I get fired? I was a vice president for research and development for ACT. I got into a conflict with the president. I wanted him to reconsider an administrative decision about the development of an ACT product that my staff and I believed to be destructive. So I told my staff I was going to walk out of his meeting if he would not reconsider. I walked out of his office and my staff walked out with me. For that behavior, ACT fired me. My interpretation of what happened eventually was that I was the wrong type for that environment. The ACT people were more business-minded than I was. I was more interested in developing knowledge about college students and their institutions. I sued ACT because, as a vice president, I couldn't be fired except for not satisfactorily performing my job. Although it took five years, they settled with me. Incidentally, this mess managed to get intertwined with the sex bias controversy.

Steve: *How has having been fired had an impact on your life?*

John: It was a very stressful experience, which I, according to my wife Elsie, and friends, handled very well. I didn't fall apart. I got on the phone that day and called around looking for a job.

Steve: *How long did it take you to get one?*

John: It was about a month. I had three good offers, and I came to Johns Hopkins.

Steve: *Looking over your professional experience thus far, what have been the moments of which you've been most proud?*

John: I'm very proud of the development of the Student Profile Section for the American College Testing Program. That was a new development in 1964. But at the time we got it started it was a new idea and that development affected the lives of a lot of people. The Student Profile Section is a brief form designed to include information for college admission other than test scores. So it's about things such as plans and nonacademic accomplishments, which were developed first at National Merit. More recently, the Educational Testing Service (ETS) developed a similar form for both undergraduate and graduate students. I also consider the development of the Vocational Preference Inventory (VPI) a major accomplishment. It doesn't look impressive, but it works. More important, the VPI led to the typology and the SDS.

Steve: *What are your regrets?*

John: I felt bad about being fired, but I wouldn't have done anything differently now. If I stayed on, I would have been in an impossible situation and would have probably not done the SDS, my last book, or had the opportunity to follow my own interests so intensely. I was lucky to land at Hopkins; it is an ideal place for research. There are very few places anywhere where there is so much freedom from administrative trivia and so much opportunity to pursue one's own interests.

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

Steve: *Which people and events have had the most influence on you over the past 25 years?*

John: An incredible number of people have helped me. I'm very good at finding people whom I can persuade to help me or will help me spontaneously. Chuck Elton gave me the idea for self-scoring. Tom Magoon provided the words self-directed. I had a name for the Self-Directed Search that was long and terrible. In fact, Tom is one of the most influential people in that he's bailed me out again and again. Also I have many other collaborators who have kept me from making mistakes because they possessed technical talent that I could not acquire. They often elaborated on or extended my work in imaginative ways. I would include Gary Gottfredson, Linda Gottfredson, Mac Richards, Bruce Walsh, Nancy Cole, and Doug Whitney. Editors, such as Laura Kent, Rene Huntley, and John Hollifield, have been very influential in that they taught me how to write and got irritated with me when I failed to write better right away. They gave me lists of things I should read and things I should do. I got very concerned about the quality of my writing. I realized, in the early days, when I had no students, that if I wanted to have some influence, my best bet was not only to do good work, but also to write well so that people could read it and get the message.

Steve: *What effect has your commitment to your professional life had on your family?*

John: A lot. I wouldn't say I've neglected my family, but I haven't done some of the things many fathers do. Like I didn't play much baseball with my son. I think my work made me more tense than I would have been otherwise. If I hadn't been involved, I would have been a more relaxed father. In recent years, I've improved. I now work less at home and at work. I call it taking a sabbatical at work.

Steve: *What part has your family played in your work?*

John: They're very supportive, especially my wife Elsie. She's typed most of my manuscripts. She doesn't feel put upon or done in and enjoys my success. I also rely on her judgment about editorial, social, and practical matters. If you're scoring this, I also do a lot of housework, including dusting, dishwashing, and sewing.

Steve: *What are your hobbies and how do they either complement or reflect your theory?*

John: They sure complement it. I really wanted to become a pianist when I was a boy and teenager. During the early years of college it became clear that I didn't have that kind of talent. When the SDS went well, the biggest single purchase other than the new car, which I had to get, was a grand piano. I practice a half hour to an hour before I go to work. I come home early to practice. I get a big emotional response. The piano has really taken care of that part of me that my work doesn't.

I have an interest in crafts, particularly building and designing furniture. I've done that all my life, but I couldn't make a living at it. I'm too slow. For me it's relaxation. I get satisfaction out of these things because I don't have to coordinate with anyone. I don't have to meet anybody's approval. They're a great source of satisfaction. I'm also interested in art. I'm a collector of a kind, but I'm out of wall space now. When I taper off some more, I'm planning to take art and music lessons.

Steve: *What are your children's summary codes?*

John: Kay is an ASE . . . Big A. Always was an A, even as a little girl. Bookbinder, ballet dancer, musician, language teacher are some of the things that have interested her. She's now working as a translator, code ASE. Try that on your harmonica. Joan is an SIA. She vacillates between social and investigative jobs. She worked in a nursing home before she finished college as a psychology major. And she did very well, too. They liked her because she was doing all kinds of behavior mod on the patients. After graduation, she worked as a counselor-statistician for Planned Parenthood. Recently she married and moved to North Carolina where she is working at a woman's center.

Steve: *And your third child, Bob?*

John: My son Bob is an R, and he's always been an R. He started to become an electronics technician but lost interest and dropped out. He then entered a school for tractor-trailer drivers. He got a job driving a diesel truck for a seafood company for 6 months. The code of a truckdriver is RCS and his code is RSC. Now he drives for a moving company and likes it.

Steve: *What are your plans for the next five years?*

John: There are several things that I'd like to explore. First, I hope to do some studies of change within the context of my theory. Second, I've been working on an article about using a theoretical approach to help women and minorities. It is an attempt to suggest ways in which my work can be used to do a more effective job of helping men and women and minorities deal with vocational problems. Third, if we get any better ideas, I hope to revise the theory itself. But at this point, I'm not clear about what to do. That is a continuing problem. Fourth, I want to finish this research, which I'm now in the middle of, on the effect of interventions like the SDS and the VEIK and to develop a clear knowledge of what characteristics of these personal and impersonal interventions help people. When we really have that figured out, then professionals could pick that up and use it and have more effect on clients with less effort and less cost. Fifth, I'm currently working on a vocational identity and decision-making scale. I really think it may boil down to people with a very poor sense of identity and with multiple decision-making problems need extensive help. And people with few decision-making problems and a clear sense of identity need very little.

Last, the environmental aspects of the typology need work. Tests of the hypotheses about person-environmental interactions are few. Only two or three of these have been successful; most of these studies don't work out. So we need more and better studies.

We also need studies of change or analyses of successive person-environment interactions. Such studies would illuminate how people develop and change, and they need to be performed at many age levels. At any rate, there is too much to do. I can use all the help I can get. I try now to do less myself and stimulate others to do the research, but I continue to plug along on one or two little projects that I can do with a few students and without a grant. It's nice not to beg for money or to explain constantly why a project is worth doing, why it is delayed, how it will probably save society.

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PART III

Early Theorists

Counseling Theorists: Reflections in a Mirror

DENNIS M. KIVLIGHAN, JR.

Often in our roles as counselors we are called upon to supervise the counseling or therapy that others perform. Usually in this process we spend some time getting to know the supervisee. Invariably we will ask the supervisee about his or her theoretical orientation. Often this inquiry is met by the supervisee's saying that he or she is eclectic and does not adhere to any particular school of thought. Even when we get this response, we usually persist in asking which theories or theorists have been influential in their work. We persist because knowing a person's theoretical orientation tells us quickly a lot about how he or she will approach work with clients. For example, we can start to make guesses about the kind of relationship that the supervisee will form with clients, the kinds of issues and problems he or she is likely to identify and work with, and about the kinds of techniques likely to be used. We can also start to make guesses about the kinds of relationship difficulties the supervisee is likely to encounter, the types of client issues that might be missed or ignored, and about technical limitations. Finally and maybe most importantly, our theories have as much to say about us as we do about them.

Just as the theories that we endorse are reflections of us, so too are theories reflections of their creators. Monte (1980) argued that theories are founded in the theorist's very personal attempts to explain human behavior. Often a theorist's concepts of personality come from attempts to cope with his or her life circumstances. Monte maintained that understanding the personal influences from which the theorist's ideas derive makes the ideas more comprehensible and useful. Thus by knowing more about the personal histories of the theorists, we can get a better sense of why they advocated a particular type of relationship, which issues or problems they saw as most salient and why, and what techniques fit best with their style. Likewise, we can get a sense of how the theorists' relationship difficulties influenced their stance, an idea about their possible blind spots, and how their capabilities may have made certain techniques difficult to use. The articles in this section are designed to let us explore some of the personal sources of influence in some of the theories influential counseling theorists developed. Or to use Monte's metaphor, these articles help us to begin to get behind the theorists' masks. What makes these articles unique is that the theorists themselves provide the information that allows us to see behind their masks.

It is also important to remember that the reflections recorded in the following articles are filtered through another person, the interviewer. In many ways the interviewers have served as mirrors for us, helping us get to know and understand the theorists. What we learn about the theorists is in part a function of the theorists, but also a function of the interviewers. It is obvious that the questions asked influence the answers given. Not so obvious, but perhaps more important, is that the nature of the relationship between the interviewer(s) and the theorist also influences the kind of information obtained. As Jourard (1971) stated, "The most powerful determiners of self-disclosure thus far discovered are the identity of the person to whom one might disclose himself (herself) and the nature and the purpose of the relationship between the two people" (p. 65). This idea is illustrated in the two interviews of Albert Ellis, each of which gives a somewhat different picture of Ellis. This is partly due to the differences in questions asked and areas addressed, but also to differences in how the questions were asked and the nature of the evolving relationship. In short, it is important to keep in mind the mirrors (interviewers) as well as the reflections (theorists) in reading these articles.

What role has the development of counseling theory had in the development of the counseling profession? Super (1955) saw the origins of counseling as the merger of three distinct traditions. From a historical perspective, the first of these traditions was vocational orientation (see section I of this book). This tradition grew from a desire to help people adjust to work settings. The second tradition was that of aptitude testing (see section II of this book). By incorporating the objective information available through tests and inventories, counselors had an expanded means for helping people in their work adjustment. It soon became apparent, however, that providing this type of information was not always sufficient to ensure vocational adjustment. Although some people benefited from the information, others needed additional types of assistance. People reacted differently to the information provided. What was needed were conceptions of the individuals who were trying to adjust to their environment in general, and also techniques and processes to intervene with these individuals. Counseling theory served to address these needs. It was the addition of counseling theories to the ideas of vocational orientation and aptitude testing that greatly facilitated the emergence of the field of counseling. From this beginning, it was not a big step to see the counselor's role as not only helping people adjust to careers, but also helping people in all aspects of life adjustment.

Of the theorists interviewed, Rogers has probably had the largest influence on the field of counseling. It was the publication of Rogers's book, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, that provided the final link for the merger of the three trends discussed above. As Super (1955) pointed out, Rogers helped counselors realize that they counseled "people, not problems." Equally important, Rogers helped counselors realize that an important arena for examination and study was the counseling process itself. How we worked with people was placed on an equal footing with what type of adjustment we were helping them make.

Reading the interview with Rogers, there seems a clear link between his family experiences and the philosophies underlying his theory. Rogers described his mother as someone "you never told anything to." He goes on to say that he would not tell anything significant to his mother "because I know that she would have a judgement about it and it would probably be negative." As Dolliver (1981) pointed out, much of Rogers's emphasis on being nonjudgmental, open, and empathic can be viewed as a reaction to this type of childhood experience.

Rollo May has had a less direct impact on the field of counseling psychology. Like Rogers, May emphasized the importance of counseling the individual and not the problem. Counseling can be conceptualized as a discipline existing in a state of tension. One of the main tensions that we deal with is the pull between focusing on the individual or the individual's functioning in the environment. More specifically, should our focus be on helping the client focus on "meaning of life" or should we be giving the client tools to live life? Rollo May calls our attention to the former focus. May also emphasizes "how" we are with the client rather than "what" we do with the client. Theorists like May help us to maintain the tension that keeps counseling a dynamic and growing discipline.

Similarly to Rogers, May's life experiences have had a significant impact on his thinking and writing. In fact, two of his books can be directly attributed to "crises" in May's life. "My book [*The Meaning of Anxiety*] included a great deal about what I learned from having tuberculosis." May's book *Love and Will* was a product of "a whole lot of thinking about what was the meaning of love and the meaning of will" that occurred at the time of his divorce.

As Dryden pointed out, Albert Ellis is the second most influential theorist for counselors. In many ways Ellis's theory represents the other pole of the tension just discussed. Perhaps more than any theorist, Ellis has focused on practical, straightforward approaches for dealing with people's problems. Ellis's approach emphasizes providing tools to help people live a happier life. His main emphasis is on what we do with and to our clients. Like May, Ellis provides a view that helps maintain the necessary tension in the field.

Just as for Rogers, Ellis's family experiences have certainly affected his theory. Unlike Rogers's theory, which seems to be a reaction against his parents' messages, Ellis's theory is more an extension or expansion of messages he received while growing up. Ellis describes his mother as a "neglectful woman" and "as a result I learned to take care of myself." His father was "rarely around." Ellis's emphasis on self-reliance can be seen as a direct outgrowth of these experiences.

When most of us think of the major counseling theorists, we almost automatically think of Rogers, Ellis, and Perls. It is ironic that this association is probably due as much to the film *Three Approaches to Psychotherapy (TAP)* as to the theories themselves. To further document the work of Fritz Perls, this section also contains an interview with Laura Perls. As one reads this interview, however, one begins to wonder who the real Gestalt theorist (therapist) was. It seems clear that many of Laura Perls's experiences have influenced the theory and practice of Gestalt therapy. In particular, the emphasis in Gestalt therapy on self-support is at least partially attributable to Laura Perls's early educational experiences, "I was the only girl in class," and her later experiences of having to maintain a home and a school by herself.

The article about Everett Shostrom is unique in this collection of articles. Rather than focusing on Shostrom as a theorist, this article focuses on Shostrom's film, *Three Approaches to Psychotherapy*. This article provides us another way to look behind the masks of Rogers, Perls, and Ellis. Shostrom provides us a mirror to examine these three theorists who have had a profound influence on counseling.

As noted earlier, this film has had a profound impact on many counselors. For most of us this was our first chance to "see" counseling taking place. It is interesting that Shostrom's film, like the theorists' theories, was produced in part because of Shostrom's personal experience: ". . . the startling differences between Rogers and Perls created a conflict in me that the *TAP* films were perhaps an attempt to resolve."

Early counseling theories considered adjustment to be a fairly static process. Individuals were seen as more or less determined, and the counselor's role was to help the individual make the most of his or her circumstances. Recently, however, there has been an increasing emphasis on development in counseling theories. This emphasis has been twofold. First, individuals are seen as developing throughout their life span. The role of the counselor has changed from exclusively helping the client to adjust to life circumstances to helping the client along the course of development. Second, individuals are seen as confronting specific developmental tasks at various points during the life span. The counselor is correspondingly seen as helping the client identify and move through these tasks. The works of Sanford and Chickering helped to usher in these developmental themes.

Sanford focused on the role of the institution and people within the institution on the individual's development. His work was critical in asserting that development was a lifelong process and that counselors could affect it.

Chickering's work focused on delineating the developmental tasks college students face. He helped counselors to pay attention not only to the developmental tasks of college students, however, but also to those of individuals at all stages of life.

At first glance it seems impossible that two men with such dissimilar experiences could end up writing from such similar perspectives. Despite the obvious differences in circumstances, the themes of challenge and support (relationship), which are so prominent in developmental theories, were clearly evident in both Sanford's and Chickering's early experiences. Sanford saw the "ties of friendship and family and such" as central in his development as a psychologist. Chickering reported experiences like his fraternity brothers' challenge of "you don't have to do all that stuff to keep trying to impress us" as central to his development.

The words of the early theorists and the interviewers in this section can help us to begin to look behind the theorists' masks. We hope that by examining the personal side of these theorists, you can start to put not only their theories but also your own into a richer and broader context.

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Carl Rogers: Reflections on His Life

P. PAUL HEPPNER, MARK E. ROGERS, and LUCIENNE A. LEE

The front window of Carl Rogers's home overlooks the white La Jolla cliffs. From their base, the ocean spreads out like a brilliant blue blanket. Gazing out that window while conducting the interview, we were struck with how meeting Rogers in many ways was like coming upon the ocean for the first time. Contemplating the far-reaching effects of his work takes one's breath away.

His work has had a major impact on counseling and education in the last three decades, and to a lesser extent he has altered the course of academic psychology and social work. Professionals in diverse fields are likely to "associate his name with widely-acclaimed innovations in counseling technique, personality theory, philosophy of science, psychotherapy research, encounter groups, student-centered teaching, his thoughts on human nature, his descriptions of the person of the future, and his views on marriage and coupling" (Farson, 1974, p. 197). He has been called the "great humanist"; his image of the person and his belief about how people develop and change will have a lasting influence on psychology (Rychlak, 1981). His passionate regard for humanistic values and implicit faith in the inherent goodness of humans have attracted many individuals; that there is a "third force" in psychology is due in very large part to Carl Rogers (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). Rogers also pioneered efforts in tape-recording counseling sessions and opened the therapeutic process to research investigations. "There is no doubt that Rogers deserves the highest praise for having led the first well-organized, sustained program of psychotherapy research" (R. W. Heine, personal communication, November 22, 1983). Parts of Rogers's work have been translated into at least 12 languages. Recently he has become involved in international diplomacy and has written on the nuclear arms race.

Prior to conducting this interview, none of us had had face-to-face contact with Carl Rogers. But we all believed that our personal as well as professional development had been profoundly affected by his work. As a result, the interview carried for us some of the joys and excitements of approaching an old friend who has aided us in our growth. But at the same time we suffered the anxieties associated with meeting a childhood hero or an idolized mentor. How were we to approach this man who had made such tremendous contributions in so many areas?

In preparing for the interview we first reviewed Rogers's major works. His professional writing is extensive (over 200 articles and 15 books), diverse, and has stood the test of time (see Heesacker, Heppner, & Rogers, 1982). The breadth of his writing accurately represents his lifelong willingness to move into uncharted areas. New questions and ideas have drawn him forward, stimulating not only his curiosity but also his desire to test, implement, and share what he discovers. His writing style is equally important. Warm, personal, and often intimate, his style is also lucid and incisive; it has an eye-opening quality that poignantly illuminates the human condition.

But writing represents only one facet of Rogers. In order to better understand other facets of his life, we wrote to several individuals who had known Rogers and asked them to comment on their experiences with him. Excerpts from several of those letters are presented below.

Desmond Cartwright, a former student of Rogers at Chicago, commented on his warmth and openness and his special ability to make others feel at ease. "I remember Carl coming into a sunlit waiting room at the Counseling Center, University of Chicago. I was a new student. Dressed in a short-sleeved, open-neck Hawaiian sport shirt, he immediately set me at ease. He stretched out his hand in greeting, his eyes shone welcome, he smiled and said something like: 'I'm glad you're here.' Such freedom-giving warmth is a dominant characteristic of Carl's personality, also of his therapy and teaching styles" (D. Cartwright, personal communication, November 29, 1983).

Maria Bowen, a colleague, noted other characteristics central to Carl's personality. "As I think of Carl Rogers, the first outstanding characteristic that comes to mind is that of a man who follows the 'path of the heart.' Carl seems to go wherever his energy takes him, instead of always assessing what the external needs are and merely meeting those." And, "I think Carl's openness to other people's ideas points to a general openness to life. Even in his eighties he is always ready to experiment. It is a source of pleasure to witness his excitement with his new adventures. Whether going on a barge trip through English canals where he has to open and close the locks, or having his first catamaran sail in Florida waters, or meeting recalcitrant elephants on the plains of Africa, his excitement and aliveness in facing new adventures is abundantly evident" (M. Bowen, personal communication, November 16, 1983).

Robert Anderson, another student of Rogers at Chicago and now a professor at Texas Tech University, observed that Rogers attempted to implement what he preached about academic administration. "Over the years what has impressed me most was the amount of student involvement in the operation of the [Counseling] Center [at Chicago]. It was only much later, during the 1970s, when student participation in faculty selection, curricular changes, student selection, became a big issue. We did this sort of thing at the Counseling Center twenty years before it was the 'in thing.' Specifically, 1) students were actively involved in planning the Rockefeller grant on psychotherapy, 2) student externs and interns were actively involved in evaluating new staff/faculty members, 3) student externs and interns were involved in policy decisions regarding the daily operation of the Center, and 4) students were involved in orienting visitors and visiting scholars to the Center's operation. This amount of involvement was a behavioral expression of Rogers's philosophy of education. At the time it seemed to me that this was the way it was supposed to happen; on reflection I realized that the operation of the Center was unique and it was guided quietly but firmly by the Client Centered point of view" (R. P. Anderson, personal communication, December 18, 1983).

David, Carl Rogers's son, shared an anecdote suggesting how his father's sense of fairness guided his behavior at home. "I remember one day as a teenager, when I was doing my homework, going into his desk and getting a pad of lined yellow paper to do my work on—I'd run out of my own. That night I received a little lecture from my father explaining that he had no problems in giving me a pad of his own paper, but that particular pad happened to belong to Ohio State University—his employer, not him—and consequently, it was not mine to use. Needless to say, I have not forgotten that little lesson in personal responsibility—or perhaps more accurately accountability" (D. E. Rogers, personal communication, November 4, 1983).

During the interview, we encountered a man who at times displayed unusual strength and clarity, a man in touch with and willing to voice his feelings and beliefs. A certain powerfulness emanated from him as he thoughtfully responded to our many questions. This is the man who, in the infancy of counseling and clinical psychology, dared to differ, to pioneer new methods and techniques for conducting therapy and research. As a result he has been lauded and has received numerous awards, among them the Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the American Psychological Association. Conversely, as an innovator, his professional work has often been the source of controversy (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). It also seems that there have been interpersonal conflicts and distance in his life, sometimes resulting in strained relationships. In our experience of the interview, Rogers touched several times on old wounds inflicted by the interpersonal and ideological conflicts. But as he described the development and implementation of his ideas in research, counseling, and psychotherapy, we also experienced his courage, strength, and tenacity. While acknowledging that it has not always been easy, Rogers clearly indicated that his life as an innovator has been rewarding and worth the struggles. Clearly he continues to approach new projects with excitement and enthusiasm.

We came to Rogers's living room outfitted with recording equipment, questions, and awe; we came to look into his eyes, to listen to the tales of his many voyages, and to see what new notions rose in his heart. And mostly we came hoping to see something of the magic in the depths of his personal waters, ultimately hoping to recognize something of the same special salt in ourselves. We hope you are able to taste some of that salt in the following edited transcript.

PERCEPTIONS OF HIS PROFESSIONAL LIFE

P.H.: *How does it feel, when you look at the impact you have had?*

C.R.: I am astonished and somewhat in awe of the impact that I seem to have had. I never would have dreamt of that and never would have supposed I would have the degree of impact that I've had. I don't understand it all quite. The impact feels good, I'm pleased with that. I think sometimes I don't like all the things that go along with it. That's why I'm glad I have this very quiet place to retreat to. I don't like fame and so I'm glad I have friends here who don't think of me as famous and who treat me as Carl.

P.H.: *You've communicated a lot about yourself in your writing. Several of the books that you have written have been very important to me as a person trying to be myself. I'm wondering if you consider yourself a mentor in that respect.*

C.R.: I never thought of that. I don't consider myself as a mentor in the usual or traditional sense. In the sense of being willing to be open about myself, I suppose that to others I'm very much a mentor. To me it just seems like a rewarding way to be, because people do respond to that very much and they seem to welcome and appreciate that.

L.L.: *Carl, what does the concept of being a mentor mean for you?*

C.R.: I think primarily of a Freudian analyst on that. It seems that their analyst is their mentor. You can talk with them years afterward and what do they talk about? They talk about their analyst. I never had anyone like that, that was "the" person who was my mentor, and I certainly don't set out to be the mentor for anyone else. Though, I know I am for a number of people.

L.L.: *Could you say something about your experience in academia, and possibly what your relationships with others were like there?*

C.R.: I was so naive about the politics of it when I went to Ohio State. Because I'd come from active, professional, clinical life, students were fascinated. They flocked to me and wanted to know, "Can I do my dissertation with you?" "Sure, I don't know why not." They were talking about doing things that were very much in my field. Pretty soon, I don't know, I had 18 or 20 students doing dissertations with me, which is unheard of and not to be done and which meant I was robbing other professors of all their students. And, it took me a long time to realize that, my God, I had just upset everything, and I was not particularly liked on that account.

". . . in the best moments of therapy there is a mutual altered state of consciousness."

L.L.: *So, you've paid a price?*

C.R.: Yes, both at Ohio State and Wisconsin, particularly, I was not liked by my faculty colleagues, but neither did I place an awfully high value on them. So it wasn't an enormous price. I usually tend to make my friends either with graduate students or other people outside of the department.

P.H.: *Early in your career you were quite involved in research. After Wisconsin you no longer were doing as much research; part of that I imagine is due to no longer being in an academic setting. What all went into that decision and how does it appear to you now?*

C.R.: Well, I think I became aware that quite a little of my research had been done to prove things to people, rather than to find things out, and I realized that is not a good reason for doing research. I think some of the best research I did, I didn't really realize at the time, was the use of a Q-sort, getting at the phenomenological world of the individual through a very clever device established by Will Stevenson. We didn't fully realize the implication of it. What we'd found was a splendid way of doing research on a single case, and doing it from a phenomenological point of view.

P.H.: *I think that is something we can still learn from today.*

C.R.: Yes, I think so. So I felt I didn't any longer want to do research just to prove something to people. I also felt that the methods of science that were in use and that I had used just were not appropriate to the human condition. We felt a new kind of science was needed, and I didn't know what that was, and I supposed of course that it would develop in psychology. Now in recent years I find it developing in theoretical physics, biology, and chemistry. There we're beginning to see a new kind of science that recognizes the mystery and the fact that we will never have hard answers and that the whole cosmos is not a materialistic cosmos. We'll never find a basic unit or building block of the universe, and that's going to change our whole perception of things. I still don't know quite what kind of a science that will mean for psychology, but it will be something quite different from the linear cause and effects science that we've been brought up on.

P.H.: *As you look back at your career, you must have become aware at some point of people attending to your work and giving it a lot of prominence. Did you ever start thinking, "I could make it big, I need to really apply myself now?"*

C.R.: No. I never did. I think in regard to my work it's always been a matter of surprise to find, "Oh, you're finding it useful in education" or "Oh, you're using it in business," "Oh, they're using my books in the armed forces, for God's sakes." I have had, though, two types of ambition in my life. One was that I obviously was ambitious for professional status, although I really didn't recognize it at the time. The other ambition I've had is I do like to have impact [not status]; that is something I feel I have enjoyed and sometimes striven for. I feel I'm striving for that now in the international picture. I'd like to have a workshop of diplomats and people of international influence and let them know what we've learned about dealing with hostile groups and reconciling them.

P.H.: *How much do you feel luck has affected your professional career?*

C.R.: Well, let me say one example of it. When I wrote my first original book, *Counseling and Psychotherapy*, that was in 1942, I submitted the manuscript and the publisher, Herb Mifflin, wanted to know how many courses would this be used in as a text. I'd never thought of that and I said, "Well, I'd used it in my courses and I knew *one* other person," period. They weren't much impressed and I finally said, "Send me back the manuscript because Harcourt is interested"; then they decided to publish it. Well, I don't know what the initial sales were, but certainly not very large. As veterans began coming home from the war, people wondered, "What do you do with these people? They've got problems; how do you counsel them?" And they looked around. "What is available to tell us what to do?" *"Counseling and Psychotherapy."* It was almost the only book in the field that had anything to do with human problems. Then "whoosh," it was "the" book. I couldn't have foreseen that. But, because of that, it became a well-known book and I became a well-known person. I feel that's just an example of pure luck.

P.H.: *Do you feel that luck has been a large factor, overall?*

C.R.: Well, I guess I feel luck becomes important if you make use of it, but it's not all luck.

P.H.: *What would you say would be the most distressing distortion of your work?*

C.R.: What comes to mind—I might give a different answer at some other time—is the way my work is presented academically. For example, one method is to repeat only the last thing the client said. When people watch me doing a demonstration interview, one of the things they are surprised by is how active it is, not verbally active, but in intensity and being present to the client. "Oh, I didn't realize it was like that." Where I think academically they don't dare to recognize the emotional intensity because it would bring in a factor other than the strictly intellectual.

D.B.: *They'd have to let go of the rules.*

C.R.: That's right, they'd have to learn to be present as a person, which is the last thing most academics want. So it's much easier to just describe it in intellectual terms and dismiss it. I feel that in the best moments of therapy there is a mutual altered state of consciousness. That we really, both of us, somehow transcend a little bit what we are ordinarily, and there's communication going on that neither of us understands that is very reflective.

D.B.: *Carl, I've been catching a story that came to my attention recently, that bears on this. A young friend of mine whom I really considered brilliant went through a master's program where he was taught, not only taught, but drilled, on this reflection procedure. And he's internalized it to the extent that he now does that in his dealings with people, including with me.*

C.R.: Frankly, it becomes mechanical instead of really being present. I feel I'm partly responsible for the distortions that exist. When we first began to record interviews at Ohio State, each graduate student had to transcribe at least one of his or her interviews, and then we would discuss it in the practicum seminar. It was fascinating! When you look at an interview through a microscope you find each response elicits different sorts of responses from the client. Anyway we became overfascinated with techniques and that is what has been carried into the academic world ever since. And it was only gradually that I came to realize that, "Yes, what you say is important, but what you are in the relationship is much more important." And so I feel that I contributed to the distortion and misunderstanding by that real focus on technique.

P.H.: *What publications do you regard as most significant?*

C.R.: I think the chapter in Koch [see selected works] on my theory of therapy, personality, and personal relationships is something that I feel very pleased with, because it is quite different from other theories. I endeavored to make every major statement in that something that could be tested by research, and that's very different from the Freudian theory or other theories that are much more speculative. Then, *On Becoming a Person* is certainly my most popular book, and I think it's one that I stand by too. It has a collection of papers which I was advised not to publish, so I put it aside for quite awhile. It has spoken to people all over the world. Then, one very important paper, that's been printed Lord knows how many times, is "The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Therapy," which I presented in 1957.

PERSONAL REFLECTION

P.H.: *You talked about being alone, professionally and personally. At one point you were quoted as saying something like you felt you don't fit in this world. I'm struck with a deep sense of loneliness. Do you feel that?*

C.R.: No, I don't. I feel alone often, but I guess I'm good enough company for myself that I don't really feel lonely, and I have several very nourishing relationships that make me feel not at all alone. I don't often feel lonely.

L.L.: *How have you approached aging, Carl?*

C.R.: For a number of years people have supposed that I would be interested in gerontology; but I'm not interested in those old people, I really am not. I don't think of myself as old, except when I can't put on a shirt over my head or I can't see, which is true these days. But you know, I've just continued to be active. I want to be active. I can't imagine why anyone would retire, that seems a little silly. If you're doing something you're interested in, why, you want to keep on doing it, and I have. In the past 18 months I've been involved in workshops in South Africa, Japan, Switzerland, Germany, and England. Last night I was meeting here with some people who want me to go to Brazil in 1985 and I said, chuckling, "Considering the world situation and my age, it seems a little crazy to be thinking of something 15 months off," but I was. And then, the other thing that has helped to keep me young is, as I say, several very nurturing loving relationships.

> *". . . we became overfascinated with techniques . . . but what you are in the relationship is much more important."*

L.L.: *How have you dealt with loss in your life? In 82 years I'm sure you've experienced many comings and goings of people.*

C.R.: I tend to leave people behind when I grow into a new phase, so I really have not had many experiences of loss. Some of course, but most of them long, long ago. I feel that for a person of my age, I've been astonishingly free from loss of friends. When I move to a new place I make friends; it's always with younger people and they don't die off! If I'd have stayed in one place, with friends my own age, I would have seen them dropping off, I know. But as it is, years after I've known them I hear they've gone, but it isn't as great a sense of loss. Now with Helen, there was a real sense of loss. But it was muted by the fact that during the last 10 years of her life, there were a number of times when my daughter and I, particularly, felt "she's going." I remember we went to a workshop and told the staff the very first day, "Now it's probable that we'll have to leave here because she's dying," and she didn't. In fact she was better when we got back than she was when we left. But that experience of continually facing death meant that the actual death was not as sharp a loss as it would have been otherwise. And also, during all but the last 10 years or so of our life together, Helen had been very much a supporter of everything I did. When we moved to California she was very much concerned about my work with groups. She didn't like it; she didn't understand it; she thought it was an unwise move for me. So that sort of brought about more of a separation between us than before, and that probably softened the loss somewhat too, because we were not as close as we had been before we came to California.

L.L.: *How do you feel your relationship with Helen might have been different, if you had been married at the time when women were doing more nontraditional things?*

C.R.: Helen was an artist, and it wasn't until toward the end of her life that she realized she could have done things rather differently. I think she began to envy my daughter, who did become a professional woman. She never tried to make that move, but she did realize, "Oh, I could have lived a very different kind of life." That would have made a difference in my life too, because she was a very shrewd judge of persons, more so than I am, and of situations. A number of the moves I made professionally, I might not have made if it hadn't been for her insight. For example, in Rochester after quite a bitter struggle with a psychiatrist, I had been appointed director of the new Rochester Guidance Center, which was the outgrowth of what I'd been doing all along with the Child Study Department and Social Agency. I deserved the place, but I had to fight for it. Then came the offer to go to Ohio State. I hadn't been the new director for more than a few months, and I thought, "I can't leave this." But Helen was wise enough to say, "But you've always wanted to teach. You ought to look into this more." And so I did. I was sort of reluctant, I didn't know whether I wanted to move or not. They had offered me an associate professorship and they could see that I was quite dubious about whether I would accept it or not. So they changed it and offered me a full professorship. As I've often said, I recommend that way of getting into academic life!

L.L.: *It seems that you have given a lot of your life to your profession. Do you ever regret that?*

C.R.: Once in awhile I get a twinge. I went sailing the day after my 82nd birthday with some friends and acquaintances. We went on a 40-foot catamaran. The man had built it himself, which intrigued me because I used to like to build things too. I built a small sailboat once and had the best time steering it and sailing it. I set the sail to the wind and of course let it keep its own; I just love that! And then I thought, they said they go out sailing every weekend, and yeah I suppose I could be doing things like that too. But no, for the most part I don't feel any regrets. I have a fascinating life and wouldn't trade it. I remember my brother-in-law; I was complaining, "God, I have so much to do and I don't see how in the world I'm going to get it all done!" He was quite ignorant of my field and of my work and he said, "Who is it that makes you do all these things?" And I said, "You have me there!"

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

L.L.: *Did your family ever know of your success as a psychologist?*

C.R.: No; well, my mother did finally. You know one incident popped into my mind that I haven't thought of for a long time. My father was a civil engineer and contractor. He had a construction business that built hydroelectric dams and that kind of thing. And whenever my first book on clinical treatment of the problem child came out, he mailed about 20 copies of it out to friends of his in the construction business. At the time I was so embarrassed by that, but I was thinking last night that does show how proud he was of me. That's something I didn't really recognize or accept at the time. So in one sense they did, I guess. But I was sort of their despair. After I came back from China, they wanted me to go to Princeton Theological Seminary, which was the center of fundamentalism at that time, and I went to Union Theological Seminary, which is the epitome of the liberal point of view. Then when I left Union and just walked across the street to Teachers College, I was going to go into child guidance work. Well, they wondered, "What was that?" and "Did people earn a living at that?" You know, it was a brand new field and nobody had ever heard of anybody doing any child guidance. So I was the oddball of the family.

P.H.: *Looking at your accomplishments, do you ever feel now that you would like to be able to communicate them to your parents in some way, I mean if that were possible?*

> *"If you want to make a good life for yourself, do the things you're vitally interested in . . ."*

C.R.: That's interesting, I never think of that. I guess I don't think they would understand now. All I could communicate would be the outward signs of success. That wouldn't have any particular meaning to me—it might to them, but it wouldn't to me. I really don't think with their values and viewpoints that they would have any real understanding of what I'm about. Some of the most fundamental aspects of my point of view and my approach are sort of the reciprocal of what my parents believed. I wondered a few years ago if I was being too hard on my mother in my own thinking. I asked my next younger brother, "How did you think of mother?" He said, "Well, she was a person you never told anything to." And that really is true. I would have never thought of telling anything significant to my mother, because I know that she would have a judgment about it and it probably would be negative.

L.L.: *Do you have brothers and sisters still alive and what are they doing now?*

C.R.: Yes, I was the fourth of six children. I was closest to my next younger brother, Walter, and not at all close to my next older brother; we used to fight a great deal. There are four of us living. Two, my oldest brother and the brother next older than me, are dead, died a number of years ago. My next younger brother, Walter, whom I am very fond of, has been a physician all his life; he's now semi-retired in Tucson. My youngest brother, John, is now head of the construction business that my father had. My sister is 88 and living in Daytona Beach, Florida, and still living alone and driving her car.

***P.H.:** I understand Gloria died. Did you have any more contact with her after you made the "Gloria films?"* (see selected works)

C.R.: Oh yes, there's really quite a story on that. Gloria kept in touch with me irregularly, usually a couple of times a year, sometimes more often, from the time of the interview until almost up to the time of her death. And, I don't know this for a fact, but I doubt very much that she kept in touch with either of the other two interviewers. She went through some very tough times; she remarried, a fairly good marriage, and then her young son had leukemia. She did a very good job of facing death openly with him and with members of her family; finally he did die. And then, a few years after that she developed cancer and refused to take drastic measures so that she died quite quickly. I'm leaving out one part of that story, a year of two after the film was made we were holding a weekend conference here. The person who was taking the registrations came to me and said, "Here is a Gloria somebody or other; could that be the Gloria you interviewed?" And I said, "Yes, it was." So I wrote her and told her that I'd be glad to see her and glad to have her on the weekend, but she had to know that I'd be showing those films and so she would be the subject of a lot of discussion; it might not be too pleasant an experience for her. Well, she came anyway, it wasn't too pleasant an experience, but I had a nice conversation with her. Helen and I both had a nice lunch with her as I recall. And at that time she said, "Would you object if I thought of you as my ghostly parents?" We said, "No, that would be very fine." And I think in a very real sense we were her "ghostly parents" at the time of her death. Her daughter wrote me after her death saying she'd always regarded me as her father.

PSYCHOLOGY

L.L.: You have previously discussed your puzzlement about the dazzling promise of some outstanding psychologists not being fulfilled in later years. While there may be different reasons for different individuals, what advice or cautions would you give to young psychologists?

C.R.: Yes, I was speaking about colleagues who seem to me to be much more a psychologist and brighter that I was, and surely would go places who then left psychology, or just didn't live up to their earlier promise. I think it's because in their earlier years they were striving for status. You do the things that are popular, to be approved of; then you get the approval, and where do you go from there? I realize now that those people were not as interested in what they were doing as I've been. I think they were interested in what they could get by what they were doing. In terms of giving any advice, which I rarely do, I would say don't do things because you think they'll get you ahead or get you position or status. If you want to make a good life for yourself, do the things you're vitally interested in, whether that takes you through psychology, out of psychology, in psychology, whatever. Do the thing that really fascinates you, because you won't get tired of that.

P.H.: Many of your students have gone on and made major contributions in the field. What did you do with your students in terms of fostering their development, particularly since they don't look like little Carl Rogers?

C.R.: Well, I feel that with them, as with my clients, I've encouraged them to be themselves. And I haven't wanted them to be little Carl Rogers; in fact, when I see someone trying to do that, that makes me very unhappy, because it's so obviously artificial. I used to feel that I didn't do a very good job of fostering creativity and so on in my students, but now I realize they're late bloomers. Another thing that used to distress me, very few of my people went into psychology departments. I thought, "My God, I'm a failure." But I realize they've gone into influential spots otherwise. I think they're lacking in the bad kind of ambition. In other words, they don't get the Ph.D. and immediately start producing articles so they'll get ahead. But they are thoughtful people, and when the time is right, they come out with something that is original and good.

L.L.: You were one of the first to use innovative techniques in training and research. What could be done in graduate schools to improve training?

C.R.: If they really wanted to turn out psychologists capable of independent thinking, they would give them much more freedom and much more opportunity to help form their own curriculum and decide their own goals and use more self-evaluation and so on. Then a person would develop confidence instead of insecurity. I think much of our graduate training has as one of its major by-products the damaging of a person's self-confidence, so much testing and evaluation that you tend to lose confidence in yourself. In terms of research, I think that at the present time we tend to say, "Here's a tool for research, go ahead and use it in some way." I think we could start at the other end, "What are you interested in about people? Well, is there any tool that would help you pursue that interest? Or, could you develop a tool?"

P.H.: Along those lines, how about training of therapists?

C.R.: I think lots of work in counseling each other would be a good start. I've used a trio empathy lab—one person the counselee, one the counselor, and the other the observer—and then, after a period, discussing it openly and then switching roles. There's a lot of advantages; it not only gives the counselor feedback as to where he was helpful and where he wasn't, but it also starts off with a respect for the other person. This client is your co-student and co-learner; it's not somebody beneath you. I think it's well to realize that this person you're counseling is a person, just like you are, and that happens when you're counseling your colleagues. That and use of videotape. Another thing that I'd use much more now is having a learner in therapy work with an experienced therapist in therapy with a client. In other words, two or even three working with one client, and they each would participate. Then they could discuss afterward what had gone on and what they'd contributed, mistakes that were made, and so on. It's even more valuable than working from a videotape.

P.H.: There's a kind of schism between the researchers and the practitioners now in APA, and in the last two or three conventions we've been trying to hold different meetings for these two different groups. What are your thoughts about that?

C.R.: Well, I think that's an unfortunate split. That's one of the other reasons why I feel unhappy about private practice, because people in private practice rarely do any research. I think the profession will not advance unless people with their feet in practical work also take time out to investigate some of the things they're learning in that applied work. I think innovative ideas in the present stage of psychology are more likely to come from practice than they are from something done in the laboratory. So I don't know what could be done; maybe there could be research fellowships or part-time research fellowships or something could be offered to people who are in some applied field if they would develop a good proposal for carrying on research. But anyway, I do see that as an unfortunate split and I would wish that, I guess my ideal would be, that each researcher would be a practitioner in some field and each practitioner would be doing some research.

> *". . . one of the greatest drawbacks of academic psychology is that they think we are a hard science."*

L.L.: What are your thoughts and hopes for the future of the profession?

C.R.: I may be unduly prejudiced, but I don't think academic psychology is going much of anyplace. I think the applied fields of psychology, practitioners in the field, have lots of opportunities, and whether they will take them or not I don't know. I feel concerned that so many psychologists are now engaged in private practice. That tends to mean that they shut themselves off from stimulation with others, because private practice is pretty demanding. It means they're dealing with an elite group, an affluent group, not with a cross-section of the population. It means you're dealing with individual problems, not social problems, so I feel unhappy about that. I'm hopeful that psychology will do more in regard to social issues, but I don't feel at all sure that it will.

L.L.: What do you think academic psychology would need to do to be revitalized, to move forward again?

C.R.: To accept itself as an immature field of knowledge. I feel that one of the greatest drawbacks of academic psychology is that they think we are a hard science, so they try to ape physics as physics was, not as physics is. They pretend they're doing very important work by looking for smaller and smaller units; study the eyeblink and you really get somewhere. I just feel that if they accepted the fact, "Well, this is a new field really, and it isn't scientific yet, and what we need to do is understand the human being and maybe we could begin to make a new kind of science of it." I think that would revitalize psychology. I don't know that they will move in that direction, but I do think one of the great drawbacks to academic psychology is its insecurity.

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Unconventional Therapist: Albert Ellis

STEPHEN G. WEINRACH

Like many readers of this journal, I have been searching for a theory that would satisfactorily account for my own "nutty behavior" as Ellis would call it. Although I was trained from a Rogerian perspective in the mid-sixties, I have always had an intuitive sense that there must be a more comprehensive approach to describing or explaining how I felt, what I thought, and the relationship between the two. I am grateful that a man named Al Ellis has helped me understand how I think and feel and thereby equip me to help my students and clients understand themselves and function more effectively in this crazy world. Yet my reactions to Ellis are probably not especially unique. I find him at times abrasive, impatient, and lacking in some of the basic social graces that my mother spent hours indoctrinating me with. On the other hand, I find him brilliant, sensitive, perceptive, humorous, and stimulating. Once I get over my irrational need for his approval and my irrational need for him to behave the way I want him to behave, I am able to take great delight in the time I spend with him. But that isn't entirely easy for me, and Al doesn't make it any easier. Ellis is the epitome of his theory. He truly acts as though he is not dependent on, much less desirous of, the approval of others. In the three times that I have met with him in his office, at no time did I get the feeling that my presence made any difference to him. And according to RET, which is founded on basic principles of reason and logic, I honestly cannot identify any logical reasons for him to care one way or another. It's just that I am accustomed to people responding with a certain degree of conventional graciousness, whether or not they mean it. And one thing Al Ellis is not is conventional.

Ellis's lack of conventionality, I admit, has a way of alienating some people. But, I suspect few can deny the magnitude of his contributions to the field of mental health. Whether one agrees with him or not, he is a prolific writer and presenter. He has trained many therapists directly and his work has had a worldwide impact on the training of counselors and psychotherapists. There is hardly a counselor education program in existence that does not teach Rational Emotive Therapy. Al's leadership has been recognized by many professional organizations as evidenced by his awards (see box).

At the present time, Al is the director of two non-profit institutes whose functions overlap somewhat. The Institute for Rational Emotive Therapy is mainly a professional organization devoted to the training of psychotherapists. The Institute for RET runs a clinic that is open to the public. Ellis serves as one of its main staff clinicians. The Institute for Rational Living is the other institute. It is a scientific and educational organization that is responsible for talks, seminars, and workshops and for the publication and sale of educational literature to the public. Both institutes are housed, along with Al's private residence, in a huge townhouse in the fashionable Upper East Side of Manhattan. As a matter of fact, Richard Nixon recently moved into a townhouse on the same street several blocks away.

In preparation for this interview, I sent out a form letter soliciting ideas and questions to several individuals who have been associated with Al Ellis or the cognitive-behavior movement. I am indebted to the following who generously responded to my inquiry: Raymond DiGiuseppe, Robert Dolliver, Russell M. Grieger, Arnold Lazarus, Donald Meichenbaum, Carl Thoresen, Larry Trexler, Richard Wessler, and Howard Young.

Support for this article was provided by members of the administration of Villanova University, including Dr. Henry Nichols, Dr. Bernard Downey, Fr. John O'Malley, and Dr. James Cleary. I continue to be indebted and grateful for their ongoing support of my activities. Ellis, however, made this interview possible. He spent considerable time copiously commenting on and reviewing several drafts of this interview. Although he was invited to comment on this introduction (which he saw before its publication), he chose to limit his changes from "brownstone" to "townhouse" in reference to his residence. His unconventionality in personal style is only exceeded by his tolerance for public scrutiny and criticism of his work. I stand in awe of any individual who would choose not to try to influence an interviewer's uncomplimentary descriptors such as "abrasive, impatient, and lacking in . . . basic social graces." RET is a humanistic theory, and Al Ellis exudes humanism. I only wish more people had the chance to know him in a context other than his appearance in the film *Three Approaches to Psychotherapy.*

—SGW

THEORETICAL AND PRACTICE ISSUES

Steve: *Many of our readers were first introduced to your theory and to you as a therapist through the film* Three Approaches to Psychotherapy *(Shostrom, 1965) wherein you, Carl Rogers, and Fritz Perls each counseled (separately) the same client, Gloria. To what extent does your performance in that film accurately reflect where you and where RET are today?*

Al: It never accurately reflected where I was, even then. It was the first film I ever did, and I had a poor subject, who I found out later had been seen by Everett Shostrom, the producer, for four years before that in Gestalt Therapy. Shostrom was then mainly a Gestalt therapist, but he isn't now. Gloria was supposed to raise exactly the same problems with all of us; I thought that was the understanding. But she raised different ones with me than she did with the other two. The end of the interview with her is largely faked. I spoke to Gloria briefly after she finished with Perls, and she was quite upset about that interview. She said to me that she got nothing out of it, but got sidetracked from solving any of her problems. But Everett somehow managed to induce her to say that she got something out of the Perls bit. I tried to get too much into too little time and consequently, I didn't even do a good Rational Emotive job as it then was, and since then we've added various methods which aren't in that film at all. Today, I would use Rational Emotive Imagery (Maultsby & Ellis, 1974) and other things with her, which I didn't do then. So it never was very typical of RET.

***Steve:** To what extent do you feel that a therapist has to be a warm, empathetic, sensitive, kind, and genuine human being?*

Al: I would tend to go along with Rogers, that a therapist had better be very accepting, very forgiving, very nonjudgmental, and have unconditional positive regard. The traits you just named really overlap too much with *conditional* positive regard. If I like you personally and feel warm to you, I normally do so because I think you have some good traits. I'd say that an ideal RET therapist, like an ideal Rogerian therapist, would give *unconditional* acceptance to any human whether or not that person has good or lovable traits. Being warm to clients is often antitherapeutic because that's what they irrationally think they need and keep compulsively seeking. In RET, we go beyond the usual empathy and not only show that we understand the person's frame of reference and are listening to him or her, but also show that person how to empathize with himself or herself—to stop all self-damnation and be self-accepting instead. Showing warmth may help to hook a person on therapy, but it is a dangerous technique because that's what practically all clients are looking for instead of to change, and to accept themselves even when others are cold. They look for some magic help, to get the therapist on their side, and that is often, although not always, antitherapeutic.

***Steve:** To what extent does one have to act, sound, or talk like Albert Ellis to practice RET?*

Al: Almost not at all. Quite a number of therapists use the basic principles and approach of RET in what might be called a "Rogerian," low-keyed manner. They don't use my language, and they aren't as forceful as I am. I think it takes longer that way and is probably less effective; but it clearly works.

***Steve:** What are the philosophical bases for RET?*

Al: There are several. First of all, it is largely, but not purely, phenomenological. It goes back to Epictetus and the Stoics. As Epictetus said, "It's never the things that happen to you that upset you; it's your *view* of them." In RET, practically everything is viewed humanistically through the eyes of humans, not through some absolutistic source either up there or down there.

All behavior may be said to be ultimately "determined"—history, our present biology, all the forces now acting on us, et cetera. Nonetheless, humans seem to have some elements of freedom and "free will." For example, we choose to remain alive or kill ourselves. We are born, I think, with strong biological tendencies, which include staying alive and seeking enjoyment. We are hedonistic, because if we didn't enjoy ourselves to some degree, we probably wouldn't choose to stay alive.

***Steve:** What are the biological bases for human beings' irrational beliefs?*

Al: Most of our beliefs are rational. By "rational," I mean helping ourselves achieve our own goals. We are born with a tendency to help ourselves stay alive and be happy; and we consequently rationally think, think about our thinking and select goals which aren't too antithetical to our best interests. But we are also born with a tendency to often defeat those same goals, and either kill ourselves too soon, kill ourselves slowly, or stay alive miserably against our wishes to be happy. The evidence for this is the large number of people, probably the great majority, who are much more inefficient in staying alive than they would like to be. Practically all people, on many occasions, in all cultures, in all times, all over the world, share this strong tendency to needlessly and self-defeatingly make themselves extremely anxious, depressed, self-downing, hostile, and self-pitying.

Take procrastination, for example. In the American culture, in particular, we are certainly not encouraged to procrastinate, to goof, to be short-range hedonists. We're encouraged by our parents, teachers, and press to be disciplined, prompt, and work hard to achieve success. Yet, in spite of this almost universal teaching—we often procrastinate like hell! For what percentage of our college students, the brightest and best educated group we have, do you suppose procrastinate, know it's foolish and stupid and ineffectual to procrastinate, and keep procrastinating? About 95 percent! When an irrational behavior like this is so widespread and strong, and when it defies virtually all cultural teaching, I think we can assume (though that doesn't absolutely prove) that there is a biological basis for it.

***Steve:** I'm confused. Do you see people as inherently rational or irrational?*

Al: Both! Many psychologists, such as Maslow and Rogers, have pointed out that we are born with several rational or self-helping tendencies—such as the ability to love, grow, change, and actualize ourselves. I quite agree that these are innate, biological predispositions. But what tenderhearted humanists like these unrealistically forget is that we are also born—yes born—with several highly irrational self-sabotaging human tendencies—such as the easily nourished tendency to damn ourselves, devil-ify and deify others, and whine about (instead of moving our asses to rectify) life's hassles. So, according to RET, we are inherently rational *and* irrational, sensible *and* crazy. That duality, by and large, seems to be the human condition!

Significant Events

1913	*Born September 27.*
1943	*Obtained an MA in clinical psychology from Columbia University and started practicing in the areas of marriage, family, and sex therapy.*
1947	*PhD in clinical psychology from Columbia University*
1950	*Became chief psychologist of the Department of Institutions and Agencies of the State of New Jersey.*
1952	*Went into the full-time private practice of psychotherapy, marriage and family therapy, and sex therapy in New York City.*
1955	*Began the practice of rational-emotive therapy (RET) after abandoning practice as a psychoanalyst and after experimenting with several other forms of psychotherapy.*
1959	*Founded the Institute for Rational Living as a nonprofit scientific and educational foundation; and subsequently the Institute for Rational-Emotive Therapy for the training of professionals in RET.*
1962	*Published* Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy, *the first work on RET for professionals. Served as president of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, and of the Division of Consulting Psychology of the American Psychological Association.*
1972	*Humanist of the Year Award of the American Humanist Association.*
1974	*Distinguished Professional Psychologist Award of the Division of Psychotherapy of the American Psychological Association.*
1976	*Distinguished Sex Educator and Sex Therapist Award of the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors and Therapists.*

Steve: *Does the A-B-C of emotional disturbances allow one to disown responsibility in interpersonal conflict? If, for example, I insult or criticize someone else, and they feel upset, according to the theory, it is their thinking and not what I said that caused the upset. Isn't this somewhat of a cop-out?*

Al: Yes, it's a cop-out if you forget someone's vulnerability. Although, in RET, we don't believe A (Activating experience) causes C (emotional Consequence), we do suggest that A *contributes* to C. In RET we practically always acknowledge responsibility for what we do. Suppose I deliberately and intentionally try to insult you or shame you—say, by telling others that you are a louse. Being vulnerable to my verbal attack, you then take my bait and really upset yourself. Where would that leave me? I intended to shame you; therefore I am responsible. If I use RET on myself, I acknowledge my wrongdoing, my rotten *act*, but I do not put *myself*, my *total being*, down for committing this act. Instead of telling myself, "I am a rotten person!" I tell myself, "I am a person who did a rotten deed!" Through RET, I hopefully became more responsible and ethical precisely because I am able to acknowledge my wrongdoing and to strive to correct it. Because I don't put myself down for my acts, I can easily avoid repressing knowledge of them or claiming that they are not immoral.

Steve: *Does the heavy emphasis on objectivity in problem solving lead to a lack of emotional expression? In other words, would rational thinking promote complacency and indifference?*

Al: No, just the opposite. In RET, first of all, the therapist is more involved with trying to help clients because he or she is not especially upset or overly concerned about what the clients think of him or her. So the therapist can be very emotive, directive, and use the kind of strong language, for example, that I use. There's likely to be more feeling both felt and expressed on the part of the therapist.

Second, although RET tries to help clients eliminate or minimize what we call inappropriate feelings (like severe anxiety, depression, feelings of worthlessness, hostility and self-pity), it also tries to help them increase many negative feelings like sorrow, regret, grief, concern, and annoyance. It's very wrong to think that RET is against emotion. It's against certain dysfunctional, self-defeating emotions. RET encourages, with its emotive, dramatic, evocative techniques, considerable expression of feelings. It induces people, for example, to do our somewhat famous "Shame Attacking Exercises"—really foolish, ridiculous, asinine, so-called humiliating acts—so that they can fully get in touch with and overcome some of their self-defeating and inappropriate feelings of anxiety, despair, and depression. Because it doesn't gloss over or try to suppress or repress feelings, RET is called Rational *Emotive* Therapy.

Steve: *What is anger?*

Al: I largely go back to the philosophic views of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and the Stoics, and also later Spinoza and Bertrand Russell. We are not made angry by conditions. A, Activating events in our lives, do not cause C, our emotional Consequences of anger, though they contribute to it. But, *we* anger *ourselves*, and we have a choice. We may not recognize the choice but we do have one. We have a *should*, an *ought*, or a *must* that tell ourselves to create this anger. "You *must* not do what you did, treat me that way—treat me unkindly, unfairly, inconsiderately! And it's awful when you do what you *must* not do! I can't stand you and your behavior! You are a damnable person!" Anger almost always condemns, damns the total human being who does the act and accompanies the belief that the perpetrator of the act should die or be severely punished. Anger is a Jehovian command that others treat us well and that they're worms if they don't. We can eliminate or reduce anger by giving up our demandingness.

Steve: *What purpose does ventilation of anger serve?*

Al: Occasionally ventilation will actually get rid of anger, in maybe one out of 20 or 30 cases. Because along with it, as or after you ventilate, you may tell yourself, "I hate what he did, but after all, he's not a louse, only a human who did a lousy act." You may thereby change your attitude after ventilating. However, ventilation rarely helps because while you're ventilating, as when you're pounding pillows instead of your boss, you're saying to yourself, "That louse *is* no good! He *shouldn't* have done that to me! I hope he drops dead!" So, as you ventilate, you escalate the anger. Most of the time, ventilation increases anger, keeps it steady, or reaffirms it. That means, as many experiments in psychology have shown, indirect ventilation (pounding the pillow) or direct ventilation (saying to the individual, "You know, I don't like you. You really are no good") tends to increase anger, not decrease it. The catharsis or hydraulic theory of anger says that the more you ventilate, the more you release it. Temporarily, you feel better about releasing it, so you're not angry at yourself when you release it. But most people feel worse about the other person after ventilating. Occasionally, it can lead you to other philosophic changes and actually get rid of the anger. But most of the time, it "hangs you up" on the anger and distracts you from acknowledging that you created it.

Steve: *What about the positive benefits of anger and anxiety?*

Al: Anxiety can occasionally be helpful although depression usually will not be, because depression leads to inertia. Let me give you a common illustration. Suppose I meet a mugger in the dark and he says, "Your money or your life!" Now, occasionally if I get angry I might kill him and really get rid of the problem. Usually, I would fight worse when angry, not better. As the adrenaline pours into my blood, I would get very angry at him. I could hit him harder, but probably less accurately. But once in a while I will land a haymaker, especially if he is weaker than me, and knock him out because of my anger. So, anger may occasionally bring good results, and all dysfunctional emotions, such as anxiety, may be helpful. Thus, anxiety may occasionally help me run away from a lion or study better for a test.

Steve: *I sometimes get the feeling that your theory can be reduced to nothing more than a theory of low frustration tolerance and that people's difficulty in relation to all the irrational ideas is that they can't stand not having their way.*

Al: That isn't exactly right but has a great deal of truth to it.

Steve: *So, everything falls back to low frustration tolerance.*

Al: Almost. If I were to give one central theme of RET or all psychotherapy which would describe what's going on, it would be something like, "I can't stand it-itis." "I can't stand my own deficiencies, because they're too frustrating!" "I can't stand your deficiencies!" and "I can't stand world conditions!" And what I call Discomfort Anxiety—"I can't stand discomfort!"—is very important, for it interacts with Ego Anxiety, "I can't stand myself for being inadequate." So, all of human disturbance could logically be put in terms of low frustration tolerance and then we could relate it more easily to biological processes. But Ego Anxiety exists, too, and seeing this may help us understand and treat humans.

Steve: *You typically diagnose your clients in just a few minutes, whereas most therapists, even those experienced in RET, don't do it quite so readily. This, of course, is partly because of decades of clinical experience. How do you train others to do something that took you so many years to learn?*

Al: In RET, diagnosis is not especially important. If people are really out of it, that's important. If they're very psychotic and they're obviously not amenable at all to psychotherapy, then we don't want to spend too much time doing RET with them. Although it gives limited results with psychotics or organics, RET gives good results with clients suffering from light neurotic to deep borderline states. Diagnosis is largely gauged by the way they react to therapy. We teach people a variety of methods: cognitive, emotive, and behavioral. In RET, we would adapt these methods to how the client responds, and not to rigid diagnostic labels.

Steve: *What is the difference between elegant and inelegant solutions in counseling?*

Al: If clients at A (Activating experience) get rejected at some task, such as a job interview, and at C (emotional Consequence) feel depressed and anxious about that, we look for B (their Belief system)—or what they tell themselves in order to make themselves depressed. The elegant solution means changing their fundamental Beliefs instead of changing the Activating experiences at A. Clients who use the elegant solution see that they create their own anxiety and depression, for they don't have to make themselves feel self-downing, worthless, anxious, or depressed. They own responsibility for their disturbed feelings and don't blame others (including their parents) for supposedly *making* them feel anything. They convince themselves very strongly that they don't *have to* succeed—and that it's not *awful* to get rejected. They acknowledge that they *can stand* rejection, and failure, and that they're not worms or slobs for failing. This elegant RET solution is more comprehensive than certain other solutions which I will go into in a minute, and it enables clients to apply their new profound philosophy of self-acceptance to future problems. Elegant therapy includes much more than mere symptom removal.

An inelegant solution in RET might be, "I failed this time but I'll probably succeed next time, so therefore, it isn't terrible that I failed." That would be okay, but the clients probably *will* fail next time because they are fallible; therefore, such reasoning wouldn't be very elegant. Another inelegant solution would be distracting clients with techniques that temporarily divert them from thinking of failing, and thereby avoid putting themselves down. There are an almost infinite number of inelegant solutions: cognitive, emotive, and behavioral. Emotively, clients may feel worthless right now, and a therapist might tell them, "But I like you and find you a great person!" This might temporarily help them feel better—and get worse! For they would still be basically dependent on others' approval.

Steve: *From your experience though, how many clients are ready for elegant solutions to their problems?*

Al: For the superelegant solution, very few. By superelegant, I mean that practically under all conditions for the rest of their life they would not upset themselves about anything. Very few will ever do this because it is against the human condition and people fall back to *mus*turbating and thereby disturbing themselves. Some will effect a semielegant solution, meaning that in most instances they will call up a new, rational-emotive philosophy that will enable them to feel sad or annoyed but not anxious, depressed, or angry when poor conditions occur. A great many will only attain an inelegant solution in that once in a while they'll think and behave quite rationally. However, much of the time they'll fall back to their old self-defeating philosophy.

Steve: *Where in this scheme of inelegant, elegant, and superelegant do you fit?*

Al: I'm one of the few people, perhaps in the entire universe, who is superelegant in some respects. I practically never depress myself, no matter what happens. I very, very rarely make myself anxious as opposed to concerned about things. However, although I am much improved over what I was years ago, I still make myself angry at stupidity and injustice. In that respect, I'm semielegant, because I frequently enough make myself angry. So, you see I've hardly attained an elegant rational-emotive solution in all ways!

VIEWS ON OTHER APPROACHES

Steve: *What other therapies do you consider efficient and effective?*

Al: I would include the whole realm of what is generally called Cognitive Behavior Therapy. It goes back to the formulation of people like Alfred Adler, Paul Dubois, Hugo Musterberg, and others who, years ago, were pretty rational, sensible, and highly cognitive. John B. Watson, B. F. Skinner, Hans Eysenck, and Joseph Wolpe introduced a good many behavioral approaches to add to the cognitive part. Cognitive Behavior Therapy today includes therapists like George Kelly, Aaron T. Beck, Albert Bandura, Arnold Lazarus, Donald Meichenbaum, Michael Mahoney, Marvin Goldfried, and many others. I have always admired Kelly's 1955 book, *The Psychology of Personal Constructs*, though I created RET in 1955 without any knowledge of his fine efforts.

Steve: *I want to talk more about Cognitive Behavior Therapy for a few minutes. Initially, your main hypothesis was that irrational self-talk was the major basis for emotional disturbance. RET consisted almost entirely of cognitive restructuring, in which the therapist endeavors to teach clients to think more rationally. Over the years you began to introduce several noncognitive interventions, such as relaxation training, operant conditioning, desensitization, and so forth. Yet your basic theory has remained the same. You have not conceded that cognitive restructuring is necessary but often insufficient. Shouldn't your theoretical basis be extended or modified?*

Al: No, seeing RET as originally only cognitive is a mistake. At first, I deliberately stressed the cognitive element because it was radically different from the other therapies. But in my early work with RET and in *Reason and Emotion in Psychotherapy* (1962), which summarized this work, I was always cognitive and behavioral. Recently, we've added certain new behavioral techniques—not operant conditioning, because that was there right at the beginning. But we've added other behavioral techniques like relaxation, which I began employing a few years after starting RET in 1955. But the general principle of RET has always been cognitive behavioral. As Emmelkamp, Kuipers, and Eggeraat (1978) show in their study of agoraphobics, pure cognition is not as effective as in vivo desensitization. But they note in their study that RET, which is supposedly cognitive, has always included in vivo desensitization. It's one of the ways it differs most from Wolpe, who is a classical behavior therapist, and who uses imaginative rather than in vivo desensitization. We have always, as I have said in talks and workshops for the last twenty years, sent people out to the zoo to confront snakes they fear, rather than confronting them only in their heads. It's wrong to think that just because I deliberately emphasized cognitive methods at the beginning, that RET didn't also always include behavioral techniques. One of the main reasons I gave up being a psychoanalyst was because there isn't any real activity or homework in psychoanalysis.

I used behavioral methods in RET from the start because I successfully employed in vivo desensitization to get myself over my fear of public speaking long before I became a therapist. I forced myself to speak in public many times when I was about 20 years of age, and thereby surprised myself by not only completely overcoming my strong public speaking anxiety but also becoming an excellent speaker. I also forced myself to encounter

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females when I was afraid to encounter them. I did several things like that in my early twenties which convinced me personally that activity is very desirable and probably necessary for profound cognitive change. You see, RET is really interactional. It says, "Yes, you have self-defeating philosophies, but the best way to change them is also by acting against them, not just thinking against them." Several cognitive behavior therapists, who won't face the fact that I was behavioral long before they were, falsely claim that RET is only cognitive. They want to be known as innovators, when they weren't that innovative. Yet, I wasn't the first either. Alexander Herzberg was a real pioneer in 1945, in his book *Active Psychotherapy*. In vivo desensitization goes back to the 1920s, with John B. Watson and Mary Cover Jones. I learned it before I was a psychologist, mainly from reading about their early experiments.

Steve: *What's the relationship between RET and Rational Behavior Therapy (RBT), Cognitive Therapy; and Basic ID?*

Al: Maxie Maultsby, Jr., who studied with me in 1968, invented the name Rational Behavior Therapy (RBT). He will often use a little asterisk, which people miss, saying, "This is the same as RET." It really is somewhat different because of its emphasis on antiempirical rather than anti*must*urbatory disputing and because it is less philosophic and more simplistic in its methods; but, basically it is RET. Ironically, although it uses the name, Rational Behavior Therapy, RBT is less behavioral than RET because it fails to emphasize certain methods, such as in vivo desensitization, flooding, shame attacking exercises, and operant conditioning which are commonly used in RET.

Aaron T. Beck's cognitive therapy is peculiarly named because it really consists of Cognitive Behavioral Therapy. Although RET and Cognitive Therapy overlap significantly, the latter is a more Rogerian approach and therefore less confronting and less argumentative. RET is also more behaviorally oriented. Philosophically, RET emphasizes absolutizing or *must*urbation as the main source of emotional disturbance, and Beck's Cognitive Therapy (somewhat like Maultsby's RBT) skirts around and sometimes misses this prime core of irrationality. But many people don't see any fundamental difference between the two, except in the more vigorous style of RET and the less vigorous one of Beck's Cognitive Therapy.

Multimodal Therapy (BASIC ID) is largely another name, as far as I'm concerned, for RET. Arnold Lazarus was turned on to RET in 1964 when he came to one of my workshops in San Francisco. He soon thereafter went to Philadelphia to work with Joseph Wolpe. At the time, he was into desensitization and was much more of a classical behaviorist. Eventually he became more cognitive. Maybe he always had tendencies toward it. He has systematized some of the RET techniques. I conceived of RET in terms of the cognitive, emotive, and behavioral. Under each one of these, Lazarus had added a few methods, including things like sensation, which I use relatively rarely. He would presumably *always* tend to use all seven parts of the Basic Id—namely, Behavioral, Affect, Sensation, Interpersonal relations, Cognition, Imagery, and Drugs—while I less compulsively would only use those methods that seem useful with each individual client. But RET and Multimodal Therapy are not very different except maybe in emphasis. I consider Multimodal Therapy overlapping 80% with RET.

Steve: *How do you account for the fact that for almost 25 years, RET and Albert Ellis have been received less than enthusiastically by the profession, but that not too long ago there was an entire issue of the* Counseling Psychologist, *later published as a book (Ellis & Whiteley, 1979), devoted to RET, and during the past few years there seem to be a vastly increased awareness and interest in RET?*

Al: I look at it two ways. I think that RET is relatively neglected for the same reason that Epictetus and the Stoics were neglected. That is because they're sane! Sanity has never been very popular in the world. The mystical philosophies of the Orient, which are very nutty for the most part, have many millions of followers. This tends to prove my basic thesis, that humans are not completely, but largely, biologically tended toward irrationality.

Because of human irrationality, sane and sensible systems of psychotherapy—such as those of Adler, Kelly, Rotter, and others—tend to be much less popular than muddled and crazier theories—such as those of Freud, Jung, and Reich. But the reason why RET, Behavior Therapy, and Adlerianism have recently forged ahead is that RET is part of the Cognitive Behavior Movement in psychotherapy and the Cognitive Behavior Movement is almost the only movement that makes real efforts, along with the pure Behavior Therapy Movement, to validate its theories and to test them out in practice. The minority of people who are basically skeptical, realistic, and sane tend to endorse this kind of scientific therapy; but apparently this minority is large enough to make RET increasingly popular today.

Steve: *Isn't that kind of an easy way to discredit all of one's critics, by saying we're the ones that are sane and everyone else is nuts?*

Al: Yes. I'd better not be cavalier about that accusation. However, I'm writing a book entitled *Psychotherapy As Disturbance*, which will contain abundant evidence that most, not all, psychotherapies are the function of irrational thinking. One of the proofs of the biological tendency of humans to be disturbed is that scientists, physicists, biologists, et cetera are still often irrational; and psychotherapists, who presumably are social scientists, are quite disturbed and invent crazy systems of therapy which then become popular.

Steve: *I'm still not convinced. How do you know your system is the sane one and most others are the nutty ones?*

Al: I don't, of course, *know* this, since I don't as yet have clear-cut data to back this hypothesis. But I do know that RET is just about the only system of therapy today that not only tries to validate its theories with empirical findings but that also *teaches* its clients how to use the scientific method on themselves, and thereby to make themselves more flexible and open and less rigid, dogmatic, absolutistic, and disturbed. In several important ways, RET *is* science applied to personal emotional health. But since science only validates theories by facts, the theory that RET is saner than most other therapeutic systems had better eventually be empirically validated.

VIEWS ON SEX THERAPY AND RELIGION

Steve: *Let's turn to your views on sex therapy and the role of religious beliefs within an RET context. As an experienced and recognized sex therapist, what are your feelings about a therapist acting as a surrogate sex partner?*

Al: I wrote a paper against that in 1963 (Ellis, 1963), which I presented at the American Psychological Association Convention. I said that the use of therapists as surrogate sex partners was irrational because it does distinctly more harm than good in most instances. I was opposed to it then and still am opposed to psychotherapists or sex therapists being sex partners. I'm not opposed to what Masters and Johnson did by having a psychotherapist at times help the client work with a sex surrogate and then objectively oversee the sex surrogate. But then Masters and Johnson got into legal trouble for doing so. If legal difficulties are removed, I can see some real value to a psychotherapist's overseeing somebody else who acts as a sex surrogate.

Steve: *I was sitting in a meeting where someone claimed that you have sexual intercourse with some of your patients . . .*

Al: Pure nonsense! I don't sleep with any of my clients. As noted above, I've gone on public record as being opposed to that. For several years I have been chairperson of the Standards Committee of The American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors and Therapists (AASECT). AASECT is clearly opposed to physical contact between therapists and their clients, and I go along with that. So the rumor that I have sex with my clients, like the corresponding rumor that I have had eight wives, is pure fiction. Many people falsely believe, because of my liberal views on sex, that I personally engage in every imaginable and unimaginable form of sexuality. Nice work—if I had the time for it! But considering my regular work schedule of about 80 individual and 8 group therapy sessions a week, considering that I present about 200 talks and workshops to the public and the psychological profession every year, and considering that I have so far published over 500 articles and more than 40 books, I am lucky to have the time (and ability) to sexually satisfy the one woman I have lived with for the past 15 years. The notion that, with all this going on, I have somehow managed to bring innumerable other women to fantastic orgasmic heights is indeed flattering—but not very realistic.

Steve: *Now, let's move onto religion. What role does religion play in your own personal life?*

Al: I was born a Jew. However, I've been an atheist, not an agnostic, since the age of 12. I'm really a probabilistic atheist. I believe there is no God and there are no devils. I don't believe that that can be absolutely proved, but that since the probability of any superhuman existence is about .0000001 or less, I choose to believe that He or She does *not* exist, until someone shows me empirical evidence to the contrary. Absolutistic religion and dogmatic atheism do much more harm than good. I am comfortable with those people who probabilistically say "I believe there is a God," but who do not absolutistically declaim, "She/He *must* exist!" Many liberal religionists, like John Powell, S. J., believe in God, though I do not. Father Powell has written a very good book *Fully Human, Fully Alive* (1976), which follows both RET and his own brand of religion. And Paul Hauck (1972), Bill Little (1977), and several other advocates of religion have also solidly endorsed RET.

Steve: *How does RET deal with the issue of religion?*

Al: RET is opposed to absolutistic religion, to dogma, to religious bigotry, and to true believerism. But probabilistic religion or the belief that there may be some higher power is okay in RET.

SOME PERSONAL GLIMPSES

Steve: *What are your clinical impressions of an individual, such as yourself, who has made such a commitment to a field of study so as to produce over 40 books and 500 articles, maintain an active private practice, and lecture all over the world?*

Al: I have no private practice; that is a myth. I was a private practitioner of psychotherapy up until 1968. Now I only work for two nonprofit institutions.

Steve: *How well does all this activity fit into your needs for approval and recognition?*

Al: People wrongly think that I mainly do it to get approval. I'm not saying I don't have any desire for approval, but I doubt whether I *need* it. And I feel pretty sure that it's only a small part of the reason that I work at so many things. Because I enjoy activity. I enjoy work. I enjoy running around the world. But I don't think I do it compulsively. I get bored by inactivity, as many people do not. So, to lead a more interesting and enjoyable life, I keep very active.

Steve: *I'm not sure you and I are going to agree on a definition of compulsivity. But I would consider 500 articles and 40 books extremely thorough behavior devoted intensely towards one particular goal and therefore rather compulsive.*

Al: Not one particular goal, but several particular goals. And, although I get bored with inactivity, I don't think I'm a compulsive worker because compulsion means that (1) I *have* to work and (2) I *must* show, by accomplishment, what a great person I am. I don't work for that reason because RET is against ego tripping.

Steve: *But RET could be against ego tripping, and Ellis could still be on an ego trip.*

Al: Right! So I might be kidding myself and I might do everything that I do to prove how great I am rather than because I like very much activity. But after observing myself closely, I still think I do things because I enjoy myself rather than to prove myself.

Steve: *How do you spend your leisure time?*

Al: I don't like the word *leisure*, because it connotes inactivity. My "leisure time" is actively devoted to music, reading, socializing, and other unrelaxed pursuits. As I've often said, I don't like lying on the beach. That's a bore to me, but I'm not against people who like lying on the beach. That's just fine for them, but not for me.

Steve: *Would you give some background into your family life, marriages, and children?*

Al: I was a member of what is called a nuclear family: a small family with a younger brother and a sister and a mother and father. My father was very often not around when he was married to my mother, and he wasn't what would be called a "good father," though when he was around he was OK—meaning that he was witty, entertaining, and showed that he liked us. My mother, fortunately, was independent for her day and not at all smothering. I liked being a lot on my own, and largely raised myself from the age of seven onward. But since I could see at an early age that most of the members of my family were pretty crazy, and since I accepted that reality and learned to handle them, I was always the family favorite and managed to get along well with all of them.

Steve: *What about your marriages and children?*

Al: I was married in 1938, when I was 24, for a very short while. Technically, I lived in so-called "sin" with my wife after our divorce in 1939, which was unusual at that time. I'm still friendly with my first wife. I've always had a tendency to be deeply involved with a woman. I often call myself a "heterosexual pervert" because I bigotedly have no interest in sex with males and only stare at women when I walk down the street. I was remarried in 1956 after going with several women. I've been in love or attached to women since the age of 5.

Steve: *Tell me about your second marriage.*

Al: My second marriage lasted for 2½ years and I lived in "sin" before we married. I've lived with another women, Janet Wolfe, for 15 years. That relationship has lasted longer than my legal marriages, still continues, and may well last for the rest of my life.

Steve: *It would seem that marriage is contraindicated . . .*

Al: Legal marriage, yes. But don't forget Westermarck's authoritative stand. He (1924) defined *marriage*, as a long-term emotional involvement and domestic sharing rather than as a legal contract. I've always been devoted to one woman at a time, so I'm a monogamist in that sense.

Steve: *How well do you apply the principles of RET in your own life and which irrationalities do you still have the most trouble with?*

Al: I'm fairly rational emotive and apply the two main anti-

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*must*urbatory principles in that I don't *have to* succeed myself, though I like to and I try to; and, I certainly don't *have to* love or be loved, though I'm normally involved in human relationships with one woman at a time. I also don't *need* exactly what I *want*, so I think I have high frustration tolerance. But, on the other hand, one *must*—namely, "People *should* act intelligently and fairly"—does give me some trouble occasionally. I don't think I'm very hostile, but I do at times feel angry at people when they behave stupidly and inconsiderately. I practically never feel depressed, anxious, or self-downing. But I still irrationally make myself angry at people at times.

Steve: *What so you see as some of the future directions for RET over the next 25 years?*

Al: Mainly, testing its theory and abandoning those aspects of it which are proven inaccurate. RET theory, for example, favors in vivo rather than imaginal desensitization and it's possible that this is wrong. It has more than thirty-two basic hypotheses which we can keep testing (Ellis & Whiteley, 1979). For those theories which turn out to be correct, we can still find more efficient techniques to implement them. Let's just suppose that the in vivo desensitization theory is correct, then we want better in vivo techniques than we now have.

Steve: *In addition to making a great deal of scientific and logical sense, you have popularized RET by virtue of your charismatic personality. What happens when you die? Who, if anyone, would replace you? Has RET become a force in and of itself? I might add that this one question was the most frequently asked question by those who submitted questions for this interview.*

Al: Obviously RET isn't me. General or inelegant RET, which is synonymous with cognitive behavior therapy, wasn't even fully invented by me. I created it out of the work of many other thinkers, including Paul Dubois, Alexander Hertzberg, Andrew Salter, and many other pioneers. The mere fact that I have a charismatic personality doesn't mean that it's required for RET. Many of my associates, such as Richard Wessler, Janet Wolfe, Leo Rubinstein, and Arthur Lange, present RET in a much different manner than I do—and do so very effectively. There are also many Cognitive-Behavior therapists, like Don Meichenbaum, Mike Mahoney, Marvin Goldfried, and Aaron Beck, whose personalities are quite unlike mine, who do very good jobs, and who'll carry on long after I'm dead. After all of us are dead, there will be a new batch of Cognitive-Emotive-Behavior therapists. RET hardly relies on me, and if it has any real value, it had better not!

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Albert Ellis:

An Efficient and Passionate Life

WINDY DRYDEN

There can be few professionals and students of counseling who are not familiar with the work and achievements of Albert Ellis. He has been rated as the second most influential psychotherapist by a sample selected from Division 12 (Clinical Psychology) and Division 17 (Counseling Psychology) of the American Psychological Association (Smith, 1982). His published work since 1957 has been most frequently cited in major counseling articles when compared to his contemporaries (Heesacker, Heppner, & Rogers, 1982) in the fields of counseling and psychotherapy, and in 1985 he received the APA award for Distinguished Professional Contributions. His voluminous bibliography occupied 16 pages in the 1986 issue of the journal *American Psychologist*, in which his award was cited. He maintains to this day a very busy clinical practice, is involved heavily in training workshops and supervision activities, and undertakes many speaking engagements in North America and throughout the world. People can be forgiven for believing that there is a team of Albert Ellis clones working away on behalf of the Institute for Rational-Emotive Therapy, of which Ellis is executive director. But no, one man has achieved all this—a man blessed, as he claims, with a biological makeup suited to all this industry.

Ellis's professional contributions have already been the subject of a published interview in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* (Weinrach, 1980), and so in the current interview I focus more on Albert Ellis, the man.

While preparing for this interview, I canvased several of Ellis's professional colleagues concerning areas of his personal life that might hold the greatest interest for a professional readership. Four such areas emerged and form the basis for the interview. First, we discuss Ellis's early days. Here, Ellis places himself in his family context and sketches some of the early influences that encouraged him to pursue a career in psychotherapy. Second, we discuss the women in his life. Rumors abound about Ellis's sex and love life, and in this section Ellis puts the record straight concerning this important area of his life. Third, we discuss Ellis's personal characteristics. People who hear Ellis lecture often comment on his abrasive, humorous, and flamboyant style. In this part of the interview Ellis discusses this point and outlines, more broadly, how he sees himself in terms of his personal attributes. Finally, we focus on Ellis's personal reflections on his professional career. Here, Ellis discusses his feelings about his professional career to date and shares his hopes concerning how he would like to be remembered for his professional contributions.

It is perhaps fitting that this interview was conducted by a British counseling psychologist, as this attests to Ellis's international impact on the fields of counseling and psychotherapy.

EARLY DAYS

***W.D.:** Can you tell me something of your early days?*

A.E.: Well, I was born in 1913 in Pittsburgh. I had a brother, 19 months younger than me, and a sister who was 4 years younger. To some degree ours was a family where people went their own way. My mother was a neglectful woman in her own nice way. She was gregarious and would spend a lot of time with her friends from the temple and the neighborhood. As a result, I learned to take care of myself and, to a mild degree, of both my brother and sister, although my brother was also very independent. While my brother and I didn't mind this benign neglect because we could live our own lives and my mother was pleasant enough when she was around, my sister felt very deprived and would whine and scream about this deprivation. I do remember, however, that my mother used to comfort me when I got bad headaches, which happened fairly frequently in my childhood.

***W.D.:** What was your father like?*

A.E.: He was rarely around, so I don't recall missing him that much whenever he was absent. When he was around, he was bright and charming and got on okay with my mother, although they later divorced when she discovered that he had been having an affair with her best friend. Basically, he didn't feature very much in my early days.

***W.D.:** How did you get on with your brother and sister?*

A.E.: My brother was a rebel and would literally —— on the floor and do all kinds of messy things, like throwing spitballs in class. But we got on quite well. We were companions, shared common daydreams aloud together, and usually had common interests. At the beginning my sister was okay but [she] later became a real pain in the ass and was obnoxious, especially to my brother. They used to fight with one another, and I used to have to stop them from fighting. I didn't like my sister but made peace with her and sort of accepted her. However, I never used to upset myself about her bad behavior. You could say that I was the favorite in the family since I was fairly nice and got along with my mother and my father, when he was around. I was not a rebel like my brother nor a complainer like my sister.

***W.D.:** How did you react to your parents' divorce?*

W.D.: Well, they didn't tell us officially for a year after the divorce, but I found out about it at the time when I was age 12, having overheard a conversation between my mother and my aunt. I was somewhat surprised but not shocked about it. In fact, I was more surprised that they spoke about it in such a secretive way. I didn't take it badly nor did I miss my father since, as I've said, he was rarely around even when they were married.

***W.D.:** Did anything adversely affect your childhood?*

A.E.: The main thing that was wrong with my childhood was that I got nephritis at the age of 4½ and almost died from an infected tonsil. Between the ages of 4½ and 9, I was in the hospital about nine times, usually for a short while, although once I was hospitalized for 10 months. This interrupted my schooling quite a bit, and for a time I was not allowed to engage in athletics with other children since I was considered to be recuperating. However, I was not unduly bothered about all these things. I was bothered most about the severe headaches that I had regularly as a child. I think this experience contributed to my preoccupation with keeping in good health.

W.D.: *Looking back on your childhood now, can you see any signs that might account for the fact that you later pursued a career in psychotherapy?*

A.E.: I always seemed to have been the kind of person who, when unhappy, made an effort to think about and figure out ways to make myself less unhappy. In a way I was a born therapist for myself. It certainly came naturally to me. Later on, I used this problem-solving tendency to help my friends with their problems, but first I used it with myself.

> *"I always seemed to have been the kind of person who, when unhappy, made an effort to think about and figure out ways to make myself less unhappy. In a way I was a born therapist for myself."*

W.D.: *What kind of things were you most upset about in your childhood?*

A.E.: Well, I used to be quite anxious. I used to worry sometimes if my mother was very late getting home from the temple or her bridge game. I was shy, first of authority figures—school principals, for example—and then with girls. But I was not afraid of what my parents thought of me or anything like that.

WOMEN AND MARRIAGE

W.D.: *You mentioned being shy around girls. When did you start to overcome this anxiety?*

A.E.: Not until I was 19, when I forced myself to talk to a hundred girls in a row in the Bronx Botanical Gardens during the period of one month.

W.D.: *That's interesting. You spoke earlier of being a natural problem solver from an early age, and yet you didn't get over your anxiety about approaching women until much later. How do you account for that?*

A.E.: The answer is probably that until that time I was only cognitive in my problem solving and then forced myself to be behavioral. The only way you really get over shyness is by forcing yourself to act when you're uncomfortable.

W.D.: *What happened after you overcame your shyness with women?*

A.E.: From my early twenties and thereafter I related marvelously to women because I was interested in them and their problems. I've always preferred the company of women to men because in general they more easily talk intimately about themselves and their problems than men do, and I found that I could express my problem-solving tendencies with them as well as relate to them sexually. Indeed, I had one of the best records in New York City of getting women to bed by listening and talking to them and not by immediately making passes.

W.D.: *You've been married and divorced twice and have been living now with the same woman for 24 years. Perhaps you could say a little about each of these relationships.*

A.E.: My first wife was named Karyl, and we got married in 1937. She had been seeing one of my ex-friends who was married and who had been lying to her. We both confronted him with his lies and thereafter I got to know her and fell in love with her very quickly. She was an actress, very bright and attractive, but had severe emotional problems. However, even her nuttiness attracted me in the beginning. She was very erratic, sometimes showing her love for me, while neglecting me at other times. I became very hung up on her but got over this while walking one night in the Bronx Botanical Gardens by proving to myself that I didn't need her. When I told her this and suggested breaking up, she foolishly suggested that we get married.

W.D.: *And you agreed?*

A.E.: I agreed experimentally. In fact, it was supposed to be a secret marriage, since her parents wanted her to marry a rich man who would take care of them. However, she told them of our plans and, even though this created havoc, told them again after we got married. On discovering this on the night of our wedding, I decided then and there to divorce her because I realized that she couldn't be trusted. She immediately got involved with a very erratic guy who left her, and I helped to talk her out of a mental breakdown over this. After our annulment came through, we started living together and stayed together for a year, during which time she was as batty as she could be.

W.D.: *Do you regret this episode?*

A.E.: No, I thought it was a great learning experience. I learned not to live with a woman who was that crazy.

W.D.: *What happened then?*

A.E.: I went with a number of women but no one special until I met Gertrude, with whom I had the greatest romance in human history for 4 years and whom I almost married twice. I didn't marry her because, first, she wouldn't agree to our living in an apartment with at least one separate room where I could focus on my work free from interruption and, second, she was too gregarious for me. She wanted literally to have three dinner parties a week after we got married and, as that would take up far too much of my time, we agreed to disagree and she married someone else.

W.D.: *What was your second marriage like?*

A.E.: I married Rhoda in 1956. She was a dancer, also bright and attractive, but far more sensible than Karyl. At first, things were fine because her busy schedule matched my busy schedule. But then she hurt her foot and couldn't dance that much. She wanted me to spend more time with her and her dancer friends, who were not to my taste, and things started to go badly between us. Finally, we decided to divorce after being married for 2 years.

W.D.: *Did you stay friendly with her?*

A.E.: I've stayed friendly with both my ex-wives. Rhoda has even given some workshops at the Institute for Rational-Emotive Therapy.

W.D.: *So you got divorced in 1958 and met your current partner, Janet Wolfe, in 1964 when she was age 24, and that relationship has lasted 24 years and is still going strong. Why do you think this relationship has lasted while the others did not?*

A.E.: Well, Janet is not only bright and attractive, as the others were, but she really is much better for me. Emotionally, we have a solid relationship where we like and love each other and where we do not need the superromantic attachment that was there in the beginning. Janet really is solid in the sense that she helped me build the Institute for Rational-Emotive Therapy and does her own work here. Janet is the one woman in my life with whom I've been able to have quality time rather than quantity time. The others would get upset after a while when there was not enough quantity time. Janet, on the other hand, is into her own work and has her own friends, and the arrangement seems to suit both of us quite well.

***W.D.:** Is it a monogamous relationship?*

A.E.: It tends to be so now, although in the past we have had an open relationship where we both have had affairs. But none of these has seriously threatened our relationship.

***W.D.:** You don't have any children. Has that been a conscious decision?*

A.E.: Oh yes, a very conscious decision. There's no possibility of my having children now, since in 1972 I had a prostate operation, including sterilization to make it safer, but before that it was a conscious decision.

***W.D.:** Why was that?*

A.E.: Well, from my side, I would not have had children as I would not have been an adequate father to any child. I would not have been prepared to spend time taking the kid to baseball games or to do any of the normal things that people do with children. It would have been interesting for me to have been a father and to see how my children would have developed, but as I would not have spent that much time with them due to my work, then that would have been unfair to the children. Incidentally, Janet agrees with my position on this.

***W.D.:** In terms of your relationship with women, what seems to be important to you is to have a relationship where you can devote a major proportion of your life to your work. Would that be true?*

A.E.: Yes. You could say that, in my life my work comes first, I come second, because I give up other pleasures for my work, and the woman in my life comes third. But Janet Wolfe is a beautiful and exceptionally important part of my life, which would be greatly bereft of laughter, warmth, and intimacy without her.

". . . in my life my work comes first . . ."

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

***W.D.:** Let's move on to your personal characteristics. What are the main aspects of your personality?*

A.E.: I have always had a strong tendency to be vitally absorbed in something big ever since I can remember and get bored very easily when I'm not. I was vitally absorbed in light opera and musical comedy at 16 and in political activities at the age of 20. Then I got absorbed in the field of sex, love, and marriage and have written twenty books on the subject. I'm now absorbed in RET and am very involved in promulgating it as broadly as possible, since I think that it is probably the most effective form of therapy ever invented. This tendency to get involved also applies to my love relationships. But I've also got another major side too, as has been noted by Daniel Wiener, who called me a "passionate skeptic." So the other side of me that is very important is that I've always been exceptionally skeptical and nondevout. I'm even skeptical of RET. I'm skeptical of everything.

***W.D.:** Has skepticism come naturally to you?*

A.E.: I think so. I used to believe in the Bible but gave that up at the age of 12, when I took a course in physical geography and found out that the world was millions of years old and that, consequently, the Bible was full of ——. I immediately became an atheist, and since that time I've been an involved atheist but not, I hope, a devout one.

"But Janet Wolfe is a beautiful and exceptionally important part of my life, which would be greatly bereft of laughter, warmth, and intimacy without her."

***W.D.:** You're often seen as abrasive and flamboyant, particularly in your lectures and public appearances. Would you agree with this view?*

A.E.: Well, abrasiveness and flamboyance are different. Let's start with abrasiveness. In lectures and workshops I'm much more abrasive than most people are, because they don't have the guts to speak their minds fully and I do. So if anyone asks me about Wilhelm Reich, for example, I'd say "He was psychotic all his life," which he was, and that some of his writings have some nauseating —— in them. So I'll say these things about people without hesitation. I don't think I'm abrasive face-to-face. In fact, I'm often quite the opposite and get along with people because I don't tell them about some of the things I think about them because I don't think they could easily handle them. In that sense I'm quite tactful. As a therapist I'm very strong and firm and sometimes abrasive in the sense that I'll get after people very strongly when I think that there is no other way of getting to them. Even then I unconditionally accept them but am just abrasive against their ideas. However, I usually get after people in a more gentle fashion. It depends on whom I'm working with. I take being flamboyant as meaning being unrestrained in a sort of dramatic, evocative manner, in which case I'm definitely flamboyant in that I often say things in humorous and startling ways.

***W.D.:** Why do you do that?*

A.E.: Well, part of it is again that I'm courageous and will say publicly what others believe privately. But part of it is to stir up people, especially against Freudianism. I think the way to stir people up is to say something startling in a dramatic way. I may antagonize some people by doing this, but I'm willing to take that risk.

***W.D.:** Now in my own dealings with you, you seem to be rather gruff in your manner when we first meet but then you seem to slowly warm up to me. I'm not alone in having this impression. Is gruffness a side of your character that you recognize?*

A.E.: That's probably true to some degree, but a large part of it again comes back to the efficient use of time. When I see you or other people, you have questions for me, for example, and therefore I answer these quickly and efficiently and thus I may come across as gruff.

***W.D.:** And yet in our written correspondence you are warmer and friendlier than you are in person.*

A.E.: That is probably because I have taken the time to do the letter and am not preoccupied with other things. When I spend time with Janet, for example, I have the time to be affectionate, warm, or lightly humorous.

***W.D.:** So the effective and efficient use of time really is extremely important to you.*

A.E.: That is correct.

***W.D.:** Is there a vulnerable side to your character? For example, do you ever get discouraged or disillusioned?*

A.E.: I get disillusioned because I have illusions about people, which get clipped. For example, people sometimes act badly when at first they had acted quite well. So I get disillusioned, but I rarely get discouraged because I say "Oh ——, that's not the way I saw it initially. Too damned bad." And then I change some of the ideas I have about the person.

***W.D.:** Would you describe yourself as sociable?*

A.E.: Well, I have more acquaintances than the great majority of people. Some who I see fairly regularly, like Ray DiGiuseppe and Dom DiMattia, are mainly involved in my work and professional life. Others who I'm not involved with professionally get short shrift because, again, I'm so involved with my own professional life. I get along with people but easily get bored with social conversation, which often tends to degenerate into idle chitchat. Besides Janet, I have very few real close friends, but that is mainly for lack of time.

W.D.: *Do you think you've missed out as a result of not having many close friends?*

A.E.: To some degree, but not seriously, because I get along very well without close friends and don't need to confide in people. I've never been that much of a confider.

W.D.: *You've often written about the value of having "high frustration tolerance," the capacity to tolerate frustration in the service of working toward personal goals. How do you rate yourself on this characteristic?*

A.E.: Quite well. For example, I have diabetes. From the very first day I got it, I accepted it and did whatever I had to do to cope with it, namely, to take insulin and stick rigorously to a prescribed diet, which meant giving up quite a lot of foods that I liked. Consequently, after 35 years of having diabetes, I have practically no sequelae of it, and every diabetologist that I've seen thinks that I've done very well in keeping it under control.

W.D.: *Are there any areas where you have low frustration tolerance?*

A.E.: Yes. From time to time I still make myself angry at people when they act badly. I used to do this fairly frequently in the past, and it's rarer now, but I still do it. But I keep working at it and get over it very quickly when I do make myself angry, although I can still slip back into it.

W.D.: *That's interesting, because anger didn't arise in our discussion of your childhood—anxiety, worry, and shyness did, but not anger. How do you account for that?*

A.E.: I don't remember being angry as a child and it may be that I squelched my anger because I was too anxious to let it out. I was certainly angry when I became a revolutionist in my teens, but it probably didn't bother me at the time. However, I was bothered about my anxiety.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS OF A PROFESSIONAL CAREER

W.D.: *What [How] do you feel about what you've contributed to the field of psychotherapy?*

A.E.: I feel very happy that I have been the one who has been most instrumental in getting RET and cognitive behavior therapy generally accepted, despite years of neglect and concerted opposition from practically everyone. I feel less happy that certain people have not given me credit; people like Wayne Dyer, whose best-selling book, *Your Erroneous Zones*, does not even mention RET but has taken about 98% from it. I also don't feel happy when the current cognitive behavior therapy literature mentions Aaron Beck or Donald Meichenbaum but doesn't mention me, and when Donald Meichenbaum, who used to cite me, will practically never cite me now. However, whether I'm given credit or not, my impact is still there, and I'm very pleased about that. It's too bad—but hardly awful—when I am neglected.

W.D.: *How would you like to be remembered after your death, when people reflect on the work of Albert Ellis?*

A.E.: In the field of psychotherapy, I would like them to say that I was the main pioneering cognitive and cognitive behavioral theorist and therapist, that I fought very hard to get cognition accepted in psychotherapy, and that, largely as a result of my efforts, it has finally been accepted, albeit a little belatedly! Since I began, there has been a great deal of good research work in the field that might have come fifty years later without my pioneering efforts. Also, I'd like them to say that my work, directly with clients and indirectly through my writing, has helped an immense number of people. I'm very happy about that. My great contribution to the field of sex was that I was one of the real pioneers, along with Kinsey and others, in bringing about the sexual liberation revolution in the United States.

W.D.: *People tend to criticize you for being extremely repetitive in your writings. I've heard people say that you've repeated your ideas ad nauseam. Do you have any comments on that criticism?*

A.E.: I'm sure that is largely true not just of me but of others as well. The reason that I am so repetitive is that I accept invitations to write all kinds of articles on different aspects of RET in order to get RET ever more increasingly known.

W.D.: *You've alluded to your tendency to get bored easily. Don't you get rather bored by all that repetition?*

> *"Since I began, there has been a great deal of good research work in the field that might have come fifty years later without my pioneering efforts."*

A.E.: Well, I may get bored to some degree, but I express myself differently each time so I minimize the boredom. But even if I did get bored, I would accept this boredom because I have a goal in repeating myself—which is to proselytize, to get the principles of RET over to an ever-wider audience.

W.D.: *Looking back over your professional career, are there things that you wished you'd done differently given hindsight?*

A.E.: Yes, probably. I'm not sure how it would have worked out, but if I'd been more political and had not been so honest about my opinion of certain people, including certain outstanding therapists and about other schools of therapy, that would have helped more. Carl Rogers, for example, was more circumspect in this regard. Whenever he was asked publicly about me or other therapists, he made no comment even though he must have had some pronounced views. By being so outspoken, I've helped get many people of opposing therapeutic schools very angry at me and consequently they've made up things about me—such as that I sleep with my female clients and that I have had eight wives. Quite false!

W.D.: *Will that mean that in the future you're going to be more tactful or do you think that the damage has been irreversibly done?*

A.E.: I think the damage has been done, and it would not do much good to change direction at this point, although I may be wrong about this.

W.D.: *Finally, the impression that you give to people through your productivity and your voracious appetite for work is that you are some kind of "superman." You've been able to produce many books, see many clients, and develop your other interests. When other working professionals look at what you've achieved, they do so with awe. Do you have any words of comfort for these less productive individuals?*

A.E.: Well, the reason why I've done so much and still, at the age of 75, get so much done is, I would say, largely the result of biology. First, I was born to two highly energetic parents who both lived reasonably long lives and were active until the last days of their lives. So I have a very high energy level, which has made it easier for me to do many more things than others. Second, I have another tendency, which we've discussed, to get vitally absorbed in what I'm interested in and this, coupled with my high energy, means that it's not hard to do as many things as I do. Other people may neither have a vital absorption in something nor may they have high energy. Third, in many ways I have a very high frustration tolerance, as we've already discussed.

When I write a book, for example, most of it is relatively easy and enjoyable for me to do, but when I come to making up the bibliography, I don't enjoy it as much as it is a pain in the ass to complete. But I just say "—— it," and I sit down and do it. My high frustration tolerance allows me to push through with projects, parts of which I really don't enjoy.

W.D.: *So your message to these less productive individuals is that you've been blessed with three strong biological tendencies that others may not have.*

A.E.: That's right. But don't forget my rational-emotive philosophy of life—which I have also worked hard to construct and to maintain.

> *"Well, the reason why I've done so much and still, at the age of 75, get so much done is, I would say, largely the result of biology."*

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Laura Perls: From Ground to Figure

JANINE M. BERNARD

The scene is a familiar one to a New Yorker: the apartment house on one corner of Central Park with its nondescript, almost bland exterior; the doorman fighting his boredom to be pleasant, escorting me to the sixth floor; the dark hallway that seems almost cozy by contrast to the late November winds outside. A knock on the door, a lock unlatched, and Laura Perls is graciously greeting me. The apartment depicts the spatial efficiency that challenges most city-dwellers. Perls's home also reminds me of many homes I saw in Germany, with the accent on comfort and utility, not on glamour and fashion. The most comfortable room is dwarfed by a grand piano.

As I take off my coat in the small waiting room, I am struck by the single print in view, the stoic likeness of Sigmund Freud. Around the corner and toward the study is the likeness I had anticipated, a striking photograph of the vibrant Fritz Perls. Laura makes two cups of coffee, we settle into comfortable seats, and we begin the interview to the background of the noisy city traffic. Some of the magic of New York City must be its persistent, egomaniacal honking and tooting. Laura Perls provides a definite contrast to the city she inhabits.

Laura also provided a distinct contrast to her husband of 40 years. In fact, the differences between Fritz and Laura have been the subject of many biographical accounts since Fritz's death in 1970. In contrast to Fritz's earthiness, one colleague described Laura as

> obviously patrician. . . . She is a lady, in the grand old meaning of that term: educated, alert, forceful, polite, discerning, critical, self-aware, delicate, gracious. She has also kept a sense of her Jewishness, not so it intrudes, the way a Bronx comedian uses it for cheap laughs, but as a deep part of her background. So Laura draws easily on a double *Kultur*: that of the high German culture of the 20th century and that of the intimate *shtetl*, the warmth of the Jewish life as it was preserved within the Posner family. (Rosenblatt, 1980, p. 8)

As I was attempting to arrive at some understanding of this unusual couple, I was reminded of one of my professor's injunctions near the end of my graduate training. His advice was that I identify an audience and develop my career to address that audience. "Your audience can be your students, your local community, your immediate colleagues, or the entire profession. The characteristics and size of your audience will help you take choices and will influence your behavior." For Fritz, Shakespeare's proclamation that "all the world is a stage" would not necessarily be an overstatement of his targeted audience. For example, Walt Anderson (1973) reported that one thing Fritz wanted but did not achieve before he died was to have his picture on the cover of *Life* magazine. For Laura, it has always been quite different. Her audience is clearly her Gestalt colleagues, many of whom she has trained. This explains why Laura Perls is not exceptionally well known outside of Gestalt circles; it also explains the fierce loyalty the majority of key Gestalt figures have to her. Most public acclaim of Laura's contributions have been made by her colleagues over the past 15 years. I found myself asking, "Do they feel guilty that they ignored her while Fritz was alive?" Although I am not sure, I think not. Rather, in their maturity, it seems that many of Laura's colleagues perceive more fully what benefits they have received from her in their development. Her nurturance and tenacity helped them become key Gestalt figures; their gratitude acknowledges that she was key all along.

In 1980, a special issue of *The Gestalt Journal* was dedicated to Laura as a *Festschrift* (a collection of articles by colleagues, former students, etc., of a noted scholar, published in his or her honor) commemorating her 75th birthday. In it are many marvelous impressions and anecdotes of Laura submitted by her "audience." Several samples from the issue are presented below.

Daniel Rosenblatt, guest editor of the special issue, was clear about Laura's contribution to his professional career:

> I can say simply that she changed my life. More elaborately, I can say that among my many experiences with therapists, she was the best, and I can still remember many of her words, and many of our sessions. Some of what I transmit to my own patients is directly attributable to what I learned from her. (p. 7)

Several contributors to the *Festschrift* seemed to need to set the record straight regarding Laura's contributions to the development of Gestalt therapy and her strengths relative to Fritz's. For example, Janie Rayne recalled:

> I have spent many hours listening to Fritz Perls talking; I talked *with* him for quite a few. I admired and wondered at his marvelous and sometimes uncanny perceptiveness. But often I felt a nagging uneasiness that configurational thinking was not natural to Fritz. In spite of, or perhaps because of, his astute honing in on personality problems of the people he worked with, he appeared to miss out on the larger picture of personal interaction of which he was a part. Certainly my attempts to talk "about" Gestalt psychology with him were frustrating for me. I have not felt this in conversations with Laura; with her I sense easy access to basic ideas underlying both Gestalt psychology and therapy. Though she has received little credit for it, perhaps Laura was responsible for integrating Gestaltist thought more than anyone realized. (p. 80)

Daniel Rosenblatt also communicated a need to balance Fritz's contributions with Laura's:

> It is safe to say she has had a part in the training of more Gestalt therapists than anyone else. And when Fritz was at his wildest and wooliest, at his most depressed, when he had dropped out, wandering the world, she was there, maintaining the New York School of Gestalt Therapy, seeing that courses were offered, even answering the telephone and the letters. Just as she maintained a home for her children, so she maintained a home for the fledgling Institute; indeed, for decades its meetings were held in her living room. (p. 6)

The following anecdote, provided by Janie Rayne, described Laura's reaction to being compared to Fritz:

> My first meeting with Laura was in California in the late 1960s when she led a small professional training workshop. Those of us who participated had experienced training sessions with Fritz Perls; some of us wanted to play the "let's-you-and-him-fight" game. Laura would have none of it. When someone asked her to compare her style of working with Fritz's, Laura's manner changed instantly. When she said, "I don't like your question and I won't answer it," Laura was formidable. I admired her stance. (p. 83)

Finally, Jennifer Andrews commented on the marked difference between the social Laura and the Laura at work:

> After spending several [social] hours with Laura, I had not the slightest feeling of being observed or scrutinized. No therapizing whatsoever. Yet, in just a few minutes here [in a workshop], she had revealed herself capable of being aware of the slightest nuances of movement. . . . I remember feeling utterly exposed. (p. 70)

Laura Perls was born Lore Posner in 1905 in the town of Pforzheim, located on the north edge of the Black Forest in West Germany. Her father was a successful businessman; her mother was a woman of culture with significant musical talent. Laura was the oldest of three children. She grew up with the advantages of the upper-middle class. Music was an especially large part of her childhood and she was playing the piano by the age of 5. Each summer, she went to her mother's city [illegible] Hamburg and enjoyed the seaside.

Laura was twenty-one and a student when she met Fritz; he was thirty-three and an M.D. They were married 4 years later. Their life together would be marked by tremendous successes and equally dramatic trials. Because of the Nazi presence in Germany they had to leave their homeland in 1933 for Amsterdam, where they were penniless, and this was after they had achieved a good deal of financial security in Germany. In 1934, they moved on to South Africa, where they established a practice again and were quite affluent. After a dozen years in South Africa, however, they felt compelled to leave for both personal and political reasons. In fact, they left South Africa 2 years before the emergence of apartheid. After a short time in Canada, Fritz went to New York in 1946 and Laura and their two children met him there. New York has remained Laura's base; Fritz never really settled down again, moving from New York to the West Coast to Canada until his death in 1970.

Many people might be embittered by any one of the tremendous hurdles put in Laura's path through the years. Twice she was forced to leave everything behind and start over, both times with the responsibilities of children. She lost family, including her mother, in the concentration camps. For many years, she was denied the emotional and professional support of her husband. Yet the person who has evolved from all of this reflects life's goodness, not its pain. I would like to include one additional anecdote, this one told by Laura and reported by Daniel Rosenblatt. I found this little story particularly appealing because it helped me understand Laura's rejuvenating spirit and approach to life.

> [This] is an anecdote Laura told me about her early days in New York City. Although she had lived in Berlin and Johannesburg, she shared with many Europeans the fear of New York as a heartless megapolis, the "Metropolis" of Fritz Lang. When she came to live in New York in the late 1940s, having left a secure practice, a beautiful home with swimming pool, tennis court, servants, she worried about what she had come toward. Within the first days of her arrival in New York, she found herself in midtown tired and fearful. She stopped to rest for a few minutes in Bryant Park, just behind the New York Public Library. She sat with her thoughts, wondering how she could make a go of it in New York. At that moment, a squirrel stopped at her feet, begging for nuts. Laura reports that at this she took heart, for she realized that if big, tough New York City still presented an opportunity for squirrels to thrive, then she too could maintain herself, that life here was going to be all right. (p. 14)

ENTERING THE PROFESSION

J.B.: *You were a very ambitious young woman.*

L.P.: No, not ambitious. I had a lot of opportunity and I did a lot of things.

J.B.: *Didn't you first want to be a lawyer? There weren't a lot of women at that time doing that sort of thing, were there?*

L.P.: You see, when I was a child, I was a musician. I started to play the piano when I was 5. Then, after the war (World War I), when I was 16 or so, I thought that I should do something more socially useful. And, so, first I thought I would become a doctor, but I met somebody who was interested in women's development and who knew of opportunities that had opened up, and I thought that I might go to law school and work in family law, juvenile court work, and so forth, which were new at the time. I was one of the first women in law school in Frankfurt, but I soon realized from lectures I had already taken in psychology that I wasn't really interested in law but only in the psychological aspects of law.

J.B.: *Even with those aspirations, you don't consider that particularly ambitious for a woman at that time?*

L.P.: No, no. And personally I was not ambitious in the sense of being competitive.

J.B.: *Were you from a family who supported your becoming a professional woman?*

L.P.: Yes, they supported my going to the *gymnasium* (a secondary school for students preparing to enter a university), which was not the usual thing. At the time there was only a boys' *gymnasium*; the *gymnasium* for girls came only after I was out of school. I went to a girls' school, and one day the director of the school called my father and said, "We can't offer this child enough. She needs to be at the *gymnasium*." So, I became the only girl in the class.

J.B.: *That must have made you feel very special.*

L.P.: On one hand, yes. On the other hand, it was a very precarious situation. I was the only girl. I was just 12 and a year younger than all the others, and I was the only Jew. So, if I was ambitious in any sense, it was not to be the best, and I made an effort never to be the first. I made sure I was always second or third.

J.B.: *Once you got interested in psychology, what were your aspirations?*

L.P.: At that time, I wasn't sure what I wanted to do. I was just interested. When I switched from law to psychology, my father said, "*Brotlose kuenste*," which means "breadless arts." But when we emigrated from Germany, we were among the first to make a living. We didn't have any money, but we had our capital up here. (points to head)

J.B.: *Was your interest always in psychotherapy?*

L.P.: Well, when I met Fritz, who was in psychoanalysis, I had already put in a few years in Gestalt psychology. I was doing preliminary research for my doctoral dissertation.

J.B.: *Was it Fritz's influence that steered you toward psychoanalysis?*

L.P.: Well, actually I went into psychoanalysis because I wanted to be "in" on the jargon Fritz and a friend of his were using. They were analyzing everybody around, including me! I wanted to know what they were talking about. So, I became involved in training analysis.

***J.B.**: Did you enjoy your training in analysis?*

L.P.: It was difficult at first. I was with a woman analyst who Fritz also worked with, and then she went to Hamburg. Then I worked with Carl Landauer, who was one of the original Freudian analysands. He was very open and was freer than most analysts at the time. He was a friend of Ferenczi and Groddeck, and they were also more active and less dogmatic. Wilhelm Reich, whom Fritz worked with later, was a student of Ferenczi's. Actually, my training in analysis was as good as one could get at the time, both at the Frankfurt Institute and later in Berlin. Otto Fenichel was my supervisor. I didn't learn anything directly from him. You learn from him when you read him, but as a supervisor he didn't say a word. He just listened to me reporting my cases and he didn't comment or criticize.

***J.B.**: In that vein, you commented elsewhere that Tillich and Buber had influenced you more than had any psychologist or psychoanalyst.*

L.P.: Yes, they were my philosophy teachers in Frankfurt. They were far more stimulating than most other professors. In their lectures, one felt directly addressed, one didn't feel lectured to. Of course, they were both preachers and every lecture was more of a sermon.

THE YEARS WITH FRITZ

***J.B.**: How did your professional relationship with Fritz begin?*

L.P.: Well, at first through analysis. Then in Berlin, where we were married, Fritz worked not only as an analyst but as a neurologist. He was doing lots of physical treatment and all kinds of radiation treatments. I learned to do that too, and I helped him. At the time, I was still in control analysis. Then in South Africa in 1934, we both had a practice and started the book, *Ego, Hunger and Aggression* (Perls, 1947). I was in on everything in the beginning, and we discussed everything together. However, I left most of what I produced to Fritz. Actually, *Ego, Hunger and Aggression* took off on something I had done in Berlin, some research I had done on the feeding and weaning of infants and the transition from the sucking to the biting stage. That was then extended into what became the chapters on mental metabolism in the book. I wrote a couple of chapters myself—"The Dummy Complex" and the insomnia chapter.

***J.B.**: From what I've read about Fritz, he was irascible, undisciplined, and restless. Whatever attracted you to this man?*

L.P.: Well, Fritz wasn't only those things. He was extraordinarily bright, very witty, charming, . . . and very sexy.

***J.B.**: From outward appearances, it would seem that the most stable part of your life together was in South Africa. Were those happy years?*

L.P.: Mostly. We each had our own practice and we wrote the book. During the later years, Fritz served in the army and was not stationed in Johannesburg where we lived, but rather about 30 miles away. Later, he was even farther away as an army psychiatrist in hospitals. At that time, we had a kind of weekend marriage. We were very busy and life was very concentrated. The children were young. We had several servants, which one could have in South Africa. It was a good life.

On the other hand, gradually it became somewhat boring. The circle of friends we had were mostly German immigrants, artists and writers, along with some South African writers and artists. But it was a very narrow circle and very separate from ordinary society. So, it was kind of inbred and everybody knew everybody, knew everything about everybody, slept with everybody! It was very tight. As soon as they had an opportunity, most of these people left South Africa and either went to London or Israel. We wanted to leave too, not only because of the social situation but because of the political situation. Most of the time that we lived there was under the Smuts government, which was more democratic. We were rather active, or allied with people who were very active, in left wing politics and in representing natives. We wanted to be out before the 1948 elections. Fritz left in 1946 and I went in 1947 with the children. We didn't want to give up the house and the practice immediately because we didn't know if he could make it into America.

***J.B.**: From South Africa, you came to New York?*

L.P.: Fritz first went to Canada to wait to enter the United States. He worked there for a few months. He was advised not to start in New York because there would be too much competition. I don't think anyone had any idea of our professional potential.

***J.B.**: Did you always have that sense of your potential?*

L.P.: We both had it. But in South Africa there wasn't really anyone who could criticize our work or direct us in any way. In a way, we were untested. On the other hand, I don't think it would have been possible to develop our own approach to the extent that we did if we had stayed in Berlin under the tutelage and the protection and restriction of the Psychoanalytic Institute.

***J.B.**: When did you realize that Fritz would become synonymous with Gestalt therapy?*

> *"Fritz came from the theatre originally, and he needed the applause."*

L.P.: It came gradually and mostly in his last years when he was on the West Coast and was somehow amalgamated with the whole West Coast attitude, which, for him, was a kind of liberation from professional constrictions. Fritz didn't really become an international figure until after his death. He only did one workshop in Europe.

***J.B.**: Have you ever been surprised by the attention his work received?*

L.P.: No. It didn't surprise me because Fritz was a showman and he found a milieu that responded to it. Fritz came from the theatre originally, and he needed the applause. He also had more theatrical talent than I did. That worked out well for the demonstration workshops. I am less theatrical but more thorough in a lot of ways.

***J.B.**: As I review Fritz's life from New York on and the restlessness he displayed, I assume that there was some unfinished business in his own life. Was there?*

L.P.: I think there was a lot of unfinished business in his life. There was unfinished business with me and a great deal of unfinished business with his father. His father humiliated him continually. Therefore, he always had to prove that he wasn't as his father made him look. On the other hand, his father was always restless, in a different way, of course. He traveled a lot and everywhere he went, he founded Free Mason lodges. And Fritz, although on a different level, started different groups everywhere he went. And I think it was an unrealized identification with his father. You see, children always introject what they can't cope with. They imitate consciously what they like and what

> *"For some years I felt somewhat resentful that he [Fritz] never acknowledged my collaboration in the whole development of Gestalt therapy."*

they want to be like, but they introject what they can't stomach in any other way, unaware that they are doing it.

***J.B.:** Did you have any unfinished business with Fritz at the time of his death?*

L.P.: Actually, no. I had finished a lot of it when he was still alive. For some years I felt somewhat resentful that he never acknowledged my collaboration in the whole development of Gestalt therapy. He acknowledged it in the first introduction to *Ego, Hunger and Aggression*, but when it was published later by Random House with a new introduction, he left it out. And he was pretty hostile for a while altogether. But in the last years, we were on good terms. When he was living on the West Coast, I would go out occasionally and he would come here.

***J.B.:** Do you think he was intimidated by your quiet kind of authority?*

L.P.: I don't think he was intimidated. I had become critical of him. As I mentioned earlier, I was only 21 when I met him. I was from a small town and was still a student. He was 33, a doctor, and a psychoanalyst. But, of course, doing analysis, having a practice, and having children, I grew up too. And any kind of criticism, not just from me, would devastate him and reactivate the original reaction to his father. As a result, he would always escape from criticism in some way. He also escaped from comparison with others. He always started something new and was the generator.

***J.B.:** You were a fascinating couple, yet very different from each other.*

L.P.: Yes, but we had a lot in common and we remained married while living apart.

ON THE TRAINING OF THERAPISTS

***J.B.:** What are some of your thoughts on the training of therapists?*

L.P.: There is something in general that I want to say. The wider and deeper the education of the therapist, the more he or she can work with all kinds of people on a deeper level. Just an early specialization in something—and a superficial one at that—learning all kinds of techniques and a "bag of tricks," that is not what I would consider a good preparation to be a therapist, or anything for that matter.

***J.B.:** So you don't believe that specialization within psychology is adequate preparation for practice?*

L.P.: I don't think psychology exists in its own right, really. People who don't know literature, for instance, or history and anthropology, can't possibly be great psychologists.

> *"The wider and deeper the education of the therapist, the more he or she can work with all kinds of people on a deeper level."*

***J.B.:** You have been training therapists for decades. Have there been changes in your trainees over the years?*

L.P.: When I was seeing more clients, I had a kind of elite practice. To a great extent they were artists and writers, very creative people. That was very stimulating for me. And then, of course, colleagues like Paul Goodman or Paul Weisz, who died very early, were erudite and extraordinary intellectually. Now I am training only professionals who are certified or certifiable. It doesn't make sense training others. Sometimes others are more gifted and more widely educated, but they can't make it financially if their clients aren't being remunerated from their insurance, which doesn't pay for noncertified therapists. But I am getting more people now who have been trained academically, who have degrees or are getting them, who are intelligent and interested, but who are not very educated in the way I would call educated.

***J.B.:** They don't have a good liberal arts base.*

L.P.: That's right. They read only professional stuff, they talk shop or gossip, but hardly anything else seriously.

***J.B.:** They're not interested in the bigger picture.*

L.P.: Very few. There are always a few. But those who came to the New York institute in the early years were, by and large, better educated, to a great extent through their own efforts.

***J.B.:** Do you think those who break new ground are likely to be more gifted or are the differences between those students and today's a function of our changing values regarding professional training?*

L.P.: There are different values now, along with more and more specialization. We specialize too early and the so-called liberal arts education starts far too late. It starts, if at all, in college. When I matriculated from the *gymnasium*, we had had 9 years of Latin and 6 years of Greek, 6 years of math and science, and, of course, history and geography. We read Aristotle and Plato in Greek! Remember, this was in high school. We hardly value languages at all now. Students study a little Spanish because it has become necessary but for no other reason.

***J.B.:** At this point, are you doing both training and therapy?*

L.P.: Mostly training and occasionally some individual therapy for those who have been in the group and want some extra sessions. I used to do it the other way around. I started doing individual therapy with two sessions a week, then one session and one group. Now people come directly for training groups and most of those with whom I work have had some analysis or therapy. I do group therapy for professionals only.

***J.B.:** Then most of your work is in groups?*

L.P.: Yes, although at the moment I have only one group running. I usually have two or three. I think many professionals now go to younger therapists who are recommended to them. I also do not want to work quite as much anymore. I still do a lot of outside work. In November I did a workshop in Swarthmore. The month before that I did one in New Orleans. In the winter I will go to the West Coast and the institutes there. Again, I usually work with outside groups only if they consist of professionals involved in some sort of training. I don't do any kind of growth workshops.

***J.B.:** As you work with trainees, what do you perceive as the most valuable attribute in a therapist?*

L.P.: A growing awareness and the ability to empathize with the client and, at the same time, to stay separate.

***J.B.:** That sounds like something Carl Rogers would say.*

L.P.: Ah, no. Carl Rogers is much more helpful. We are, perhaps, a little more daring. Apart from being present and available, we are less directly supportive.

***J.B.:** You have said elsewhere that as a therapist you work with a combination of contact and support.*

L.P.: Yes. Usually, people work with the concept of contact and people have contact, either good contact or erratic contact or no contact, but contact is really only as good as the psychological support behind it.

***J.B.:** Should the therapist be offering the support?*

L.P.: As little as possible. Rather, the therapist should find out what supports are available in the client and what supports are lacking. It is important to actually experience how they [clients] are interfering with their own support. The therapist must experience how, where, and when they are interfering with their breathing, coordination, and mobility.

***J.B.:** So a person's own support is the most important kind of support.*

L.P.: Yes, that is right.

COMMENTS ABOUT GESTALT THERAPY

***J.B.:** Gestalt therapy is very popular among clinicians. Is that as it should be?*

L.P.: I have my reservations about the popularity of Gestalt therapy. It is similar to what has happened to psychoanalysis. Everyone uses the jargon but knows less and less about it.

***J.B.:** You don't think there are many pure Gestaltists out there?*

L.P.: Oh, there are some. I think most psychologists, if they read anything at all, read *Verbatim* (Perls, 1969) or they see one or two films and then they think they are Gestalt therapists. But these are only very small aspects of what one can do in Gestalt therapy. Gestalt therapy is much more than just a technical modality.

> *"I have my reservations about the popularity of Gestalt therapy. . . . Everyone uses the jargon but knows less and less about it."*

***J.B.:** I have wondered at times if the theory behind Gestalt therapy is just too difficult, too much effort for most therapists.*

L.P.: The original *Gestalt Therapy: Excitement and Growth* (Perls, Hefferline, & Goodman, 1951) was written for professionals. The theoretical part was written by Paul Goodman, who was himself very erudite and wrote for peers rather than for kids. It takes a lot of concentration, but so does almost anything that is worth doing. And Gestalt therapy is not a one-track thing.

***J.B.:** Gestalt therapy does include some very dramatic tools that give the therapist a good deal of power in the therapy situation regardless of the therapist's theoretical mastery. Because of this, do you think that Gestalt therapy is abused more than other therapies?*

L.P.:I think it is being abused. For instance, Fritz's demonstration technique, the hot seat, to use it indiscriminately with everybody is irresponsible and ignorant. With very sick people, you shouldn't use it at all. Because it's so insufficient, it's being combined with other techniques and approaches, with Transactional Analysis, with body awareness, and bioenergetics, with art, with anything! This just shows that people have not really understood the term *Gestalt*, which really is a philosophical and aesthetic concept. Within this framework, you can use really any technique as long as it is experiential and existential.

***J.B.:** Along the same line, what would you consider to be one of the major distortions of Gestalt therapy today?*

L.P.: Gestalt therapy should not be mistaken for an encounter therapy, in the sense of making prestructured demands on the client, but rather should experiment only to the degree that support is available.

***J.B.:** Which concept of Gestalt therapy do you think has most influenced the larger body of psychology?*

L.P.: Well, we were among the first to develop existential techniques and existential methods.There was an existential philosophy but not what is now called existential therapy.

***J.B.:** Freud was criticized for putting too much emphasis on the sexual. Yet Gestaltists often seem to repeat this emphasis, focusing on the sexual blocks or sexual energy of the person. How important is our sexuality to our mental health?*

L.P.: It is one aspect of human functioning. Today it is no more important than the others because we are much freer sexually. Actually, in some ways, there is also a kind of bravado about sex, for example, breaking through the boundary harder than needed. This shows itself in an overemphasis on sex, sexual freedom, and sexual know-how. There is so much talk about sex that it becomes desexualized. It becomes only technique. Overall, however, what was seen as the problem years ago is now accepted to quite an extent as "how it is."

***J.B.:** The importance of belief systems and how they affect therapy is getting a lot of attention lately. Do you think that belief in a deity makes it harder to be involved in Gestalt therapy?*

L.P.: It depends on the kind of God you are talking about. If one believes in a grand old man with a long white beard "up there," which is rather infantile, then that would contradict our personal power. But our own power is only one aspect of the energy that permeates everything. There's no contradiction between our belief in a deity and a sense of our own power unless we experience it as a contradiction.

***J.B.:** What about the unconscious?*

L.P.: No, we Gestaltists don't really operate with the concept of the unconscious so much as a sliding scale from minimal awareness to full awareness.

***J.B.:** Do you do much work with dreams?*

L.P.: I work with dreams but only if it happens to come up. I also work with dreams in demonstration workshops. If it is a 2-day workshop, I'm interested in the dreams that occurred the night of the first day. I also work with repetitive dreams because they indicate unfinished business.

***J.B.:** So you trust that dreams are metaphors?*

L.P.: In Fritz's language, dreams are "messages." Dreams are existential representations of the total state of the client at that particular time in his or her life. Of course, one can approach dreams in many ways, and one way is by identification with everything in the dream. This is more like a dramatized free association. Fritz always remained much more of an analyst than he realized.

***J.B.:** Do you think it's helpful for people not in therapy to keep dream journals or to try to work with their dreams on their own?*

L.P.: They can work with their dreams up to a point. But very often they can't get through the block themselves because they *are* the block. They often need to work with muscular tension to dissolve the fixed behavior pattern.

***J.B.:** You mention muscle tension. Do you do much body work?*

L.P.:I do a lot of body work. Actually, when I do a demonstration workshop, I start simply with the body awareness that I happen to have. I came to my approach not through Reich but through modern dance, which I did from my childhood on. I still do some of the exercises. The methods I was trained in were to a great extent derived from Yoga and other Eastern exercises (Sufi, Tai Chi) that I was not aware of at the time. Only later did I see the similarity between my exercises and Eastern disciplines, though there is more mobility in what I do, more swinging, more improvisation.

***J.B.:** Looking at the ways psychology has developed, do you think we have outgrown Freud?*

L.P.: Well, I don't really know if we should outgrow Freud entirely. Without him, we wouldn't be where we are today. It would be rather ungrateful of us.

WOMAN AND PROFESSIONAL

***J.B.:** What has been the most enjoyable part of your nonprofessional life?*

L.P.: Friendship with very gifted and creative people. Music. Until a few years ago, I still played chamber music with professional people. I can't do it anymore. I am usually away in Europe for 3 months in the summer, working mostly and spending a few weeks with childhood friends from my old hometown. For the most part, I'm without a piano during that time and as I get older I can't catch up technically when I get back to New York. I'm distinctly an amateur now, though I played at the level of a professional once.

J.B.: *How much of your time have you given to music?*

L.P.: I play nearly every day. Now, I play for only about an hour or so, but I used to play much more.

J.B.: *Have you every tried to integrate your music with therapy?*

L.P.: I have never done music therapy but I have worked with musicians. I've even worked with musicians on their instruments, among other things.

J.B.: *Did you ever have a midlife crisis?*

> *"I have set fewer and fewer [career] goals. If one just keeps going, one is liable to get somewhere."*

L.P.: Yes, in a way. I had a hysterectomy when I was 47 or 48. After that, I felt like I was getting old. But that passed. And until about 2 years ago, I didn't really feel like I was getting old. I knew I was getting *older* but only lately, with the emergence of cataracts and some arthritis here and there, have I felt the real effects of age. I'm nearly 80.

J.B.: *As you review your career, would you say that your goals have been met?*

L.P.: I have set fewer and fewer goals. If one just keeps going, one is liable to get somewhere. Of course, in my early years, I thought I would be a writer or a musician, but that has taken more and more of a backseat. I would like to have written more. Presently, I am trying to get my articles and essays together to make a book out of them, but it is difficult.

J.B.: *Do you wish you had ever worked in academia?*

L.P.: Not really, no. No, I think that might have interfered. I am really very lucky—I never had a job in my life! When we started doing psychoanalysis, it wasn't accepted yet in the universities.

J.B.: *How do you think professional women are doing in the United States?*

L.P.: Well, you know we had that problem after World War I in Germany. A few years ago, somebody asked me if I would join a women's liberation group. I said, "I did already, when I was a student, and I have been liberated ever since." I still think that if women are to achieve anything in the professions now, they must be smarter and more persistent than many men who make it, sometimes with minimal gifts.

> *"I still think that if women are to achieve anything in the professions now, they must be smarter and more persistent than many men who make it, sometimes with minimal gifts."*

J.B.: *Do you think women are continuing to gain ground?*

L.P.: I think so; I hope so. I think there was an overenthusiasm for a while and some exaggeration. Any development takes time.

J.B.: *Do you think we give up too much to be professional women?*

L.P.: I can only speak for myself—I have given up nothing! I don't compete with men. Some women are competing instead of just doing.

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Editors' Note. This interview is based on edited transcripts of audiotapes that are housed in the AACD Library.

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A Dialogue With Everett Shostrom: Gloria Revisited

STEPHEN G. WEINRACH

Everett Shostrom is an innovator and pioneer. His success can be measured by the extent to which we take for granted many of his contributions. Although today it is commonplace to see video demonstrations by renowned psychotherapists, a quarter of a century ago it was not. In a career that has spanned 3 decades, Shostrom has produced 36 films; authored (or coauthored) 10 books and articles; and developed the widely used Personal Orientation Inventory (POI).

In 1964, Everett Shostrom conceived and produced what has become a classic training film, *Three Approaches to Psychotherapy* (*TAP*). In it, Carl Rogers demonstrated client-centered therapy, Fritz Perls demonstrated Gestalt therapy, and Albert Ellis demonstrated rational-emotive therapy with the *same* client, Gloria. The 3-part series, often referred to as the "Gloria Films," has been widely used in the preparation of counselors and other mental health professionals for over 2 decades.

TAP has been the subject of numerous articles, letters, rumors, and even a lawsuit. Much of the interest and controversy have centered around Gloria, the client, whom each therapist interviewed and Shostrom debriefed at the conclusion of the film. Probably no other samples of these three therapists' work have been as widely seen, despite the newer examples of Rogers and Ellis that have been produced since. Because of Gloria's authenticity, *TAP* has caught the imagination of its viewers. For many, *TAP* is a milestone in their training. It provides a rare glimpse at how three experts each responded to the same client.

Shostrom's contributions have not been limited to producing video models of others' work. He has also made significant contributions in his own right, such as the Personal Orientation Inventory, which in 1971 I used as part of my dissertation. I was attracted by the POI's focus on mental health as opposed to mental illness. According to Shostrom (1966), Synergy, which is a POI subscale, deals with one's capacity "to see opposites of life as meaningfully related" and posits that "dichotomies are not really opposite at all." My intense dislike of Gustav Mahler's music when I was 17 is not dissimilar to my passionate love of his music today. The concept has been instrumental in how I see myself and my clients.

Shostrom and I met for the first and only time in New York in August 1987 at the American Psychological Association's annual meeting. We chatted informally over lunch about his recollections of the three therapists. His appreciation for the complexity of the therapeutic relationship and his breadth of knowledge were impressive. He is among the few fortunate individuals to have worked with Rogers, Perls, *and* Ellis. The idea for this interview came as a result of our meeting. Unlike some of the other interviews appearing in this collection, the material that follows has been prepared specifically for this book.

—SGW

Weinrach: *How did the* Three Approaches to Psychotherapy (TAP) *film series come into being?*

Shostrom: As a professor, I was constantly looking for ways to provide my students with direct access to what I believed were new ideas and revolutionary concepts in the field of psychotherapy. Ideally, I would have wanted such persons as Carl Rogers, Frederick (Fritz) Perls, and Albert Ellis to be available in person to my students. I suspected many other professors felt the same way. A film of such great therapists demonstrating what they had been writing and lecturing about seemed to be the answer.

I cannot explain all the reasons or processes that occurred in my mind that resulted in *TAP*. I came from a family of artisans; my father and brother were sign painters of some talent with a fairly successful company in Rockford, Illinois, where I was born and raised. I learned from a very early age to see, or at least to want to see, ideas visually. This orientation combined with my lifelong passion for learning, psychology, and, of course, psychotherapy, led me to want to know the people whose ideas seemed the most significant. In 1964 the American Psychological Association held its annual meeting in Los Angeles. It occurred to me that it would be an opportunity to make a film of the three prominent psychotherapists demonstrating their respective approaches with the same patient. I believe I was right when I selected Rogers, Perls, and Ellis for *TAP*.

Weinrach: *What are your recollections of your personal and professional relationships with Rogers, Perls, and Ellis?*

Shostrom: I first met Rogers in 1948 or 1949 at the University of Chicago, where I spent the summer learning about client-centered therapy. I was impressed with his work and sincerity and found him to be a very accessible teacher. I felt treated like an equal by him.

I had recorded Carl on a wire-recorder during that summer to share with my students, but that prized recording was accidentally ruined by a colleague. I felt the loss deeply and believe my desire to have a "permanent" record of Carl led me to want to do the films that became *Three Approaches to Psychotherapy*. Rogers was a great teacher and inspired me greatly. He always cooperated in the making of the films. As a matter of fact, it was his idea to make a second *TAP* series, for which I am grateful. I believe that Carl will go down in history as America's greatest psychologist.

Of the three, my longest and perhaps closest contact was with Fritz Perls. James Simkin, heir apparent to Fritz and my colleague in the Southern California Psychological Association, had invited several of us to participate in weekly group therapy sessions with Fritz. These sessions lasted about a year and a half and were in progress at the time we filmed *TAP*. Fritz impressed me. His courage and his provocativeness were intriguing. But the startling differences between Rogers and Perls created a conflict in me that the *TAP* films were perhaps an attempt to resolve.

> *". . . my desire to have a 'permanent' record of Carl led me to want to do the films that became* Three Approaches to Psychotherapy."

Perls was a great psychological detective, seeking out and exposing to the patients the primary issues of their disturbances. He said that those things of most significance to the patient are also the most obvious. They cannot be hidden, but they can be ignored. Fritz never ignored the obvious in the client, noting it in the body, voice, and posture of the client. As his patient in group therapy, I found him to be frank and penetrating, seeing through my manipulations. At the time I felt he helped me a great deal, and I was integrating his ideas into my own work.

But Rogers's work and ideas were more consistent with my personality and upbringing—to be kind and humble. At least that is how I viewed myself. Perls, however, noted that I was anything but humble, and my "niceness" was nauseatingly phony. Fritz and I had begun to write a book together, but his trip to the Far East interrupted that. I never met Laura Perls. Fritz was a loner.

The other bright light of that time was Albert Ellis. I had invited Al to do a workshop at my Institute of Therapeutic Psychology, and I believe this was the occasion of our first meeting. During his stay at that time we had one individual therapy session with me as the patient. I was impressed with Al's courage in defying the popular precepts of psychoanalysis. He identified my perfectionist traits, which he called "Jehovian perfectionism," which I am still working to overcome. Al was kind, although he used profanity to excess. He said "success is like being on the top of the mountain—the top eventually sticks up your ass."

Ellis has come into his own since the days I first knew him. I believe that RET and related cognitive systems are currently the most influential in the clinical field. Rogers's client-centered system, which really revolutionized psychotherapy, has to some extent influenced every clinical system and continues to do so. And I believe that one could convincingly argue that both Rogers's and Perls's ideas have filtered, inaccurately perhaps, into the mainstream of society, as evidenced by the self-help movement. In retrospect, I believe that the order of influence on my emotional and professional development was: Perls; then Rogers; and finally Ellis.

> *"Perls was a great psychological detective . . ."*

Weinrach: *Please describe the circumstances surrounding your selection of Gloria as the client for* TAP.

Shostrom: Gloria had been a patient of mine in both individual and group psychotherapy. At the time, my therapeutic orientation was (and still is) actualizing therapy, an integration of Rogerian, Gestalt, and other forms of therapy. I chose her because she was verbally spontaneous, bright, and had unresolved issues to discuss. She had sufficient ego strength to cope with such a venture. I do not recall any details of Gloria's therapy and would not want to breach client confidentiality. I do not believe that Gloria came back into therapy with me after the filming.

Weinrach: *In retrospect, what are your reactions to how the three therapists interacted with Gloria?*

Shostrom: In contrast to psychoanalysts, both Rogers and Perls believed that the client knows more about himself or herself than does the therapist. Both used that concept to help clients discover their own healing powers. Rogers's "reflection of feelings" was useful not only to provide clients with the sense of being acceptable, but it also helped clients to clarify their feelings and thoughts, to discover the obvious about themselves. For example, Gloria began her session with Rogers by referring to her dilemma with her daughter—"Is it safe to tell her the truth? Will it hurt her? Will she still love me if she knows I'm not perfect?" Rogers frustrated Gloria as much as Perls did. He would not give her the answers "from an authority," as she put it, that she so desperately wanted.

Each response he gave her in trying to reflect accurately her thoughts and feelings led her to self-discovery. Her concern, it turned out, was as much about what she thought of herself as what her daughter thought of her—the obvious. She knew this was the issue but did not know she knew. Rogers didn't know this either, but discovered it with her as she talked and he reflected.

> *"Gloria had been a patient of mine . . ."*

Perls did not know the inner workings of Gloria's mind either but confronted her with the obvious—her wiggling, giggling and smiling—which he said belied her words of fearfulness. It was through her anger, so deftly elicited from her by Perls, that she finally abandoned her "little girl" role and asserted her strength and her value as a human being in the interview.

In contrast, Ellis did not seem to listen to Gloria as did Rogers, or observe her as did Perls. He took her statements, identified them as catastrophizing or irrational, and attempted to teach her alternative ways to view her experiences—reality training. Whereas Rogers accepted and attempted to reflect accurately not only the feelings but the thoughts of the patient, and Perls has been quoted as saying "you sometimes have to lose your mind to come to your senses," Ellis recognized the debilitating effect thoughts can have on one's well-being and provided an effective system to correct irrational thinking.

Departing from psychoanalysis, the three approaches as demonstrated in *TAP* are *the* clearly delineated seminal systems in psychotherapy. Therapists, and those training to be therapists today, are like Adam and Eve coming out of the Garden—they are faced with a multitude of choices, one being the movement to integrate systems, and the systems demonstrated in *TAP* are the bases from which every psychotherapist must begin. Even psychiatrists are broadening their base from psychoanalysis. Looking back, I believe that both Rogers and Perls were at their peak at the time of filming *TAP*, whereas I believe Ellis had not yet reached his peak, but has since.

Weinrach: *How do you explain Rogers's continued relationship with Gloria?*

Shostrom: It is my experience that many people who knew Carl wanted to and did stay in touch with him. He had a God-like humility combined with a profound acceptance of human weakness—a perfect "father confessor."

Weinrach: *Were any of the interviews edited?*

> *". . . the three approaches . . . are* the *clearly delineated seminal systems in psychotherapy."*

Shostrom: Portions of Ellis's demonstration were edited due to length. His session, as I recall, was nearly 90 minutes. The editing was done to maintain the integrity of what had transpired to the best of our ability. I do not believe that either the Rogers or the Perls sessions were edited.

> *". . . one of the reasons for the continuing interest in* TAP *is Gloria."*

Weinrach: *In 1974 Rogers (Rogers and Wood) wrote a chapter that included an annotated transcript of the film. Rogers claimed that he did so at the time in part because there had been rumors surrounding* TAP *and Gloria. What were some of the rumors?*

Shostrom: I have not heard any rumors.

Weinrach: *Why did Gloria threaten to sue you about the showing of* TAP *in California?*

Shostrom: A community college in Northern California showed the film on public television for a telecourse in psychology. It was seen either by Gloria's daughter (Pamela) or a friend of her daughter's. It evidently upset Gloria as it did me. Although Gloria had signed a release that we could use the films for any purpose whatsoever, including commercial, we had made it available only for educational and training purposes as we still do. We had not anticipated that one day public television stations would broadcast college courses. We just had not foreseen such a technological change in the educational process.

Weinrach: *What are your recollections of the following event that Gloria described just prior to her death (Dolliver, Williams, & Gold, 1980, p. 191):*

> After a full day of filming, the weariness was apparent to all of us. The doctors, the secretary, the producer, cameraman, and I were standing in the foyer saying our good-bys, thank yous, etc. Dr. Perls was standing beside me smoking a cigarette, chatting with Dr. Ellis, when I suddenly noticed that Dr. Perls was scanning the room with his eyes. He then made a motion to me with his hands as if to say, "Hold out your hand in cup-like form—palm up." Unconsciously I followed his request—not really knowing what he meant. He flicked his cigarette ashes in my hand. Insignificant? Could be—if one wouldn't mind being mistaken for an ashtray."

Shostrom: I have no recollection of this event. My first knowledge of it was when I read Gloria's account in that article.

Weinrach: *How do you explain that* TAP *has taken on a life of its own and sustained such enormous interest over the past two decades?*

Shostrom: It seems to me that one of the reasons for the continuing interest in *TAP* is Gloria. Her intelligence, honesty, and authenticity continue to intrigue and instruct each generation. In her session with Rogers, she touched on some of the basic *universal* themes of the human experience, such as the conflict between what we think we should do and be and what we actually do and are. It was Gloria's genius that she was able to express these experiences so well and so honestly, and it was Rogers's genius that he was able to let her do so and to express so well his understanding of what she said.

To me, the Rogers portion is a demonstration of the perfect love story. In the film Gloria talks about her "utopia," the times when she feels most whole and complete. The relationship that develops between Rogers and Gloria in the film is a demonstration of a "utopian" interpersonal relationship, of what a good human relationship is in any setting, therapeutic or otherwise. The client's ability to form such relationships is, I would think, one of the primary goals of therapy, no matter what the orientation might be.

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Arthur Chickering: Bridging Theory and Practice in Student Development

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Arthur Chickering has been a major force in higher education, student affairs, and counseling since the publication of his book, *Education and Identity*, 1969. In that book Chickering outlined seven critical "vectors" of development in college students and how educational practice could be designed to promote student development. Chickering won an award from the American Council on Education (ACE) for *Education and Identity*, which provides professionals in higher education with a profoundly useful conceptual model for putting theory into practice. Since 1969, many other books on college student development have appeared, but "the ideas presented in *Education and Identity* continue to provide a strong foundation for much work in student affairs" (Thomas & Chickering, 1984, p. 392).

Why has Chickering's approach gained and maintained such popularity among student personnel practitioners? Widick, Parker, and Knefelkamp (1978) suggested that it is primarily the way he approaches his subject matter. Discussing *Education and Identity*, they noted that "his descriptions of students and college environments are theoretical yet recognizable and realistic; his thinking connects in a very direct way with the experiences of college practitioners" (p. 19). They also summarized Chickering's special contributions to the field: "Chickering is that rare entity, a scholar-practitioner, who stands between and bridges theoretical knowledge and the realities of practice" (Widick et al., 1978, p. 19).

Chickering has applied his approach to many issues relevant to higher education and student development, including (a) the development of commuter students (Chickering, 1974b), (b) the problems of academic advising (Chickering, 1974a), (c) experiential learning (Chickering, 1976, 1977), (d) the concerns of adult students (Chickering, 1980; Marienau & Chickering, 1982), and (e) the role of liberal arts education in preparation for work (Chickering, 1983). Throughout his work, he has drawn connections between theory and research from the behavioral sciences and education on the one hand and higher educational practice on the other.

A central idea in Chickering's work is that the college or university is uniquely suited to promote the development of human potential. No other institution is in a better position to do so. He believes, however, that there are other avenues by which human development can be fostered. With this in mind, he is currently extending his area of interest to include human resource development in business and industry.

We approached our interview of Arthur Chickering with the knowledge that although many have been considerably influenced by his writing, many readers of this article may have little or no awareness of his work, especially those outside the student affairs field. We believed this interview would enable people to learn more about Chickering.

Arthur Chickering was born in Framingham, Massachusetts, on April 27, 1927. After serving 2 years in the army (1945–1946), he went to Wesleyan University in Connecticut and received an AB in modern comparative literature in 1950. In 1951, he completed his Master of Arts in teaching at Harvard. For the next several years he taught English, Spanish, and French in high school and coached football, baseball, and tennis. He married Joanne Nelson in 1952.

Chickering went on to study school psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University, and went to work as a school psychologist. He received his PhD in 1958. After a year as chairperson of the Department of Teacher Education at Monmouth College in New Jersey, he served from 1959 to 1965 as the coordinator of evaluation for the Ford Foundation Experiment in College Curriculum Organization while teaching at Goddard College in Vermont. From 1966 to 1970, he was the program director for the Project on Student Development in Selected Small Colleges, a National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) grant program. Out of the experience came *Education and Identity*.

After a year as a visiting scholar with the Office of Research of the American Council on Education in Washington, D.C., Chickering became vice-president of Empire State College in New York. He also served as program director for Strategies for Change and Knowledge Utilization, another NIMH grant program. In 1977, he moved to Memphis State University, where he is distinguished professor of higher education and director of the Center for the Study of Higher Education.

During his illustrious career, Chickering has served on many committees and on editorial boards. He has been active in several professional organizations, including the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), the American Association for Higher Education (AAHE), the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and the American Psychological Association (APA). In 1972, he received the Outstanding Service Award from the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA), and in 1980 he received the Contribution to Knowledge Award from ACPA. He received an honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from the School for Lifelong Learning and the University of New Hampshire for his contributions as an educator, researcher, and author and for helping to improve the quality of adult learning and teaching, and he received the Newman Award from Lourdes College in recognition of his social contributions and leadership. Chickering was also the recipient of the 1985 E. F. Lindquist Award, which is presented by the American Educational Research Association and the American College Testing Program for "exceptional contributions in research focusing on college environments, student development, and the relationships among various educational practices in colleges and universities."

Along the way, Chickering has worked hard to balance his career with his personal life. He and Jo Chickering, a counselor at the Student Development Center at Memphis State University, have shared in raising their four children, three girls and a boy. He is quite physically active and especially enjoys skiing and tennis.

We met with Chickering in his motel room during the 1984 ACPA Convention in Baltimore. We were also fortunate to meet and talk with Jo Chickering at that time. We began the interview in Baltimore and completed it by telephone at a later date. We left the first session feeling that we had been in the presence of a man with uncommon vitality and enthusiasm. Arthur Chickering has impressive dedication to both his work and his family and a tremendous zest for life. We learned a great deal and enjoyed a rare human encounter. We hope that some sense of that encounter comes through in this interview.

L.D.: *How would you characterize the work that you do?*

A.C.: I became interested in the influences of college on student development in 1959 when I went to work at Goddard College, an innovative liberal arts college in Vermont. One of the ways I have thought of myself since then is as a broker of research and theory. I take ideas coming from the behavioral sciences and examine the implications of those ideas for educational practice and student services in colleges and universities. For example, you can look at the work of Roger Barker and his associates on institutional size. His book, *Big School, Small School* (1964) powerfully documents the kinds of educational power and experiences that small schools have relative to large schools. I think I have made a career out of trying to synthesize research and call attention to its implications, putting it in language and terminology that make it accessible to colleges and universities, student affairs professionals, and faculty members and administrators.

EARLY INFLUENCES

N.G.: *That's an interesting role to take. I wonder what brought you to that point developmentally.*

A.C.: My interest in the interaction between educational practices and individuals is very much anchored in my own experiences in education. Prior to college I went to Mount Hermon School, a private school in Massachusetts. I went to Mount Hermon because my folks were divorced when I was 9, and my mother was working full time. During my junior high years and my freshman and sophomore years in high school, I was getting into increasing difficulties and I was not doing very well at all in school. She thought that going off to Mount Hermon would be useful given the kind of situation we had.

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I was in perpetual trouble while I was there. I graduated 103rd in a class of 107. My grades looked like a yo-yo. One term I'd get As in some subjects and Fs or Ds in others, and then the next term I'd concentrate on the ones that I got the Ds or Fs in and get As in those, and the others would fall apart. I really had very little time, energy, or motivation for studying, but it was a supportive environment. They tolerated me, they put up with a lot of misbehavior, and I did indeed end up graduating.

L.D.: *Considering your poor class ranking and your inconsistent grades, how were you able to get into college?*

A.C.: After I graduated from Mount Hermon School, I enrolled in the U.S. Army Specialized Training Reserve Program in the summer of 1944. They sent me to the University of New Hampshire in July and I was kicked out in December because I spent most of my time partying, playing cards, and rabble-rousing in general. And so I blew that, just as I came very close to blowing my education at Mount Hermon.

My mother was working in Connecticut at the time, only about 15 miles from Wesleyan. I went back to be with her. I went over to talk to the admissions person at Wesleyan because I had from January to June, when I was going to be drafted as a consequence of getting kicked out of the program. I talked with the admissions person and he said, "Send me your SAT scores and your high school records and we'll look at them to see if you can get in." I said, "You don't want to see that stuff. You'll never let me in this place if you look at that." And he said, "I'm sorry, that's what we use when we make judgments about letting people into college." So he called me a couple of weeks later, invited me in, and said, "We've never let anybody into Wesleyan with anything like the records you have; your aptitude test scores are very high but your academic record is dismal." I said, "I know that, but now I think I'm ready to try and learn and to apply myself. I know I can do the work if I am given the opportunity. You set any grade point average you want to set and if I don't make it you kick me out. I'll pay a full semester of tuition, and I'm a commuting student so I won't take up any room in your dormitories." He agreed to that and let me in on a probationary basis. He said, "You maintain a B average on your midterm exams and you can continue; if not, you go." He was smart enough to keep the heat on me. So for the first time I studied, and I finished the semester with a respectable average.

Then I went into the army. I came back a couple of years later to Wesleyan and they were admitting nothing but salutatorians and valedictorians then.

N.G.: *What effect, if any, did being kicked out of the University of New Hampshire and then being in the service have on you?*

A.C.: There was nothing in those environments, either at the University of New Hampshire in that brief 6-month period or certainly in the army, that did anything other than reinforce that kind of rebellious independence. The institutions, if you will, and the institutional representatives, the administrators at the University of New Hampshire, and the officers in the army, responded to me in ways that just increased my disposition to take on those systems and not be subject to them and not acquiesce to those conventions. I went in the army a private and I came out a private, and there are lots of good reasons for that. The way I managed my career in the army was very consistent with the way I had managed my career at Mount Hermon and at the University of New Hampshire. I exploited all the cracks in the system and was a nonconformist. All of that carried over into my early posture toward Wesleyan. That's why I was on probation and subject to disciplinary actions during my freshman and sophomore years at Wesleyan.

There were people at Wesleyan who saw and valued a lot of other parts of me. I was a member of a fraternity and there were fraternity brothers who called me on my behavior. I can still see myself walking up a flight of stairs to the second floor of the fraternity house with a senior student, Dick Holloway, whom I liked. I was a sophomore then, and he said, "You know, why do you have to give us all this bullshit about cards and fighting? You know there's a lot more to you than that. Why don't you just relax and let some of these other parts of you come out?" He said, "You know we like you and respect you, and you don't have to do all that stuff to keep trying to impress us." Responses like that started to make a dent in me and helped me begin to feel that maybe there was more to me than the superficial kind of stuff that I was engaged in.

L.D.: *What else happened at Wesleyan to turn things around for you?*

A.C.: I had been on probation for two semesters with a C– average and had been spending most of my time playing poker, going to parties, and being involved with sports and athletics, and I had not spent much time studying. It was only possible to major "vertically" in English literature or French literature or what not, and during my sophomore year, when I had to decide on a major, none of those looked very appealing. I really was interested in some of the courses in which I'd had a chance to read contemporary literature. I went to the dean and asked, "Isn't there some way you can slice literature horizontally instead of vertically? A major in which I could read late 19th- and 20th-century authors? I'd like to do that because I like that literature and I'm particularly interested in the relationships between the literature and the kind of social conditions and social change that existed." And so the dean said, "Well, there is such a thing as comparative literature. We don't have a formal major in that area here at Wesleyan, but if you will talk with the department heads for Spanish, French, the classics, and the humanities, and if they'll agree to design a collection of courses for you and prepare a comprehensive exam, then you can have that kind of major." So I ran around that afternoon and the next morning, and I found out that they all were delighted to do that. So I had my own individualized major at Wesleyan, and my academic performance turned around dramatically. I started getting As and Bs and by the time I graduated I was a good student.

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So I came out of a fairly rocky encounter with educational institutions. At Mount Hermon and then especially at Wesleyan, the dean and faculty members saw beyond the surface characteristics to some kind of potential that I had, and they were willing to work with me in terms of their recognition of my potential. I have a lot of identification with folks like myself who aren't fortunate enough to have had the kind of support that I have had. I think, in retrospect, a lot of my egalitarianism and concern about responsiveness to individual differences probably has a good bit of motivational steam coming out of my personal history.

FROM COMPARATIVE LITERATURE TO STUDENT DEVELOPMENT

N.G.: *How did you go from a degree in comparative literature to work in student development?*

A.C.: My interest was in the relationship between literature and social conditions, but I didn't know how to make a living with it so I went to Harvard and got a Master of Arts in teaching. I did my practice teaching with high school students and became fascinated with the way the students would use *Mill on the Floss*, *Silas Marner*, and other literary works to process their own relationships with fellow students and with their families. They always seemed to be dealing with their own personal problems and concerns through the vehicle of discussing novels. I found that I was much more interested in hearing about their problems and working with them on that, rather than working on literature. So I wondered how I could get into an occupation that would enable me to work more directly with student concerns. I found out there was such a thing as school psychology and enrolled in the doctoral program in school psychology at Teachers College, Columbia University.

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I completed my PhD and then went to work as a school psychologist. I was in a school setting in which the emphasis really was on a preventive mental health approach in which we worked with teachers and principals to try to improve the educational conditions or teaching practices that were having malevolent effects on students. We would have individual students referred to us; we would do diagnostic workups and then refer the students out for counseling; and we would try to work with the teachers and the students together. So I got involved in that whole dynamic between the institution and its teaching practices, its varied environments, and its effects on students at the high school level.

N.G.: *How did you get involved in higher education?*

A.C.: I became very frustrated with the way teachers behaved toward students and got interested in the whole problem of the preparation of teachers. In 1958, I was invited to apply for a job as chairman of the new teacher education department at Monmouth College in Long Branch, New Jersey. I took that job because I wanted to see what it was like to work in a college.

I was there for just a year. I got right in the middle of a big faculty-administration battle, and another colleague and I got fired. We ended up suing the president. I learned a lot about institutional politics that year and I'm pleased to say that the following year the president became president emeritus. Even though I ended up leaving the system, it started to change as a result of a lot of actions that a number of other department heads and I took.

N.G.: *Where did you go from there?*

A.C.: I went to Goddard College in 1959 as coordinator of evaluation for a 6-year project on curriculum improvement, and that's what plunged me into research on the impacts of colleges on students. My job was to assess the degree to which the various kinds of changes made at Goddard made a difference to students. The experiment, which lasted from 1959 to 1965, included many things that are now considered innovative ideas, including individualized degree programs, independent studies, and contract learning. Goddard had an off-campus work program with an emphasis on building field experiences and experiential learning. There was a strong emphasis on using the residential context for explicit learning environments. Goddard intentionally built self-contained small houses for 16 to 22 students, where they could cook and have a lot of differentiation from house to house in terms of the character of the house. So a whole range of educational innovations that really started to move into the mainstream in the late 1960s and during the 1970s were getting under way from 1959 to 1964 at Goddard. My job was to see how different students responded to those innovations and what effects they had on them.

CAREER AND DUAL CAREER

***L.D.:** How would you describe the evolution of your career?*

A.C.:I've never had any design for a career. All my professional moves have been quite serendipitous. Opportunities have presented themselves and I have gone toward them.

The move from working as a school psychologist to Monmouth College occurred because I was called by a former school psychologist colleague who had become dean. He knew we agreed in our ideas about teacher preparation because we had both been frustrated by teachers with whom we had worked. So he asked me to come and develop a new teacher education program.

During that year I happened to hear from one of the other faculty members about this crazy little progressive liberal arts college up in Vermont called Goddard. Then I got fired from Monmouth in February and was looking for work. I love to ski and camp so I wrote to Goddard. They had a position open. I interviewed for it, got it, and loved it.

While I was at Goddard, we developed the proposal for the Project on Student Development in Small Colleges. Ernie Boyer was going to be the executive director. He had been at a small college out on the West Coast. But after we got funded, Sam Gould asked him to come and work at the State University of New York, so I moved into the directorship of that project. *Education and Identity* came out of that project; it happened to get the ACE book award and a lot of visibility. That propelled me on to the higher education stage.

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I was very happy doing my thing there in Vermont. Then Boyer got the idea of creating Empire State College and asked me if I'd be interested in being academic vice-president. I decided to take the Empire State position.

I did that for 6 or 7 years, and then this letter from Memphis State came out of the blue. I had never worked in a large urban university, never worked in a College of Education, never had anything to do with graduate education, never had anything to do with a Center for the Study of Higher Education, and never had lived in the South. Our youngest daughter had graduated from high school and gone on to college, and we were very ready to start another chapter in our lives. Memphis and Memphis State were very different from anything we had experienced in the past, so that is where we ended up and it turned out to be very fruitful.

***N.G.:** I have a question for Jo about dual-career families. You're a well-known professional in your own right. How has it been for you throughout these moves? How were some of these choices made from your perspective?*

J.C.:Well, that's a very complicated question; I think they were made situationally. I think Chick, more than anyone I knew back in the 1940s, was really talking about egalitarian relationships, and I think that was very important. When we were first married, that was very much a part of it. We would both work full time and go to school. I don't think we had figured out what to do when we had children, as I hear couples much more intentionally trying to plan today. But he's been very involved with the kids and still is.

I've learned different things. As I connected with the women's movement, I started learning how other people out there have done it. Over time, we've learned how to be responsible for our own happiness, unhappiness, and development. We've learned lots from each other and we're still learning.

***L.D.:** We asked Jo to talk a little bit about her perspective on dual-career issues. I was wondering about your perspective on that.*

A.C.: Well, I appreciate her comments very much. I think it is true that I, at the conscious level anyway, always wanted and worked for a kind of egalitarian relationship between us. I tried to reinforce and support her involvement in professional activities, community activities, and the like. I would build time with the kids into my routine, so I was always oriented toward being an active father, contributing to household chores and things like that.

Having said all that, I think it's also true that there was an unconscious role differentiation. We were living out what you would now call "sexist role expectations." She was not actively questioning the fact that she was primarily responsible for the kids, the house, and the cooking and cleaning, and neither was I. There wasn't intentional negotiation of all of that. During the 1970s she pursued her master's degree in counseling at the University of Vermont and then her PhD in higher education and counseling. I was very supportive of that. When I was ready to leave Empire State and move on, the most important criterion for that next position was the professional opportunities available for her.

We got a letter from Memphis State saying that my name had been suggested for this distinguished professorship and inviting me to meet with people at the AAHE meeting in Chicago in 1976. I went and talked with them. Within the first 5 minutes, I indicated that employment possibilities for my wife were critical in our decision. We spent 3½ hours talking about the institution and what they wanted. As we were winding down, I said that I would like to explore it further. Without any prompting, Jerry Boone, the academic vice-president, said, "Make sure your wife sends me a detailed resumé. Ask her to write me a letter indicating the kinds of different employment options she'd be interested in. We will want to make sure that she comes down with you. In the meantime we'll see what we can arrange for her to look at."

That was one of the things that most impressed me about the interview. When we went down they had a full series of interviews set up for her, not only within the university but in the community. They couldn't offer her any concrete position when they wanted me to make a commitment on the distinguished professor position, but it was clear they were motivated to follow through on her employment. I accepted the appointment and within a month they had offered her a position in the Student Development Center to fill a temporary slot as a personal counselor for a person who was going on leave. After she was there for a year, she was so good that they created a regular position and she's continued there ever since. So her employment has been a powerful consideration.

We do many things together. We also do things separately. Because our interests overlap, it has been particularly interesting to manage in a way that she becomes a very solid person with her own professional identity and not just a tagalong. She's highly competent and is now well recognized.

MENTORS AND GENDER ROLE ISSUES

***N.G.:** There are a number of things in our profession now that are perhaps buzz words, such as "gender roles" and "midlife crisis." Would* *you speak to either of those areas in terms of your personal and professional development?*

A.C.: The gender role issue is very interesting, particularly looking back at my history. I think the thing that was driving all my dysfunctional behavior, such as playing poker all the time, investing an awful lot of energy in being a good athlete, and drinking and partying, was a way of establishing a kind of "super macho" identity, which is what I came to hang my self-esteem and sense of self on. My behavior was this "tough, nobody can hurt me, nothing can touch me" kind of behavior, and I was putting my energies into anything but my studies.

L.D.: *How has your gender role changed and how has the change influenced your work?*

A.C.: Well, it really only started to change in the last decade or so. While I was working as a school psychologist and when I worked at Goddard, all those sort of masculine values of aggressiveness, achievement, physical activities, sports, brashness, outspokenness, and anti-establishment and anti-authoritarian kinds of attitudes were still very much there all during those years. By that time, that kind of energy was being devoted to reasonably productive ends, such as research, writing, teaching, and into a lot of interactions with students and their small educational communities. But all of that was still very dominant.

Certainly my relationship with Jo and then my relationship with my kids started to really make a difference in all of that. Jo is a super caring, sensitive, and feeling person and is very responsive to her own emotions. She can delight in things that leave me cold, and she can also be made very sad about things from which I can insulate myself very effectively. So for the 33 years of our marriage, she's been a force for the enrichment of that part of myself.

It's really interesting that only in the last 10 or 15 years have I been much more open to, and trying to get better access to, my own feelings and emotions. While at Empire State as vice-president for academic affairs for 6 years, I was in a very emotionally, intellectually, and physically demanding job. There were long hours, very tough political battles, and very heavy intellectual challenges. I experienced both feelings of attack and hostility as well as feelings of love and support from other members of the Empire State administration and faculty. I was at a level of intensity that started to break down some of the walls I had built around myself on the emotional side and created a context in which a lot of that has been able to flourish much more than in the past.

Another part is the extent to which I was being driven to achieve during the first 30 or 40 years of my life by feelings of insecurity and a need to achieve in order to have a sense of self-esteem. That need finally got satisfied in a way so that achievement has always been linked up with concern for some kind of social contribution; it has never been very much hooked into material success. It has always been accompanied by a strong sense of priority of wanting to spend time with the family, but it also was very much accompanied by a lot of hard work and being kind of a workaholic. I feel as though I'm moving toward a much better balance and I'm steadily moving toward an orientation to people, relationships, caring, and feelings as opposed to tasks and achievements.

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L.D.: *Did you have some people in your life that you would consider to be mentors, and, if so, who were they and how did they affect you?*

A.C.: The first person that would really have that characteristic would be Gertrude Driscoll, my adviser when I did my graduate work in school psychology. I was still too anti-authoritarian to allow myself to have that kind of relationship with an older person, although some of the older people were helpful in one-shot encounters. Gertrude Driscoll was really down to earth and was very concerned about students and teaching. She was somewhat at odds with Columbia's heavy emphasis on research and publication. She was a very caring person and consistently worked at tempering my rebellious independence. So she was very important.

The next person was Verda Wentling, who was the chief school psychologist with whom I worked. I worked with her for 3 years, and she was a fine role model who exemplified a preventive mental health approach in her own behavior and work.

When I went to Goddard, my key mentor with regard to higher education was Tim Pitkin, the president. He was and still is an outstanding person, totally committed to effective education and to students and their integrity as individuals. He was committed to creating the most powerful educational environments possible and was very sophisticated about educational practices based on the progressive education tradition of Dewey and Kilpatrick. He created an environment at Goddard that was by far the most powerful educational community I've ever had the good fortune to be associated with. Not only were his ideas and his character remarkable, but so was the way he worked with the faculty, related to students, and used his position as president of that small college to get the whole range of innovations under way in higher education. So his influence is undoubtedly the most significant with regard to my work in higher education.

EDUCATION AND IDENTITY

L.D.: *Which of your publications would you regard as most significant and why?*

A.C.: Well, I suppose *Education and Identity* because it seems to have fortuitously provided a kind of conceptual framework that was helpful to student affairs professionals. That book seems to have stood up quite well; it seems to have been a useful contribution. So that sort of stands head and shoulders above other writing I have done.

The *Commuting Versus Resident Students* (Chickering, 1974b) book has been useful in relation to a particular kind of problem. *The Modern American College* (Chickering, 1981) is a different kind of statement, making essentially the same point that *Education and Identity* made in a somewhat different way. I think it has been helpful in sustaining and giving continued visibility and articulation to that kind of orientation. But I doubt that it will have the kind of impact that *Education and Identity* had.

N.G.: *In looking at* Education and Identity, *do you see any differences in applicability, things that you would expand on if you were to write that today?*

A.C.: Russ Thomas and I (1984) recently wrote an article for the *Journal of College Student Personnel*, called "Education and Identity Revisited," that answers your question in detail. I would say that all those issues are still very much there: competence, autonomy, managing emotions, identity, purpose, integrity, and relationships. For young people, the range of options that exist and their awareness of all those options has exploded. They've been presented with cultural diversity that includes public legitimatization of all kinds of alternate lifestyles and sexual relationships and all kinds of occupational possibilities and values.

After World War II, the 1940s were a time of relative peace and security. We were not living with the threat of nuclear holocaust; we were not bombarded with information about pollution and waste. We weren't living with an erosion of trust in government, in social institutions, or in persons in authority. We were not confronted with all the results of social changes as the young people are now. While these problems have been escalating, we haven't developed social institutions that have the power, integrity, sense of purpose, or organization to help people deal with the increased complexity. So the fundamental existential issues are still there, but coming to terms with them has become much more complicated and the institutional resources to help those folks have not grown commensurately with the need.

The creation of community colleges during the 1960s was certainly a major social invention and an expansion of resources to meet some of those needs. But most community colleges are still very much vocational-professional preparation programs. They do not have the resources of the private liberal arts colleges to take on the developmental tasks and issues or the kind of institutional organization that can address personal development. There are many ways that these human development issues can be addressed in community institutions, colleges, and universities, but we have not organized ourselves to do that.

***L.D.:** Most of the material that you've written addresses college students. I'm wondering how the things that you've written address people who don't go to college and what the similarities and differences might be.*

A.C.: I think those major dimensions of human development—autonomy, identity, integrity, purpose, managing emotions, developing competence and a sense of competence—are areas of human development that characterize all of us, whether we go to college or not. I would not say that folks who go to college have those developmental needs and that others do not. The evidence from the 1960s and 1970s indicates that going to college can accelerate development in those areas. It can make individual development more intentional, reflective, and thoughtful in some of those areas. So research suggests that these are areas of potential development for everybody, and college does make a difference. The sheer fact of going to college and the extent of one's college education seem to make a difference in one's development in a general way.

***L.D.:** What are the implications of your work for counselors?*

A.C.: I think they are very powerful. We value and want to maintain a cultural pluralism that is the diversity of persons in ethnicity, background, social class, and so on. A critical human and social problem is how to help people understand themselves and understand different alternatives in more complex ways so they can fashion a fit between themselves as unique, creative, and growing persons and those resources and alternatives out there in an effective way.

Counselors need to work with groups and individuals, engage in career and educational and life planning, create various kinds of support groups and special interest groups and networks, and supply the diverse kinds of activities and resources that are necessary to improve the quality of those connections. That is a social task that I think is crying out for competent energy. Wherever you look you see things going on, in churches, libraries, self-help groups, and so forth, that are expressions of that need. It is being responded to by all kinds of people, from those who are highly expert to hucksters and charlatans. It is a critical social need, and counselors are ideally positioned to offer competent help in meeting it in colleges, universities, high schools, the corporate sector, mental health settings, and other nonformal settings.

STUDENT DEVELOPMENT AND STUDENT SERVICES

***N.G.:** Can you identify some of the events, innovations, or changes that have had the greatest impact on the field of student development and adult learning?*

A.C.: I think the greatest impact has come from major theories of human development and from research that shows how student development tends to be associated with various kinds of educational experiences and environments and how it can be encouraged under the right conditions. This has provided us with a conceptual theoretical base that has been useful to practitioners. More and more practice now is being systematically informed by that research, tuned by it,and shaped by it. We see all kinds of evidence, such as student development contracts, developmental transcripts, and even student development centers instead of counseling centers.

***L.D.:** Looking ahead, what are your thoughts and hopes for the future for student affairs professionals, student development, and adult learning?*

"I hope that student affairs professionals will really get more and more heavily involved in research, looking at the strengths and weaknesses and various arenas of activity that the student services area covers."

A.C.: I certainly hope that student affairs professionals can hang in there on the student development orientation. There is no other institution available to young adults and adults throughout the life cycle that can provide a very intentional environment in relation to the key areas of human development. I hope that student affairs professionals will really get more and more heavily involved in research, looking at the strengths and weaknesses and various arenas of activity that the student services area covers. We need much more research to understand how those various arenas for action can be carried out most effectively in relation to the wide range of individual differences that are coming at us—differences in ethnicity, academic preparation, age, developmental status, and so on. I am pleased with the progress that has been made, and I hope people will keep working away at that.

***L.D.:** Is there any particular area of research that you feel is lacking at this moment or needs to be done?*

A.C.: Yes, I think it would be very useful to address the way in which participation in varied student services activities or different student services contributes to intellectual competence, intellectual complexity, and cognitive complexity. My own conviction is that students who get significantly involved in student services programs will show gains in critical thinking skills as well as in interpersonal competence and cognitive complexity. Ideally, that should be done collaboratively with professionals on the academic side.

***N.G.:** On many campuses, student services seem to be high on the "target list" for elimination to save the university some money. Do you have any suggestions to people who are in that situation?*

A.C.: The research I was talking about is one way to speak to that issue, as well as other research that demonstrates the way in which student services contribute to more effective academic performance, degree completion, and retention rates. Systematic research on postcollege success and effectiveness as it may be related to participation in various types of student services activities or use of student services would be helpful.

Another suggestion is to involve other parts of the university community in varied kinds of service activities. I would try to locate student services, especially in large, comprehensive universities, professionally and strategically in different colleges to work more closely with faculty. I am talking about a decentralized approach. By doing so you establish a political base, human relationships, and working relationships so that the services that you have to offer are made more visible.

The other thing that is critical is to move more quickly to reconceptualize the way services have to be provided to meet the needs of part-time adult students. Most programs are still heavily anchored in assumptions that flow out of the typical full-time, college-age student in residence. I think we have a lot to offer returning adult students who are part time. There are things going on here and there, but the profession as a whole needs to move a lot more thoughtfully and significantly in that whole arena to adapt to the changing kinds of students that are coming to us.

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

L.D.: Do you have any publications or projects in the works that we should be looking for in the next few years?

A.C.: No, I really don't. There are a lot of things that I am interested in. The main area that I'm exploring and interested in learning more about now is the business of corporate education and training and its impact on human development, and ways in which colleges, universities, and corporations can work in complementary fashion to make a difference to people. But that certainly is not at a point where it is going to emerge in any significant writing. My activities in that area are now all on the learning side rather than on the research and writing side. I don't have any significant piece of research or writing on my agenda at this time.

> *"If I want to be remembered for anything, it would be as somebody who said 'yes' to life."*

N.G.: What would you like to be remembered for?

A.C.: If I want to be remembered for anything, it would be as somebody who said "yes" to life. But my orientation of turning toward challenge and going for new experiences has slowed down a bit. I am giving a larger place in my life to some close relationships and being part of a community, which is not very congruent with being oriented toward new challenges and new work possibilities. One option that I probably would not have entertained in the past is to settle into an environment and enjoy the relationships, spend more time playing tennis and racquetball, camping and canoeing, going to the theater, or playing the trombone as I used to. I might relax into that quite different kind of life for awhile.

N.G.: And yet it sounds like the reaching out you are doing to corporate human resources development would fit with being oriented toward new challenges.

A.C.: Yes, that's right. That whole area is interesting. It would provide all kinds of intellectual and entrepreneurial challenges. I could build on my 25 years of higher education and still work for the same values and social concerns in another arena. It might be possible to help the corporate world undertake human resources development in ways that address some of the key areas of human development described in *Education and Identity*. If the corporate world ever started to do that kind of thing in a serious way, it would have fantastic social implications. So I can get pretty excited about that as an arena for effort. It's a utopian aspiration. But it's also utopian to think of making any significant change in higher education, which has not deterred me in the past!

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Nevitt Sanford: Gentle Prophet, Jeffersonian Rebel

HARRY J. CANON

The use of developmental terms and concepts has become so commonplace among student services professionals that it may be difficult for many people to either recall or imagine a time when "student development" was not a predominant theme. Nonetheless, only 25 years ago, the prevailing wisdom among student services professionals was that college probably does not change students in any significant way. Jacobs (1957) had conducted an exhaustive review of the research literature and concluded that little in or out of the classroom seemed to alter students as persons—some academic or career skills might be acquired, but personality change could not be demonstrated.

With the publication of *The American College* in 1962, Nevitt Sanford and his associates successfully challenged these conclusions and initiated the quiet revolution that brought about the preeminence of developmental constructs and theory in the exchanges among student services professionals. Sanford and company, in the course of the longitudinal study of Vassar women that produced *The American College,* used both interview techniques and more sensitive objective tests that yielded evidence of quite measurable change during the college years. Even more exciting was the explicit assertion by Sanford and his co-authors that environmental factors—including the curriculum and cocurriculum—could serve to initiate, accelerate, or inhibit developmental change.

The response to *The American College* and its senior author by student services professionals was immediate and enthusiastic. The book enjoyed word-of-mouth endorsements that preceded formal reviews by months, and Sanford became *the* speaker to have on campus. It seems—in retrospect—that a significant portion of the profession had finally found someone who could speak for them, articulate their hopes, and assert their beliefs and values. Effectively, Sanford provided both the foundation and the direction for the way student services people would view themselves and their mission for the next quarter of a century. The staying power of Sanford's thinking is attested to in a collection of his essays, *Learning After College* (1980), which offers an abundance of only partially tapped ideas and developmental constructs.

The title of this article refers to Nevitt Sanford as a "gentle prophet" and "Jeffersonian rebel." At one level, the nouns and their modifiers may seem mildly contradictory. Prophets are rarely gentle and rebels infrequently reflect the patrician breadth and depth of a Jefferson; however, Nevitt Sanford seems to be all of the above. He is gentle in his dealings with people and generous in acknowledging their worth as individuals. His gentleness makes him no less prophetic in his insistence on the freedom to inquire and to utter the outrageous truth, even when that utterance or inquiry leads to the loss of a livelihood, as it did for him during the Loyalty Oath controversies at Berkeley in the 1940s. Similarly, Sanford has listened to his own drummer, marching to a mode of research that is out of step with the more conventional standards of psychological research respectability, while calling into play a civility and degree of certitude that few resources other than a rootedness in family and his Virginia culture might provide. As can be seen in the interview to follow, those apparent contradictions have been placed in the service of the profession. The material below is drawn variously from a 3-hour interview with Nevitt Sanford and as yet unpublished personal papers that he generously provided.

VIRGINIA ROOTS

H.C.: It's apparent in much of your writing that your Virginia roots are an important part of who you are. Would you say something about your family and the early days in Virginia?

N.S.: Dad and Grandpa were Baptist ministers. Both became well known throughout Virginia and in Baptist circles in particular. Dad entered Richmond College in 1897 and preached at several nearby churches during his college years. In 1903, the day after graduating from Richmond College, he married Margaret Taylor, who was the organist in one of his churches (Sanford, 1983a).

As the family grew, Dad found it was not possible to support us all on his salary as a pastor or as school president (of the Hargrave Military School he had founded). Dad had what was virtually a subsistence farm. We older boys took turns milking the cow, feeding the pigs, cleaning out the barn, cutting the wood, and hoeing those endless rows of corn and potatoes. I am not being moralistic when I say that this was probably good for us. The point has been made that if you want to lead a moral life you not only have to know what is right, you have to have the practical knowledge and the skills to *do* what is right (Sanford, 1983b).

Perhaps the nearest Dad and Grandpa came to genius was in their choice of the women they married. Dad and Grandpa had no fear of women nor of showing their own tender feelings. They put no pressure on their sons to be tough or to be aggressive in their dealings with the world.

H.C.: Your writing reflects a consistent awareness of the degree to which women have not been accorded equal opportunity, or where men have been trapped by role expectations.

N.S.: When I was a boy, the males dominated everything in our household. They decided what was going to be listened to on the radio, they talked about sports. My mother was an artist and quite a good painter and musician; she abandoned all that after her marriage. She and my sister Eleanor sometimes sang duets in church, and it was quite marvelous, but she became a minister's wife and could not mix up the roles. So I had very much a sense that the women in our family were put upon. Even as a boy I knew.

My father and grandfather both had enormous respect for their wives. And I think that got through to us kids. In fact, when I entered the first grade, as my sister Eleanor and my brother Taylor had done before me, our Grandmother Sanford was the teacher. I must have had a pretty good grip on reading and writing when I became a regular freshman at Hargrave, for I did pretty well there. It may well be that Grandma's strictness put across the idea that these basics were important.

THE COLLEGE AND GRADUATE YEARS

H.C.: *After graduating from Hargrave, you enrolled in Richmond College in 1925. What was it like?*

N.S.: Well, as I think back on it, I took everything for granted in those days. My grandfather, my father, and my older brother had been to Richmond. My oldest brother, Ryland, was still a senior when my brother Taylor and I went in as freshmen. All the professors knew the Sanford boys. My problem was to avoid being called on in class. I was very shy. It was very much like still being at home.

H.C.: *How did you happen to get interested in psychology?*

N.S.: In my senior year I took a course with Professor Astrop, who was a delightful man. He conveyed the idea to me that psychology could be fun. [*laughs*] While I was taking the course with him, I chanced to be in the library and came across William McDougall's *Social Psychology* (1912). I was amazed to read somebody who knew so much about me. He knew about feelings and emotions and drives. I was simply amazed that anybody knew that much about how I felt about things. McDougall was really the guy who got me into psychology and the kind of psychology I was to do.

> *". . . I chanced to be in the library and came across William McDougall's* Social Psychology. *. . . I was amazed to read somebody who knew so much about me."*

H.C.: *You graduated from Richmond in 1929. How did you get from there to Columbia?*

N.S.: Well, it was through Astrop again. He had been to Columbia. Also, a chap named Henry Garrett was a professor there, and he had been a Richmond College man. These ties were somehow central. Sure enough Garrett taught statistics, which I had to take, of course, and I took my MA thesis with him. It had to do with reaction time. So it was a continuation of these ties of friendship and family and such.

Columbia really had a very sound curriculum in general psychology that included statistics, applied psychology, abnormal psychology, all the fundamentals . . . a full curriculum. I was really quite well prepared for subsequent graduate work.

H.C.: *You got your master's degree in just 1 year and went on to Harvard in the fall of 1931. How did that happen?*

N.S.: I made a good friend at Columbia. I don't know how it happened, but he was a Harvard graduate and he had come down to Columbia to do graduate work in psychology. We were virtually inseparable that year (1929–30), and we really did the town. He said, "Why don't we go to Harvard?" Harvard meant to me the place with which Longfellow, Emerson, and other great figures had been associated. I thought it would be an interesting adventure to go to Harvard with my friend. So we went.

I was delighted with the reception I had there. Harvard was for the students. I went to the student loan office, I went to the student employment office, I went here and I went there, and the university staff all treated me very, very nicely. And the professors at Harvard saw themselves first of all as teachers. You see they were there to teach, and the students were the object of everybody's concern. This is really talking about the old days, isn't it? Professors were sincerely interested in students and really gave them some attention.

H.C.: *Talk a little bit about your early experiences at Harvard, and your associations with the faculty.*

N.S.: Gordon Allport was probably my favorite teacher in my first year at Harvard. He was always well prepared, and was very responsive to the students. He gave me a job typing. I was a poor typist but I needed the money badly. When I began thinking about a dissertation, I went to him. I had the idea that the strength of a need could be measured in terms of the imagery associated with it. I thought that hunger would be the simplest thing to work on. This was the idea I presented to Allport. He thought it was a good idea and, in the course of the conversation, he said, "I think [Henry] Murray would be particularly interested." And in effect he sent me down to the clinic to talk with Harry Murray about this idea. Sure enough, he was very much interested in it.

HENRY MURRAY AS MENTOR

H.C.: *What kind of a man was Murray? I know of his work with the Thematic Apperception Test and that he was director of the Psychological Clinic at Harvard.*

N.S.: I had taken his course the year before—I think it was called "dynamic psychology"—he taught it right there in the basement of the Harvard Clinic. Very good stuff he was giving us. In those days when you spoke of psychoanalysis, you meant Freud, Jung, and Adler. He covered those three, and I think we used one of McDougall's books as a text. Murray was lecturing on what was to become his theory of needs, which obviously owed a lot to McDougall. He was trying to make a dynamic psychology without having to just say "it's instincts."

Murray was also involved in inviting Jung, who came in 1933 when Harvard was celebrating it tercentenary. Murray told me later that he and others wanted to invite Freud but were afraid he would turn them down. But they were persuaded to invite Jung, and he came and he made his usual impression as the strong character he was. And then, some years later, Murray saw Freud—it must have been in Vienna—and Freud was furious because he was not invited to go to Harvard. He may have turned it down had they invited him, but to not be invited and for Jung to have been invited instead was really an insult. [*laughs*]

H.C.: *You were in analysis, were you not?*

N.S.: Yes. Murray got the Rockefeller Foundation to put up some money so that an analyst could be paid to analyze some of the students at the Harvard Clinic. He thought I would take to analysis like a duck to water. And I did. [*laughs*] I was analyzed right there in Boston by a lay analyst named Hans Sachs, who was one of the "seven rings" as they called them—Freud's inner circle of seven. A very nice chap. Yeah, I think I had 2 years of analysis with him while I was working at the Shady Hill School in Cambridge.

H.C.: *You finished analysis about the time you completed your PhD in 1934?*

N.S.: Yes. The Shady Hill School involved something called the Harvard Growth Study of School Children. I was there, on that

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project, for 5 years. All during that period while I was working at Shady Hill, I was also over at the Harvard Clinic, often to work with Murray, who by this time was carrying out his comprehensive study of 50 college men, which became the basis of his publication, "Explorations in Personality" (Murray & Others, 1938). I ran some experiments and then sat in on the conferences where the young men who had been seen were rated on various traits.

H.C.: So Henry Murray was a major influence.

N.S.: Yes. It once seemed to me that the turning points in my life had to do with chance. You know, leaving Cambridge and going to California (1940) was a big event and getting the *Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) accomplished was a big event. Getting psychoanalyzed, a year in England [at Tavistock in 1951–52] . . . these things were enormously significant turning points.

One day it dawned on me that it wasn't chance, it was Harry Murray. He got the job at the Shady Hill School, he got me into psychoanalysis, he had the connections that enabled me to go to the Tavistock Clinic. When I went to Vassar College in 1952, he was the one who told the president that she should get me and her troubles would be over. He was my guardian angel.

H.C.: You went to Berkeley around 1940. How did that happen?

N.S.: I don't think Murray had much to do with that really. I got to know the child development people through the work at the Shady Hill School. Larry Frank was with the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Foundation that was starting child development centers around the country. It was through him that I met the leading child development people in the country. That's where I met Margaret Mead for the first time.

I had the opportunity to go to Chicago or to Berkeley. We chose Berkeley just because it was more romantic—you know, far away, and it seemed somehow more interesting. It was not on the basis that I thought one department was better than the other, that one had more prestige; Berkeley was just further away. [*laughs*] And romantic. [*laughs*]

H.C.: And Berkeley gave you a chance to be on your own, away from Murray's sphere of influence? Producing The Authoritarian Personality *during your first decade at Berkeley certainly established your reputation as a national figure. Few works have been cited more frequently.* (*The Authoritarian Personality* was a comprehensive 5-year study by seven investigators who used objective tests, interviews, and projective techniques to demonstrate that personality processes, especially unconscious ones, play a major role in the determination of anti-Semitism and what has come to be called authoritarianism.)

N.S.: Well, yes. More than 1,800 times since 1966, I'm told. How many times it was cited before that I have no idea. Dan Levinson says in print that the publication of *The Authoritarian Personality* established me as a mature, independent researcher. I think there is something to that, even though I had published a lot of stuff before. About my relationship with Murray—I had for quite a while a somewhat standoffish attitude. I did not want to be all that close to Murray, and I think it was kind of a feeling that he could possess me or something like that. I did not want to be dependent on him. I had a feeling that if I really were to have such a need, I might get rejected (Sanford, 1984).

H.C.: My sense from your description is that he was totally aware of his power.

N.S.: Oh yes. So I was trying to act as if I were quite independent, thank you, [as though] I didn't need Harry Murray all that much, for heavens sake. When *The Authoritarian Personality* came along, I had the impression that Murray didn't like it all that much. I never discussed it with him, really, during those years. We were pretty strictly classical psychoanalytic in our orientation, and I think that comes through in the book. We were far more psychoanalytic then than I am now, I should say. [*laughs*] So I had the impression that he would disapprove of that. We didn't really use his scheme of "needs" and "press." Later and indirectly I was told that Murray had said he "admired" *The Authoritarian Personality.*

H.C.: What did that feel like when you heard it for the first time?

N.S.: Actually, I had long since gotten away from the idea that I had to deal with his disapproval. A point that Dan Levinson makes on the process of mentoring is that a mentorship has to eventually break up and then, afterwards, if things work out well, you can become friends. I would say that Harry Murray and I became friends quite a while back. *The Authoritarian Personality* came out in 1950. Since then I felt that we were equals and that our relationship was a friendship rather than a discipleship or mentorship.

TWO KEY CAREER EVENTS

H.C.: What led to the research that resulted in The Authoritarian Personality?

N.S.: In 1943 the provost at Berkeley asked me if I could use $500 from an anonymous donor for a study of anti-Semitism. I saw this not only as an opportunity to join the scientific attack on fascism, but also as a chance to carry on the psychoanalytically oriented research in which I had been trained under Henry Murray. I immediately recruited my graduate student Daniel Levinson, a highly talented kindred spirit, and we began by constructing a scale for measuring anti-Semitism. More funds became available making it possible for Else Frenkel-Brunswik to join us, and within a year we had a paper ready with findings and interpretations that were to be embodied in *The Authoritarian Personality.* Additional funding from the American Jewish Committee then enabled Theodore Adorno to join our group.

It's rare that four senior scientists collaborate for 5 years or longer, as we did on this work. We were held together by the conviction that our work had to be published at whatever cost and by our agreement that it be presented as a collective enterprise. Unfortunately for me, this last agreement required that authors be listed in alphabetical order.

And so my friends and relations can't find that book in the library because it's under the name of Adorno. I've noticed that political scientists start out by writing "Adorno et al." and, before they get through, they just write "Adorno says . . . ," and put down something that I myself wrote. [*laughs*] That says something about what it means to be last in the alphabet.

H.C.: Wasn't it around the time of publication of The Authoritarian Personality*—1950—that you were also at the center of the Loyalty Oath controversy? I still have a sense of unreality, of Alice-through-the-looking-glass, when I recall the demands made on academicians to "prove" their loyalty to the United States, and to sign oaths to that effect.*

N.S.: I can't give the exact words of this 1949 oath, but it stated in effect that "I do not belong to or believe in any organization that believes in the overthrow of the government by force or violence." The background for the regents' imposition of the oath was the "cold war" and the general climate of fear and tension that prevailed throughout the country with respect to communism. All members of the U.S. Communist Party were suspect, as were "Communist sympathizers" and, in time, anyone who was heard to express a strong liberal opinion. The times were more than a little out of joint.

By the early spring of 1950, after innumerable faculty meetings and maneuvers, there were only 22 or 25 nonsigners left. My position and that of Edward Tolman, our department chairman, was that no political test should be used in deciding who would be teaching at the university. The faculty had decided, then, through its Committee on Privilege and Tenure, that it was all right to move against these undesirable types (we nonsigners) so long as it was the *faculty* and not the regents who gave the political test. The regents, by a very narrow majority, accepted the position of the organized faculty.

> *"My position and that of Edward Tolman . . . was that no political test should be used in deciding who would be teaching at the university."*

When my turn came to appear before the committee, they wanted to know why, if I was not a Communist, would I not let them know? I responded that my refusal was made in the support of freedom of thought. My reasoning was that if we could punish people with extremely unpopular opinions then we could silence people with less unpopular opinions—people like Norman Thomas or even Fred (B.F.) Skinner. Finally, they asked whether I was aware that if I didn't come through on that day, I would surely be fired. I was aware all right.

But my examination was not quite over. A few days later Clark Kerr came to see me and made one final appeal for faculty unity. If I didn't come around, "we will not be able to help you." I replied, thank heavens, that I really didn't believe that his committee could help anybody. So it was that I and four other faculty members were able to take and sustain a common position.

> *". . . if we could punish people with extremely unpopular opinions then we could silence people . . . like Norman Thomas or even Fred (B.F.) Skinner."*

As it turned out, the regents subsequently reversed their decision to allow the faculty to take non-Communist affidavits. Right after that decision, the faculty met to consider how to respond to the regents' action. The auditorium was packed. There were more than a few eloquent expressions of solidarity with the "good nonsigners" and some mumbled complaints about our "fearsome five." I was anxious and self-conscious—sitting on the edge of my chair. A quiet and dignified man (whom I subsequently learned was Bertram Bronson, a professor of English)—arose to declare that it was outrageous to ask people to "cooperate against conscience."

We eventually lost our jobs for not signing. I took on more patients in my psychoanalytic practice, sold our 10-acre walnut orchard, and ultimately left for the Tavistock Institute in London (1951) on a Rockefeller Foundation grant. In 1955, by order of the California Supreme Court, all nonsigners were reinstated with back pay (Sanford, 1983c).

***H.C.:** At which time you and Joseph Katz were well underway at Vassar working on the Mary Conover Mellon Foundation study?*

N.S.: Yes. Along with Mervin Freedman, Harold Webster, and Donald Brown, a group of exciting people. I'm not sure if we were fully aware of the stir that the Vassar studies and *The American College* would create.

THE STANFORD YEARS

***H.C.:** You moved to Stanford in 1960. How did that come about?*

N.S.: I was approached as a possible director of a project on the Cooperative Commission on the Study of Alcohol Problems, a part of the Institute for the Study of Human Problems. I knew it was absolutely critical that our institute not be limited to alcohol problems. If we allowed that narrow focus, we'd never get any good people. So we put the alcohol work within a larger setting.

Going to Stanford . . . you know no one ever goes to Stanford from Berkeley. Berkeley professors would not regard it as a step up, but they might go to Harvard from Berkeley. The reason we did that was because Stanford threw open the doors for us. Here was the president and the provost and the deans and representatives of all the departments that might have an interest in this. They got right down to business and within an hour it was obvious we were going to Stanford. [*laughs*]

***H.C.:** Once again you swam against the stream, didn't you?*

N.S.: Well, I guess so. I really got quite steamed up about the idea of action research. If you came right down to it, action and personality research can hardly be separated. If you interview someone, with the view of getting some data, and you pay no attention to the effects of being interviewed upon interviewees, or upon the interviewer, you are missing the boat really. I became aware of this when my colleagues and I were studying students, but made little of it at the time. It was when we began interviewing professors that I really became impressed with the notion of the potency of being interviewed. People would think of things they never thought of before, they see sides of themselves, express aspects of themselves that they have never before revealed to anybody. Or even to themselves.

***H.C.:** How do you feel about the people who say "Interviews are fine but are almost impossible to quantify."*

N.S.: [*laughs*] Write case studies. [*laughs*] There's a way to do that and . . . the reader knows that one's getting the real stuff, one knows that this is true. Just because that's the way you do it. [*laughs*]

***H.C.:** It was while you were at Stanford, from 1961 to 1969, that Katz and his associates did their work with Stanford and Berkeley students?*

N.S.: Well yes, in *No Time for Youth* (Katz, 1969).

***H.C.:** You had just one chapter in the book, but the methodology owes a lot to Nevitt Sanford.*

N.S.: Oh, I think so. That was a part of my insistence that the institute at Stanford be not just an institute for the study of alcohol and alcohol problems—even though it was funding for alcohol studies that gave us our start—but of other things as well.

> *"If you came right down to it, action and personality research can hardly be separated."*

I had become infatuated with action research, or research that can readily be applied to problems. I thought we had to make recommendations about what action to take, and we should follow through on that action. I said the drinking age should be lowered to 18, that we should crack down on drunken driving, and that we should require this, that, or the other. But the main idea was reduce it to 18 so that students and faculty could drink together.

***H.C.:** How was this "action" received?*

N.S.: Well, we couldn't even make recommendations without getting in trouble. Two Stanford trustees protested to President Sterling about my public recommendation for a lowering of the drinking age. Professor Herbert Packer, an eminent member of the Law School faculty, would have become a member of our team to study police-community relations had it not been for their protest. It became clear to me that Stanford did not want a strong interdisciplinary institute like our Institute for the Study of Human Problems. Our idea to study police-community relations was rejected. It struck me at the time and still does that that is an enormously important topic. We prepared a proposal and had several conversations with a man from the Rockefeller Foundation, and it seemed the project was about to be funded, in the amount of about $700,000. I was told that the project had to be cleared through the Graduate School. They told me they didn't think Stanford had the facilities or the manpower to do a project as big as that. [*laughs*] I got the message all right. Stanford did not really want a strong interdisciplinary institute. It was a threat to the departmental structure.

THE WRIGHT INSTITUTE

H.C.: *Was it this kind of resistance that led you to leave Stanford? It was 1969, you had turned 60, and in spite of what seems to me like a high risk, you moved physically back to Berkeley.*

N.S.: Well, in 1968 we started the Wright Institute in the Graduate Theological Union where I had begun to teach. Christine, my wife, and I had never really left Berkeley in a psychological sense. We wanted to go home.

In addition to that, I really wanted to do action research, and no tradition-bound university is likely to offer a home to an institute bent on action. So we rented space from the Graduate Theological Union (GTU), where I had been teaching part-time. I had the wild idea at that time, when there was a lot of student activism and seminarians were often out in the streets, that an institute that gave some social-scientific backing for the activism that these students wanted to engage in would be better accepted at GTU. Well, it went down like a lead balloon. In fact, the GTU faculty was not that different from faculty members at the universities—they were as easily threatened, and just as protective of their turf. But I was able to start it [the Wright Institute] with $25,000 from the Hopkins Funds, a small foundation that gave support to unpopular causes.

> *". . . I really wanted to do action research, and no tradition-bound university is likely to offer a home to an institute bent on action."*

H.C.: *Who was Wright of the Wright Institute?*

N.S.: [*laughs*] When I talked to a lawyer to ask him to do the incorporating, he said, "You can't have a name like 'Institute for the Study of Human Problems' because all these names have long since been used up. Why don't you just get a name like the Salk Foundation or the Tavistock Institute that doesn't by itself mean anything, and then you can do whatever you please." I presented the problem to my wife and the next morning she said, "Why don't you call it the Wright Institute?" It turned our that Wright was her mother's maiden name, Elizabeth Wright. We needed a one-word thing, and something that rolls easily off the tongue. I felt right away that that was the name. Your question is often asked.

H.C.: *At what point along the way does an organization like the Wright Institute start taking on the trappings of accreditation, and the other things that people in the academic system deem important?*

N.S.: It never occurred to me when we started the Wright Institute that we would talk about accreditation even though we had carried through on Mervin Freedman's notion that the Wright Institute was ultimately a school for training in social-clinical psychology. I remember when in our first year, Abe Maslow came to see us. He was there to give a talk, but he began by saying, "Tell me about your school." One of the students undertook to do that. He talked about the school and wound up by saying, "and we are going to be accredited by the APA." And Maslow said, "What?" [*laughs*] "What would you want to be accredited by them for. You should accredit them." [*laughs*] We did get busy, and we got ourselves accredited by the Western States Association. And our students always took a heavy role in the administration of the place.

H.C.: *I wanted to ask you if you had ever regretted that?*

N.S.: Well, yes, because we had to take it back. Students always helped interview our applicants, and then there was a meeting of all who had done any interviewing to make the final selections. After 3 or 4 years, we noticed that the Marxists were caucusing before the selection meeting, agreeing on people who were ideologically right, and bringing them in. We could see that if that pace was kept up the whole place would be turned into kind of a Marxist Center. So we had to step in and change that.

CHRISTINE

H.C.: *Talk to me a little bit about that part of your life that involves being husband to Christine.*

N.S.: [*laughs*] Most of my life has involved her—that is to say, 55 years of it has. We met when I went to the employment office at Harvard and they put me in touch with a lady who lived in the country about 15 miles west of Cambridge. Christine came in to Harvard to interview me and others. I got the job. In exchange for room and board, I brought in the wood, picked the apples, thawed out frozen water pipes, served as a kind of chauffeur, and so on. In time we became friends. I mean friends in the old fashioned southern sense of the word (she was a Wellesley graduate—out of Texas), that is, a relationship based on mutual trust, respect, loyalty, helpfulness, and, of course, thoroughgoing acquaintanceship. If one is lucky, as I was, this kind of friendship readily blossoms into love and forms the basis for a good marriage. Christine and I were married in June 1931. I've often suggested to our children, and to others who would listen, that it is a great benefit to know somebody well before you fall in love with them.

H.C.: *Where has your personal and professional support come from?*

N.S.: Well, I think especially from Christine. We have an oral history from the Bancroft Library project by a good friend of ours. She refers to us and quotes my wife as saying when I left the house one morning, "If you sign that [loyalty] oath, don't bother to come home again." [*laughs*] I'm not sure that that's an accurate quote, but Christine felt very strongly about it.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE FUTURE

H.C.: *What do you see ahead for those of us in higher education?*

N.S.: Life is hard for some of the professors these days. A student at the Wright Institute was doing a project that involved interviewing a lot of undergraduates at Berkeley. He encountered a freshman who wanted to get into marine biology, I think, and who found himself saddled with courses in physics and chemistry. He wondered how long it would take for him to be exposed to marine biology itself. Our graduate student said, "Why don't you go over and ask a professor how he did it?" This freshman went and knocked on the door and this professor was absolutely delighted to see a student who wanted to see him. And so he just spilled everything to this student, revealing that professors are neglected by students almost as much as students are neglected by professors. And so these full professors, some of them, would like to talk to somebody. They sit there, and nobody knocks.

H.C.: *Do you have any sense that students and faculty know what to talk to each other about? Those are often awkward occasions.*

N.S.: One of my students had the right idea. He said we should ask the professor about himself, which would lead the professor, possibly, to ask the student something important about himself.

> *". . . professors are neglected by students almost as much as students are neglected by professors. And so these full professors, some of them, would like to talk to somebody. They sit there, and nobody knocks."*

H.C.: *When you were writing in the late 1960s and early 1970s, you expressed concern for what was essentially an authoritarian political climate. How do you react now to the New Right?*

N.S.: I take an optimistic view. In the 1960s and 1970s, we had quite a few liberations, including the liberation of women and great advances for ethnic minorities. Those are the important changes.

We will have liberations, reactions, and then a little more liberation. I have no doubt at all that after the [Reagan] administration leaves office, we will go back to the more liberal and liberated climate. All this moral majority stuff comes as a reaction. That is not, I think, the main trend in our culture. Once you are liberated in respect to these things, there's really no going back.

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Rollo May: A Man of Meaning and Myth

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It was a cloudy, rainy afternoon when the three authors encountered Rollo May at his home in Tiburon, California, which overlooks the San Francisco Bay. Rollo brought us to his study and consulting room, which was comfortably furnished, decorated with paintings by his daughters, and lined with bulging shelves of classic books from psychology, religion, and philosophy. Dr. May, a healthy-looking 78, wore casual clothes with a large medallion around his neck. He moved deliberately across the room to fix a cup of tea and suggested that we make ourselves comfortable. The view out his study's large picture window included a wooded sloping hill in the foreground of the large body of water that dominated the scene. As Rollo would later state in the interview, the beauty and serenity of the environment was essential to his sense of well-being. Although slowed physically by his age, Dr. May conveyed a contemporary interest in current societal and political events and became animated when discussing issues that were of importance to him. He told us that he had mellowed some from his earlier years, when he seemed driven to express his views on modern society and be one of the outspoken voices for the humanistic psychology movement of the early 1960s. Despite this slowing down, Rollo's daily routine still includes 4 hours of writing on his current work, *The Cry for Myth*, which explores the need for myth in contemporary society. He also continues to see psychotherapy clients in the afternoon and teaches a course to advanced students from the California School of Professional Psychology.

Rollo May was born in Ohio on April 21, 1909, and moved to Michigan as a young child. His father was a YMCA secretary who moved the family quite often. He had five brothers and a sister. He described his parents' relationship as being discordant, which created the circumstances for an unhappy home life and was the precursor for Rollo's interest in psychology and counseling. Rollo recalls that relief from the family situation came when he would sit and play by the shores of the St. Clair River, watching the large ships carry ore from the upper Great Lakes. At that time, the river, which he described as a "clean, deep, demonic, and beautiful friend," was the center of his summer and winter activities, such as swimming and ice skating. Rollo believes that he learned more from the river than he did from the small-town school he attended, 45 miles from Detroit. Rollo also had an aversion to the sooty, noisy, and industrial character of the Detroit area, in contrast to his serene country environment.

Following what he termed "rebellious" high school years, Rollo matriculated at Michigan State College. He was disappointed with the agricultural curriculum at the college because his true interest was in English literature. After starting a student magazine devoted to literature, Rollo irked the authorities at the college, who placed him on probation. A close friend suggested that he transfer to Oberlin College in Ohio, which was much more oriented to liberal studies. After speaking to the dean about his interests, Rollo enrolled at Oberlin and had an extremely positive experience studying liberal arts. He recalls being exposed to Greek art and literature that peaked his interest and curiosity in the liberal arts and helped him decide to travel to Greece upon graduation.

Hired by a Greek gymnasium to teach boys ages 12–18, Rollo stayed in Greece for 3 years, studying and learning about ancient Greek civilization. He also became involved in drawing and painting, with the peasant culture and European landscapes as his subject matter. During a summer vacation from his job in Greece, Rollo traveled to Vienna to study individual psychology with Alfred Adler, whom he described as "absolutely psychic in his therapy with children." Aware of the beginnings of the Nazi influence in Germany and Austria, Rollo returned to America in 1933. He had intended to pursue a graduate degree in psychology from Columbia University in New York but found that the program was strictly behavioral and that the famous European psychotherapies of Freud, Jung, and Adler were not being taught. Instead, he enrolled at the Union Theological Seminary, where the questions Rollo was interested in, those of anxiety, love, hate, war, and the great tragedies, were discussed and studied by the professors, many of whom had fled Europe because of persecution and had firsthand experiences with these topics.

At the seminary, Rollo met the man he considers to have had the most influence on him, the German philosopher Paul Tillich, who had recently been expelled by the Nazis. Tillich, who soon became Rollo's mentor and best friend, lectured on the topics of psychoanalysis, Marxism, religion, modern art, and society. Rollo, in turn, assisted Tillich with his adjustment to American culture by helping him with his English as well as explaining customs and values. The two of them spent much time together discussing the philosophical, religious, and psychological aspects of the important issues of the time.

Following his study at the seminary, Rollo was called back to Michigan to "hold the family together" after his father left his mother. He took a combined academic and church position at Michigan State College in 1936 that involved counseling students. Because of the lack of knowledge about the counseling field in America at this time and his previous study with Adler, Rollo became a lecturer about the counseling process. His lectures were published as his first book, in 1939, titled *The Art of Counseling*, which sold more than 150,000 copies.

Interested in becoming more knowledgeable in the field of psychotherapy and satisfied that the European psychologists would not be ignored, Rollo enrolled in the clinical psychology doctoral program at Teachers College of Columbia University. While he worked on his doctoral dissertation on the subject of anxiety, taught night classes at City College, pursued psychoanalytic treatment, and tried to support his family, Rollo came down with tuberculosis. To recover, he was forced to be bedridden for almost 2 years in a sanitarium in upstate New York. He spent much of his time reading and learning about the nature of anxiety and upon his recovery finished his Ph.D. and wrote the manuscript for his next book, *The Meaning of Anxiety* (1950). He also joined the William Alanson White Institute to continue his psychoanalytic training and practice, working with Erich Fromm, Clara Thompson, Frieda Fromm-Reichman, and Harry Stack Sullivan.

In 1953 Dr. May published his next book, *Man's Search for Himself,* which reflected his struggle with the meaning of loneliness and anxiety in modern man and established him as the premier American existentialist and psychoanalytic writer. He then edited a book, *Existential Psychology* (1961), which included writings by Maslow, Feifel, Rogers, Allport, and Lyons. By the early 1960s Rollo May had become one of the intellectual leaders of the human potential movement, which was to challenge behaviorism and psychoanalysis in its view of the nature of human beings. His best seller, *Love and Will* (1969), was written during the late 1960s, reflecting his personal struggle with love and relationships, and mirroring Western society's questioning of its traditional institutions of sex, marriage, and morality.

During his years in New York City, Dr. May served as a training analyst and supervisor at the William Alanson White Institute, maintained a private practice, and was an adjunct faculty member at the New School of Social Research and New York University. Dr. May has since moved to the San Francisco area, where he continues to do psychotherapy, teach, and publish books about the nature of human experience, relying on his vast knowledge of the classics from Eastern and Western thought and his unique existential perspective.

BEGINNINGS

L.C.: *Who was the most influential person in your life?*

R.M.: Right after I enrolled at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, a man who was to become the greatest influence on my life arrived as a refugee from Hitler's Germany. Paul Tillich was invited to come teach at the seminary. I didn't know him from Adam, but I noticed a sign on the bulletin board that said a German refugee was going to give some lectures on the topics of the relationship of psychoanalysis to religion, the relationship of Marxism to modern culture, and the meaning of modern art. These were exactly the things I was interested in, so I went to his class. There were only 15 or 16 people in it, and he had a very hard time with English. When the students would laugh at his mispronunciations, he would become very red and embarrassed. I had been in Germany and Austria and I knew that no one would laugh at the professors there; they treated professors with great courtesy and respect. In America, everybody would heehaw at any mistake. Tillich was very unhappy because he couldn't speak English well and the students roared with laughter when he spoke. After I heard him give some amazing lectures, I wrote him a note saying that I wanted him to know that the lectures were very meaningful for me, and I hoped he wouldn't take the laughing seriously because this treatment was customary for American universities.

He looked me up and from then on we became friends. Even though he was 20 years older than me, he turned out to be my best friend for my 30 years in New York. We talked a great deal, and he liked nothing better than to go with his wife and my wife out to his summer home in East Hampton and discuss questions. I remember one evening we discussed symbols all evening. I learned more from Tillich than from all the other teachers I ever had. I'd recommend that everyone read Tillich's (1952) excellent book, *The Courage to Be.*

G.G.: *How was your interest stimulated to study psychotherapy?*

R.M.: When I was living in Greece during the early 1930s, I noticed a flyer on a bulletin board describing a summer seminar in "individual psychology" run by Alfred Adler in Vienna. He, Freud, and Jung were the only ones who knew anything about the new psychotherapy. I've often wondered to myself what would have happened had I never seen that little flyer. I needed it. I was not what the professors would call "well adjusted." In Greece, there were very few people who spoke English. I was very lonely when I arrived in the little town in the mountains outside of Vienna where the seminar was held. I got to know Adler fairly well and used to meet with him in Vienna from time to time. He was an interesting fellow. He was short and absolutely psychic with children. He could do marvelous therapy with children. I learned a lot about human beings and myself during that time.

G.G.: *What were some of the early struggles to allow the practice of psychotherapy in this country?*

R.M.: Freud believed that medicine was irrelevant or even got in the way of learning psychotherapy, but the American Psychoanalytic Association didn't believe that at all. They didn't want psychologists in their territory. We had to fight against the yearly introduction of bills in Albany (New York) that would have made psychotherapy a form of medicine. We joined together with the psychologists doing therapy, the vocational psychologists, the personnel psychologists, and the American Psychological Association. Each year we won, not because the legislators were pro-psychology but rather because they disliked being pushed around by persons in the medical profession.

In those days in the 1950s, I would have anxiety every time the phone would ring. I was afraid that they were calling from Albany to tell us "The bill has passed and you are illegal." We were all scared to death of suicidal clients, because if we did have someone commit suicide, the medics would say that it was because we were psychologists. Fortunately, I never had a client successfully commit suicide, and I didn't know any psychologist that did have one. I've known several psychologists that have committed suicide, but not their patients.

We did have some psychiatrist friends, and we eventually won and got a bill through that allowed psychologists to be licensed. There is a big war going on now. I am certainly supportive of their breaking down the barrier; the idea that psychotherapy can only be done by a medical doctor is crazy.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

G.G.: *Could you comment on some of your personal experiences with relationships and love?*

R.M.: My marriages were not successful. I think this is very much related dynamically to the fact that my mother was a "bitch-kitty on wheels." My sister, who was older than I, was psychotic and spent some time in a mental hospital. I've always had good friends and lovers, but I'm scared to death of marriage. I will probably be married again in a couple of months, if I can get over being so scared. I've been going steadily with a woman I love very much. But the first two marriages didn't work and this was terribly difficult. I knew I had to get out of my first marriage, which lasted 20-some odd years, and I knew it rather quickly, but I didn't want to leave until the children were through college, so I did not.

For a short while, I was married to a woman from Los Angeles, but that didn't work either. Fortunately, I always liked to be on

> *". . . we should be concerned with serenity, with loving people, and with serving."*

my own and have had plenty of time to practice. I identified with Camus, who had written about loneliness and taking responsibility for yourself. In the 1960s, when I knew I was going to get divorced, I did a whole lot of thinking about what was the meaning of love and the meaning of will and out of that came the book *Love and Will.*

***L.C.:** What role has religion played in your life?*

R.M.: I don't believe in a God that walks among the clouds. I don't even believe in a God that you can describe. I believe that God is the basis of meaning and being. I value serenity. I meditate. I value the Eastern religions, although I think it is a sellout to become a Zen Buddist. I learned about the Zen Buddists when I was in Holland. I and several friends of mine had a talk with the Dahli Lama. When I asked him, "Did he think there would be a merger of Christianity and Zen Buddism?" he said, "No, they will learn from each other." That is a very good answer. Now what we have to learn in Christianity is what the Christian mystics believe, which is that we should be concerned with serenity, with loving people, and with serving. The fact that my books are read by quite a lot of people is a joy to me because I'm glad to be able to give something to somebody. That is the joy.

> *"You get a kind of intelligence that I would call wisdom in the last stage of life."*

***F.R.:** How are you experiencing your own aging process?*

R.M.: I am very surprised to find out how much I enjoy aging. There are various stages in life that Erik Erikson talked about and the last one is old age. Aging is the process by which you bring together and integrate the stages before that.

Nobody ever believes me when I say it, but I get more fun out of being 78 than I ever did at being 58 and certainly 38. Now it is true that one can't see so well. I didn't have to wear glasses until I was 45 and I can't concentrate as long, but I can hear music. I can paint. I find I have more to do now that is fun. I don't have to be so concerned about everything. I can teach or not as I want to.

Byron (1852) wrote a poem that we used to make fun of in college and that was: "Grow old along with me; The best is yet to be; The last of life for which the first was made." I always thought that he was talking through his hat, but it is true. You get a kind of intelligence that I would call wisdom in the last stage of life. This is why the Indians called their oldest braves to give them advice. I wouldn't want to go through this life again. I mean, one time is enough. I don't know that I'd do anything differently, but it would be too boring.

ISSUES FACING THE COUNSELING PROFESSION

***L.C.:** What are the issues facing the counseling and psychotherapy fields?*

R.M.: The crisis in psychotherapy is that therapists, psychiatrists, and social workers, who should be dealing with the deeper aspects of the human being, with what I call "being," instead deal only with the particular problems of the client.

What is going to happen with psychotherapy is that everyone is going to become a psychotherapist. Social workers go into psychotherapy; you can take a couple of weekend seminars and call yourself a psychotherapist. The medics have a real point. What they really fear underneath is the proliferation of therapists. The proliferation of therapists is not useful unless we discover that what we are concerned with is the meaning of a person's life, not whether or not he has a job.

> *"The proliferation of therapists is not useful unless we discover that what we are concerned with is the meaning of a person's life, not whether or not he has a job."*

One of the practical problems is that today's therapists are paid by insurance for only 10 to 20 sessions, so then therapists tend to work on the particular problems. They turn out to be glorified social workers. The aim of Freud, and I think that it is still valid, is to be concerned with the unconscious. You do that by means of dreams, free associations, and also the myths.

Another crisis is that psychotherapy has taken the place of the church. Freud did that, I think quite unconsciously, when he sat behind the couch; it is like confession in the Catholic church, you don't see who you are confessing to. The Catholics caught on to this many centuries ago. But Freud arranged this, so I sit behind the client, and it is amazing how it helps some patients.

***G.G.:** What are your suggestions for the training of counselors and psychotherapists?*

R.M.: There are over 200 kinds of psychotherapy in the United States. We are propagating therapists at the loss of what therapists really ought to be. What we should be concerned with is not the problems of a given person, but rather the problems that everyone has, the ontological problems. *Ontos* means being, the problems that you have of growing old, of dying, of sex, of getting married, and so on. Life is not superficial. The real problem is how you exist in a world that is antagonistic, that hates you. How are you able to live in a world where we are all alone, where we all die? That is very interesting. Therapists and counselors don't talk much about that.

> *"How are you able to live in a world where we are all alone, where we all die? That is very interesting. Therapists and counselors don't talk much about that."*

People become therapists partially to avoid their own problems. That is why it is necessary for therapists to be analyzed themselves before they practice psychotherapy. I also believe that we learn more about psychology reading the ancient Greek dramatists than we do from a class in statistics. In the long run, you are going to have to do both. But what most students do now is to take statistics and not [study] the great truths from Greece.

PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

***F.R.:** What are you currently writing about?*

R.M.: I spend each morning writing about myths, which seems to be a topic therapists are least interested in. The book, which I will call *The Cry for Myth,* reflects how the twentieth century has been an age without myths. We get our moral standards from mythology. Although Christmas is a wonderful myth, most people think of myth now as a falsehood. The reason that people join cults by the hundreds out here in San Francisco is that people have no myths. The cult promises these myths.

You've been reading about all these fundamentalists such as Swaggert and Baker. They have great followings because people want to believe in something. Magic can also displace the myths. Look at the popularity of Shirley MacLaine's (1983) *Out on a Limb* or the belief in astrology. We all have a great yen for something to believe in that does not come from our own thinking, and so people give themselves to the Lord or something of that sort. The church has been steadily losing its following as an intelligent form of myth. Love is less and less powerful.

The suicide rate for young people between 15 and 25 has gone up 30% in the past 20 years. Now why do these kids commit suicide? They do so because they have nothing to believe. The myth of Orestes is the myth of separation from mother and father, and teenagers have to fight their parents to gain their independence. There is nothing in the culture for them to believe in, so they take drugs and God knows what. I'm not saying anything for or against the drugs, but I am saying that they are the result of the loss of everyone's beliefs. They go out of the body because they cannot get along within the body. Tillich would have loved that sentence. You get out of the body because you cannot stand yourself.

> *"We all have a great yen for something to believe in that does not come from our own thinking . . ."*

F.R.: What do you see as your main contribution to the fields of counseling and psychology?

R.M.: I think that my book *The Meaning of Anxiety* (1950) was the watershed of my career. It is significant that it was written in the middle of the twentieth century. There were no books on anxiety before that except for one by Freud and one by Plato. My book included a great deal about what I learned from having tuberculosis.

The prevailing view at that time was that all anxiety was neurotic and that a definition of mental health was to live without anxiety. I believed that anxiety was absolutely essential in everyday life and that it was important to distinguish normal from abnormal anxiety. This was an entirely new concept. The book was read, argued about, and appreciated by my colleagues. Then others began to take up the idea that anxiety is an essential aspect of life.

> *"As a goal in life, I think that making a lot of money is a complete washout."*

In my job as a therapist, my greatest aid is the patient's anxiety. If the patient gets over his anxiety, we won't have anything to talk about. I tell my psychotherapy students that anxiety is their best friend. It's important to always leave a margin of anxiety in the patient otherwise he or she will become deadened.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIETAL ISSUES

F.R.: What do you see as the problems facing our society today?

R.M.: The culture and society we live in, as Bellah (1985) in *Habits of the Heart* said, is going to hell because nobody faces the societal problems. Our age is deteriorating more and more. The majority of students at state colleges used to study liberal arts. Now they study business. The only purpose they have in life is making money. As a goal in life, I think that making a lot of money is a complete washout. This is why Alfred Adler is so important. He believed that you are not over your "neurosis" until you have social interest. The real sin of our society is the failure to do what is right. Politicians say, "I did nothing illegal" or "I'm not guilty," rather than asking themselves "What did I do that was right?"

> *"Our individualism, in contrast to what Perls . . . said, will destroy us."*

Our individualism, in contrast to what Perls (1969) said, will destroy us. We are concerned with the self and how the self gets on. We leave out the society, the culture. We don't ask ourselves, "How is our family doing? How is our city doing? How is our world doing?" This we don't ask.

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PART IV

Early Scholars and Practitioners

Scholars and Practitioners: The Trailblazers in Counselor Education and Training

HELEN J. ROEHLKE

The 11 early educators and practitioners discussed in this section have collectively made prodigious contributions to the teaching, research, and practice of applied psychology over the last 50 years. Each has also had a significant role in the shaping and growth of our specialty. The range of topics on which they have written encompasses virtually every major issue that the developing profession of counseling has struggled with over this 50-year time span. This introduction includes: (a) a brief, chronological perspective in which to view the contributions these men have made to the development of education and training standards in counseling; and (b) four central themes common to all the contributors in this section.

A CHRONOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

E. G. Williamson is the first of these pioneers; his two early books, *Student Personnel Work* (with Darley, 1937) and *How to Counsel Students* (1939) were extremely important in defining and articulating the nature of student personnel work in the late 1930s. He was also instrumental in establishing the role of assessment and diagnosis in student personnel counseling and was the father of "directive counseling." In essence, his work typifies the focus of this particular time period. While Williamson and his colleagues, John Darley and Donald Paterson, held sway with their "dust bowl empiricism" at the University of Minnesota, another powerful force in the person of Carl Rogers appeared upon the scene. Rogers's seminal publication in 1942, *Counseling and Psychotherapy: Newer Concepts in Practice*, had a tremendous influence on many of these pioneers. His idea that clients' *feelings* were an important part of the counseling process fell on fertile ground. Many practitioners felt that an experimental, measurement approach to counseling was too "mechanical-patronistic," and in some way "impersonal and dehumanizing" (Williamson, in Ewing, 1975, p. 85).

One such person was Gilbert Wrenn. When he left the University of Minnesota in 1942 to serve in the Navy during World War II, he was dissatisfied with the view that measurement and assessment were the keys to understanding the client. When Wrenn returned from service "still feeling the importance of feelings and self-concept" (Wrenn, in Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 78), Rogers's approach provided some confirmation for this belief. Later, Rogers's strong influence was to lead Wrenn's advisee, C. H. Patterson, into some conflict during his graduate work at Minnesota. In fact, Patterson engineered the second of the famous "directive vs. nondirective counseling" debates between Williamson and Rogers. Patterson went on to become a spokesman for client-centered therapy, often interpreting

Rogers's thinking to counselors. Bill Kell, a student of Rogers's at the University of Chicago, initially followed Rogers's emphases on "acceptance, trust, and respect for the individuals' right to choose" (Kell, in Downing & Hayes, 1989, p. 132), but he then began to go beyond client-centered theory to incorporate elements of Harry Stack Sullivan's interpersonal theory into his therapy. Harold Pepinsky and Leo Goldman were also strongly influenced by Rogers's work.

In the mid-1940s, World War II and its aftermath resulted in the coming of age of counseling and personnel work. The demand for applied psychologists was greatly increased, especially in the areas of personnel selection, assessment, and measurement. This demand set the stage for the later emergence of counseling psychology as a specialty. In 1949, the first national conferences on the training of clinical and counseling psychologists were held in Boulder and Ann Arbor, respectively. Both of these conferences resulted in clearer differentiations between clinical and counseling specialties and more specific standards of training. It was, of course, at the Boulder conference that the now-famous (or infamous) concept of the scientist-practitioner (or Boulder) model of training was born. Affirmation of this model was reiterated by the counseling psychologists at Ann Arbor.

The 1950s were characterized by a focus on the world of work and the idea of education throughout the individuals' life span. In 1951, the second national meeting on the training and education of counseling psychologists, the Northwestern Conference, was held. Discussed there were roles and functions, areas of training for doctoral students, and standards for practicum training. During this era, our pioneers wrote about manpower for the future (Fletcher, 1954, 1958) and the importance of counseling and psychotherapy in student personnel work (Ohlsen, 1955; Patterson, 1958b, 1959; Pepinsky, 1951; Pepinsky & Pepinsky, 1954; Rothney, 1950, 1958; Rothney & Roens, 1950; Williamson, 1958; Wrenn, 1951, 1959), including evaluating the effectiveness of these methods (Frank & Rosenthal, 1956; Rothney, 1957a, 1957b) and the incorporation of measurement (Patterson, 1953; Rothney, Danielson, & Heimann, 1959). A growing emphasis was also placed on viewing the individual in the context of groups (Frank, 1951; Frank & Ascher, 1951; Frank & Powdermaker, 1953; Pepinsky, Clyde, Olesen, & Van Atta, 1952) and in society (Frank & Rosenthal, 1956; Frank, 1958; Patterson, 1958b; Pepinsky, 1958; Shoben, 1953; Wrenn, 1959).

In 1958, the Miami Beach Conference focused on training issues within all fields of psychology and dealt with topics such as quality control and standard setting in graduate training. Also in 1958, but more important for counseling psychology, was the passage, at the urging of people like Frank Fletcher (Meara, 1988) and Ralph Bedell (Bourne, 1988), of the National Defense Education Act, which granted annual funding of approximately $6.75 million to "support the expansion and general improvement of the guidance services operating nationally" (Bedell, in Bourne, 1988, p. 136). This funding was to go to university-based institutes whose purpose would be to provide (a) skill enhancement for teachers already working in counselor roles but without formal training in counseling (short-term institutes), and (b) training for students preparing to be school guidance counselors (long-term institutes). Over a period of 10 years, these NEDA institutes effectively doubled the number of school counselors available. The political turbulence and social unrest of the 1960s caused psychology to respond to the special needs of the times. The 1964 Greyston Conference on the training of counseling psychologists and its clinical psychology counterpart, the 1965 Chicago Conference, both reflected the immediacy of sociopolitical concerns over academic concerns. Both called for new models of training that would better meet the needs of the underserved and better address pressing sociological concerns.

The writings of this particular group of educators and practitioners highlight the impact of society on psychology and vice versa during these times as they explored themes such as sin and guilt (Shoben, 1960); social behavior, culture, and emotions (Frank, 1961, 1964a; Patterson, 1966); nonviolence and the elimination of war (Frank, 1964b); human group aggression and the decay of morals (Frank, 1969; Shoben, 1968); and sanity, survival, and hope (Frank, 1967b, 1968). They also explored the role of the counselor/student personnel worker in the changing society (Williamson, 1961; Wrenn, 1962); counselor selection, training, and education (Lewis, Bradley, & Rothney, 1969; Shoben, 1967); the effectiveness of counseling, including vocational counseling (Fletcher, 1966; Kell, 1966; Rothney & Farwell, 1960; Williamson, 1965, 1967); the efficacy of relationship versus behavioral therapy (Frank, 1961, 1967a; Frank et al., 1966; Patterson, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1968); and the use (or misuse) of tests (Goldman, 1961, 1969; Rothney, 1967).

The 1970s ushered in a tremendously prolific period of writing and research for these 11 men. They added their voices to the emphases on developmental learning and psychoeducational or affective approaches (Goldman, 1973a; Kell & Burow, 1970; Patterson, 1973, 1977a, 1977b; Rothney, 1972; Shoben, 1971). Humanistic and existential philosophies/theories garnered followers as the "cold war" resulted in the stockpiling of nuclear weapons by both the United States and Russia, causing the inevitable specter of the instantaneous destruction of mankind. Frank wrote passionately about the potential destruction of modern civilization (1971), violence (1972), demoralization, (1973, 1978), and mental health in a fragmented society (1979). Williamson (in Ewing, 1975, p. 78) questioned whether societal change should come about through violence or "peaceful revolution."

Student activism, begun as a protest of the war in Vietnam, continued on college campuses in response to such issues as racism, abortion, and efforts toward nuclear disarmament. Shoben wrote on the climate of protest (1970), and tragedy and human nature (1979). Goldman, in his writings and in his role as editor of *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, almost singlehandedly took on the "sacred cow" of research, criticizing its failure to have much impact on counseling practice (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979). He also continued his questioning of how tests were used in counseling (1972b, 1973b) and began to look critically at the issue of confidentiality (1972a, 1978b). Meanwhile, Ohlsen expanded the possible uses of groups in school guidance services (1974, 1977) and in marriage counseling (1979); and Williamson (with Biggs) completed another book on student personnel work (1975).

As a counterpoint to these themes of the 1970s, discussions at the 1973 Vail Conference (the last major training conference to be held for a 14-year-period) dealt with issues such as social responsibility, evaluation of training and psychological services, and professionalism. The demand for alternative training models that had surfaced at the Greyston and Chicago conferences became stronger and more insistent. Whereas earlier conferences had all reaffirmed the scientist-practitioner model and an integration of university academic training and "field" experiences, Vail seemed to open the door for "universities without walls" (Belar, 1986) and the proliferation of programs in professional psychology.

The stresses of the 1980s were on accountability, leading to the necessity of short-term therapy and often requiring predictions of length of treatment for various emotional problems (diagnostically related groups, or DRGs). Because these presses have occurred simultaneously with a general reduction in funding and resources, especially from the federal government, counseling has found itself in a most untenable position.

COMMON THEMES

I would particularly like to note several main themes that seem to be common to all these pioneers. These are: (a) the role-modeling they provided to their graduate students as advisors, educators, scholars, trainers, and practitioners; (b) their role in our professional development and the direction they provided; (c) their views of the scientist-practitioner model and the role of research; and (d) their wishes for the profession's future.

Role Modeling for Students

As educators, advisors, and trainers, these 11 men were all consummate role models. They mentored an impressively large number of graduate students, most of whom have gone on to make their own significant contributions to the field. A commonality among them is that they were all generative in their teaching, in their research, in their practice, in their enthusiasm and involvement in their work, and most especially, in their dedication to their students. They believed in the mutuality of learning; in fact, most mention their students as having had a great impact on them. Many of them, like Bill Kell and Gilbert Wrenn, treated their students as though they were family. They were interested in the contextual aspects of their students' lives and learning and approached them with encouragement, nurturing, and caring rather than with the more typical male perspective of problem solving and logic. In many ways, they exemplified those gentler behaviors that Richard Farson wrote about in his article, "The Counselor is a Woman" (1954). As mentors, however, they were not merely reinforcing and supportive; they often stimulated their students to think as individuals by using Socratic methods of teaching, by being confrontative and provocative. Though all were highly productive in publishing and research and actively involved in professional matters, it is obvious that in their multiple roles and interactions with their graduate students, these 11 men left their richest legacies.

Role in the Profession

As a group, these individuals also had a profound effect on the profession as a whole. Look at the terms used to describe them in the following pages: prodder, nudger, curious, idealist, critic, the counselor's counselor, legendary, persuader, exemplar, leader, eminent practitioner, educator, and researcher, serendipitous maverick, synthesizer. Although these terms were used for particular individuals, most of them would befit any one of these men. Each could be seen as a "change-fate" or *cachemuong*, the Vietnamese concept of persons who dare to interfere with the workings of universal law; who send jolts and vibrations into the interlocking and independent parts; who dare to assume that they, mere mortals, can anticipate or even guide the direction of Fate. This is a courageous thing to embark on because the risk is high. If right, these people take on great powers; if wrong, it is as though they have pulled a piece of wood from the bottom of the pile, and the whole structure could collapse and crush them (Dickason, 1988).

All of these men took that risk; they were openly critical of the field; they needled and pushed and forced their colleagues to look at things in a different way. Several pioneers (e.g., Goldman, Pepinsky, and Rothney) saw themselves as "gadflies," moving all around in an irritating manner, perturbing the complacency of those who said "it *is* this way or that way." Many devoted seemingly endless time and energy trying to shape the field—as journal editors; committee members; founders and presidents of professional groups and organizations; and as "bridges" between academic, scholarly pursuits and counseling practice. They also drew wisdom from other disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, developmental psychology, literature, history, and cultural anthropology. What Mike Patton says about Pepinsky illustrates this "melding" very well: "He is an improbable blend of scholar, scientist, counseling practitioner, and social analyst" (Patton, in Claiborn, 1985, p. 6). These pioneers served for many years as the trailblazers, the consciences of the field. They were highly effective in that role, earning the respect, if not always the agreement, of their colleagues, and their efforts produced significant change.

Although we may find their involvement and impact rather awesome, these men themselves are remarkably modest about their accomplishments. John Rothney could well be the spokesman for the group as he reflects on his contributions, "—I just did things—I did it because I felt it was worth doing and because I wanted to do it" (Rothney, in Engels, 1986, p. 139). Sometimes the cost was dear. Leo Goldman and Joseph Shoben both feel that their absorption in their work contributed to the failure of their marital relationships. Merle Ohlsen feels that at times his emphasis on work made him less available as a father. Still, their general lack of ego and self-consciousness seems to be reflective of the profession in its early struggles to be recognized. Unfortunately, perhaps because of all the presses, counseling has moved too far from that "state of grace" and become too self-conscious and ego-involved.

Science-Practitioner Model and Research

Over the last 30 years, the field of counseling has repeatedly reiterated its commitment to the scientist-practitioner model of training. This has been an important part of our ideology, and all these pioneers exemplify the unique ability to do both activities well. Yet Pepinsky and Frank question that one can do both. Frank says: "Psychology is not a hard science, at least not psychotherapy; it's an art grounded in knowledge and experience" (cited in Meinecke, 1987, p. 231). Thus, he felt that being a scientist and being a practitioner were incompatible roles because each required a different set of skills. And Pepinsky states that although he believed in 1954 that one could be both, he doesn't believe it now. He views practice as "—an artisanship—the learning and doing of a craft," whereas science is "—the pursuit of knowledge, asking questions. 'Science' is only a small part of counseling, but a part that won't be lost because some of the people are going to be impelled to ask questions" (cited in Claiborn, 1985, p. 10).

Yet most of these men stress the importance of professional writing and research—publishing to "subject one's thinking and experiences to reflection and getting feedback from colleagues" (Shoben, in Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987, p. 9) in an effort to change practice. Fletcher and Ohlsen are concerned with what they currently perceive as the lack of research orientation in many counselor training programs, resulting in a lack of interest among students. As Ohlsen says, "If you haven't been to an institution that values publication, you probably aren't going to do it" (cited in Horne, 1987, p. 526). Still, as Leo Goldman reminds us, our research is not affecting our practice (Anderson, 1985). It is not teaching us how to work better with clients or how to train better counselors. He states that "—research is only important if (a) it says something to the practitioner, (b) it broadens vision, and

(c) it guides the counselor in functioning as a counselor" (Anderson, 1985, p. 478). Clearly, if we believe these men are wise, we need to examine the nature of our training and our research more critically.

The Future

What do these pioneers see as our next developmental tasks as a profession? What are their fears? Their hopes and wishes? These men believe that we need to train people who can deal with modern technology, who know "—about the world, the meaning of the world, and about the nature of our own society" (Wrenn, in Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 76). We need to stop emphasizing our differences and look for commonalities, some basic agreement about the essential nature of counseling/psychotherapy (Patterson, in Goodyear & Watkins, 1983). We need to incorporate our own history into our body of knowledge so that we stop redoing things that have already been done (Patterson, in Goodyear & Watkins, 1983). We need to get out of our "neurotic paradox" of being entrepreneurs at the expense of being scientists and looking to short-term profits rather than long-term consequences (Pepinsky, in Claiborn, 1985). We need to know more about how to work with minorities and the elderly, how to attend to the personal implications of social movements, and how to negotiate in systems and organizational settings (Shoben, in Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987). We need better standards for quality control and improved accreditation guidelines (Ohlsen, in Horne, 1987). We need to refocus our attention on issues like selection and retention of students (Ohlsen, in Horne, 1987), how to adapt careers to technological change, and how to deal with the competitiveness between successful work and intimate relationships (Shoben, in Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987). Perhaps, most of all, we need to evaluate and articulate the effectiveness of counseling and to build a closer relationship between research and practice.

SUMMARY

It would be a difficult, if not an impossible task, to summarize the meaning of the contributions of these 11 pioneers. All have given us important messages, but perhaps the spirit of what they have taught us can best be summed up as follows: "A counselor should know that he/she is committed to forever learning, whether about the subtleties of human personality or the changing social environments of his/her clients and him/herself" (Wrenn, in Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 85). Our legacy from these educators and practitioners is to carry on the traditions of critical thinking, scientific inquiry, awareness of societal issues, and incorporation of knowledge from other fields. Of equal importance is involvement in professional issues/organizations, professional writing and research, prodding the "true believers," mentoring students, and assuming the risky role of a "changefate." As trailblazers, these men have marked and illuminated the path; it is now up to us to continue the journey.

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Year of Article: 1975

Direct From Minnesota—E. G. Williamson

DORLESA BARMETTLER EWING

I had expected to find a workroom rather than a formal office for the dean of students at the University of Minnesota, so I should not have been surprised, but I was. The office was definitely a workroom and even more definitely informal. I had heard that there had been a tornado alert in Minneapolis the day before I left California. As I sat there in Eddy Hall that June day in 1966, surveying the office of E. G. Williamson, it appeared to me that a tornado had indeed struck. Manuscripts, stacks of papers, dog-eared books on history and philosophy, and other paraphernalia of academia littered the room. I found out much later that the dean had acquired somewhat of a reputation about this office (and about a number of other things as well). John G. Darley said of him at his retirement dinner three years later, "His office is probably the most untidy, cluttered, and chaotic repository of odds and ends of things and ideas on campus."

I could believe it.

I had come to Minnesota from California State University at Hayward to work on my master's thesis, "The Pursuit of Areté—E. G. Williamson." I had been warned by the three Minnesotans who constituted my thesis committee to be well prepared before I went to Minnesota, since E. G. Williamson was a taskmaster who expected and got top performance from those with whom he worked. The reading I had done had further convinced me that this was a man who demanded much of himself and of others. Armed with a stack of questions developed out of my reading the massive literature he had produced, I waited.

When he arrived, he sat down at his desk, shoved the great stacks of papers on his desk to either side so that he could see me, and said, "Well, what do you want to know?" All I could hear for what seemed an interminable period of time was a hum of the air conditioner and the sound of fluttering papers in the breeze caused by the air conditioner. There was absolute silence. Finally, I fumbled with my briefcase, got out my questions, and, with a trepidation that can only be defined as stage fright, started my interview.

He had a way of talking about his boyhood, the people who had helped and influenced him, the woman and family he loved, the values he held, and the work he was doing that was moving because of its directness and honesty. He made sense to me; he became real to me—an intense, intellectually curious, private man.

The point of view of the counselor education faculty at California State University at Hayward in those days was predominately Minnesotan. The chairman had graduated from and taught at the University of Minnesota and had started the graduate counselor education program at Hayward. I had become fascinated by "the Minnesota point of view" and its impact on counselor trainees. The Williamson-Rogers debates had deeply touched basic philosophical differences between students and had stimulated daily debates among us on the nature of people, directivism, values, testing, record-keeping, voluntarism, manipulation, permissiveness, goals of counselor functioning, and a host of other coffeepot topics. I had come through these with a gradual shifting away from the point of view that counselors must not let their values come across to counselees (for fear of possible counselee contamination via counselor manipulation) to the opposite point of view, influenced in me by Williamson, that counselors cannot help but express their values to counselees.

But perhaps the most intense influence on me was Williamson's belief—which he has often verbalized, much to the chagrin of the nondirectivists—that "it is not enough to help counselees become what they want to become; rather it is more important to help them become what *they ought to want to become*." Since I myself was the youngest of a large immigrant Swiss farm family, I knew well that counselees do not always know or even suspect that they might become something other than what they think they can become. For most of them to arrive at such an insight without outside help would require quite a miraculous feat, one that Williamson has only half-jokingly referred to as the Immaculate Perception.

Later, after I joined the faculty at Cal State—Hayward, E. G. Williamson was invited to California to do a workshop on "Counseling and the Pursuit of Excellence." From him the students learned the real meaning of the Greek work *areté*, symbolizing the concept of aspiring to excellence. One student named her pet turtle Areté, and when her neighbors asked her what she was doing when she yelled "Areté!" again and again over the back fence, she replied, "I forever seem to be searching for Areté."

That ongoing search for excellence is and has always been the hallmark of E. G. Williamson's personal and professional philosophy. The excitement of that life-long search is beautiful and has drawn me here to Minnesota once more.

> What may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe that the great university . . . should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing with which alone the truth shall be known.

This small memorial plaque could easily have been overlooked in E. G. Williamson's study, filled as it was with the many memorabilia of active living and thinking. As he picked up that metal plaque and read the words aloud, one could sense the importance of those words to him. For in them resides the essence of the Williamson philosophy—the active, restless, never-ending pursuit of excellence.

Although E. G. Williamson retired in 1969 after 43 years of student personnel work at the University of Minnesota, he is still working. He has just published, with D. A. Biggs, his latest book, *Student Personnel Work: A Program of Developmental Relationships* and is in the process of completing an article on the subject, "Societal Change: Via Violence or 'Peaceful Revolution'?"

He seemed genuinely surprised at his selection as one of the pioneers in guidance. Possibly the battle scars from the Office of the Dean of Students at the University of Minnesota have made the difference.

ON BEING DEAN

Ewing: *You seem surprised that you are viewed as a pioneer. Is it possible that you are looking at a national perception from a local point of view?*

Williamson: Locally I'm an S.O.B. I've know that for a long time!

Ewing: *Where do you think you got that reputation?*

Williamson: In those early days I had the audacity to challenge the "divine right" of students to have booze and sex in the fraternities. I said that it desecrates the concept of alma mater, and sometimes intense hatred was my legacy for having that view. But it was during that same time, in the early forties, that we established very good working relationships with student leaders and we started our retreats and our joint meetings. That was the participatory management of that day. I suppose the moral is that some good can be yielded by controversy—if a staff is supported.

I want excellence in the performance of our relationships with our students. We are merely instruments to achieve that objective. I have the compulsion to strive. I don't feel comfortable when you let down and retire and quit trying. It's a state of nongrowth.

Ewing: *So you felt this also when someone who was working under you let down?*

Williamson: I gave them hell.

Ewing: *Did you then sense a feeling of failure?*

Williamson: Yes, and frustration because I couldn't hit upon a way of triggering in them what I thought they ought to present as models for students. Infused in the service relationship with the student ought to be a growth-facilitating relationship. That ought to show through to students—that the university cares about them.

Ewing: *The personnel worker as prodder, nudger, manipulator.*

Williamson: Yes, the benign manipulator. It's just a working, operating principle of management. In these terms I have felt resentful that some faculty members have thought we were just peripheral to the central intellectual mission of the university as they defined it. Now, as far as they are concerned, we are supportive when we give a financial loan, but that is sort of a janitorial, yardkeeper, building inspector, refurbisher mission—not the central one. Potentially we had both functions: to help with the maintenance of the operation and to add our own unique growth-producing, facilitative relationship. In administration it's a little bit different, because the administration is the brunt of all kinds of excesses. In a sense we are helping the president handle those kinds of excesses that are disruptive to any kind of mission of student development. So we have to help the president by helping the students maintain decorum and relationships as well as helping them with their immediate problems and also serving as stimulants and role models for growth-producing relationships.

Ewing: *That's quite an order.*

Williamson: Yes, and many times the staff thought it was unreasonable and unnecessary. You give students what they want, but you help them want more than they originally wanted. There's a parallel here with commercial operations. Businesses not only stock their inventories with what they have learned the customer wants, but they also help to create new wants. Customers are being manipulated to want more than they wanted when they came into the store. I don't find that antithetical to any kind of relationship between one individual and another, whether it is a storekeeper and a customer or a student and a personnel worker. I don't believe in the concept of not rocking the boat just so you have a satisfied customer. We need to start a movement. There have always been and always will be individuals who don't want to rock the boat.

Ewing: *What do you think has created this passivity in relating to students?*

Williamson: There is often a backing off or a giving in to avoid controversy. There were times when I avoided battle too. Sometimes you have to sit some of them out.

Ewing: *What kinds of issues did you let go? Did you let some of the little ones go so you would win on the big ones?*

Williamson: I suspect that was true—to invest the major effort in places of greatest importance.

STRIVING TOWARD EXCELLENCE

Ewing: *How do you see yourself?*

Williamson: I see myself as being rather pedestrian. I feel that I have to work very hard. Sometimes I revise my papers fifteen to eighteen times.

Ewing: *That doesn't make you pedestrian. It would seem that the ideas within the papers would be the better criteria.*

Williamson: Well, if I could settle on the ideas, but I keep changing.

Ewing: *That's why you're* not *pedestrian!*

Williamson: Maybe so. I don't know how I view myself. As incomplete, I suppose.

Ewing: *In what sense?*

Williamson: Well, I've never been able to do the things that I think I should have been able to do.

Ewing: *What would you do?*

Williamson: I would be a scholar, and I'm not. I can't understand enough to be a scholar. I suppose I should be more satisfied instead of being so dissatisfied and restless.

Ewing: *But you yourself said once that the more you grow, the greater the capacity for growth becomes.*

Williamson: But the more frustrating.

Ewing: *That's true.*

Williamson: Because you don't settle down. All you have is more change ahead of you.

Ewing: *But that is true of any scholar. A scholar is never complete.*

Williamson: Don't the biologists use the term *stasis*, which is a fixed plateau?

Ewing: *But that's not your philosophy.*

Williamson: It isn't my style.

Ewing: *But it isn't your philosophy either. You once quoted the saying, "Truth is a shady spot at the side of the road where one eats lunch before trudging on."*

Williamson: That's true.

Ewing: *But you are then a contradiction. You are asking for something you don't really believe in.*

Williamson: Right, right. I'm asking for something I don't want to achieve. I'm full of contradictions. Isn't everyone—except the dogmatic true believer?

Ewing: *But then how can you arrive at such a self-judgment that you are pedestrian?*

Williamson: Maybe I don't understand that fully myself. I think of myself as being fairly ordinary. I worked like hell and sacrificed my family and everything else, and I'm not sure that I would have done it that way again.

Ewing: *What would you have done again?*

Williamson: Relaxed more or tried to learn to relax, but I don't think I could have in terms of my early poverty background. I had to work like hell to get anywhere. With hard work and the help of many, many other people, including Lorraine and the children—Janice, Bud, and Loridel—I've gotten wherever I've gotten. And it leaves you with a sense of dissatisfaction, because you can't relax once you have started a style of working for change. You never achieve a stable state. It's a style of living you accumulate in trying to rise above poverty. Together with the fact that I was trying to achieve something more than the ordinary—a striving to become, a beginning of the areté notion—this is an ongoing process. It makes one restless because it is not the end goal but the striving that matters.

Ewing: *But there is a tragedy to that too. After many years of a highly successful and productive career, you see yourself as pedestrian because of your incompleteness.*

Williamson: Of course. If you acquire a style of living that is striving to become, then you can't reach the point of equilibrium, or stasis.

Ewing: *And so the happiness comes from the striving. So would you say that you are happy?*

Williamson: Yes, in that sense, sure. And if I weren't striving, then I would be very unhappy. That's why I keep on reading. That's part of my striving, my style of living. I've got to have it, and I don't want to give it up. I suppose someday I'll run down, but until that day comes, I just want to keep on striving. Toward what goal? The striving is an end in itself. But I have never thought of myself as having achieved anything outstanding within that striving or by means of that striving.

RETIREMENT: THE PRIVATE MAN

Ewing: *What do you do differently now that you have retired?*

Williamson: I haven't really retired. I have just changed jobs. The office doesn't get in my way. The crises don't get in the way. I read more widely. I must read ten to twelve magazines.

Ewing: *You have now set the white shirt and tie aside. You have more time to do what you want to do. Of course, you've been doing that right along anyway.*

Williamson: Yes. I've snitched time from everywhere to read. I read in the airplane, in the hotel. I have become more intellectual, more rational. I'm not a very sociable person. I don't mix well. I like to meet with individual friends, but sometimes even there I don't talk very much. I do a lot of silent conversing with myself.

Ewing: *The internal rational dialogue?*

Williamson: That's really what it is. Last night I had a hard time going to sleep. I had a seminar with myself, in a sense. A meditation. Words, sentences, visual imagery. I'm just not a very companionable person.

Ewing: *You're a private person.*

Williamson: Well, that's how I was raised.

Ewing: *That's the way you are by choice.*

Williamson: I don't know whether it's by choice or not; that's the way I was conditioned. How did I get this way? I had a happy childhood. My mother was kind to me, but none of us were demonstrably affectionate. That's just a missing part, and I suppose to many I am a cold person.

Ewing: *Private persons are often perceived as cold.*

Williamson: Yes, cold and indifferent and rejective. I was conditioned not to be demonstrably affectionate.

Ewing: *I can see why. The early death of your father, the early responsibilities that you had, and the responsibility for your mother that you assumed. A lot of things were going on with you that would have made being that vulnerable difficult for you.*

Williamson: Without any question, those were variables that had an influence. But those variables permitted me to exercise and develop a preference for conversing with myself, even in the midst of crises.

Ewing: *You're an introvert.*

Williamson: Yes, I'm an introvert. No question about that. At times it must be hell for other people to live with, though. There are times when I rise out of it. That may seem at variance with my extroverted preference and enjoyment for doing things administratively. That was carrying out some of my internal aspirations.

Ewing: *Maybe it's also kind of administratively coming out of that introvertedness "on your own terms."*

Williamson: Yes, with the frustrations, because some other people blocked or interfered with my externalization of my internal impulses. So I'm a hell of a guy to get along with in that sense.

Ewing: *If you had the choice, what would you change about your life so far?*

Williamson: I think I would like to have had less poverty and more for my family. I've had a great many satisfying experiences and rewards. I don't think anybody could ask for more than what I had professionally.

Ewing: *But somehow you feel you've cheated yourself in some way in terms of your family?*

Williamson: Oh, yes, that's true. I've deprived my family because I put my profession first. That I regret. I couldn't seem to do both. I warned Lorraine before we were married that I would put that kind of effort into my job because I wanted to do a good job.

Ewing: *So you couldn't have done it differently with your set of values.*

Williamson: Given the same set of potentialities, no. Not under the circumstances. I suppose maybe I could have acquired a different set of values, but you don't have any control over that. They're sort of given to you. I'll accept that much of Skinnerian thinking.

THE EARLY DAYS AT MINNESOTA

Williamson: I would have tried to balance it a little differently if I had it to do over again, and I suppose it could have been done. But remember the circumstances: I was doing what one would loosely call pioneering. Donald Paterson had come here and established a whole program of research on student development and a program of counseling, including mental hygiene and social case study. John B. Johnston, the dean of the arts college, had been interested in devising any kind of technique to admit into the arts college a better type of student, better in the sense of grade-getting. Paterson came along with a technology for measurement to help him, and then later I, as Paterson's assistant, helped to give those examinations to seniors all over the state.

Then came the Employment Stabilization Research Institute to do something about unemployment by helping individuals discover what kind of potentiality—work capacity—they had to find employment during the Depression. Paterson received a research grant from the Rockefeller and Carnegie people and set up a program of testing for aptitudes and interests, applying this program with the case study method. That was the prototype of the arts college counseling program. We organized the University Testing Bureau in 1932 for individual counseling. I directed it. President L. D. Coffman bought the idea, and Guy Stanton

Ford, dean of the graduate school, did too, and the whole thing was off to a start. That was just a combination of chance circumstances, and I just rode in on the wave. And that meant I had to work like hell, because that was the first year that the university took a cut in appropriations, following the 1929 stock market collapse. Here I was, proposing an increase in budget!

***Ewing:** Kinda gutsy.*

Williamson: Yeah. I wonder how I got away with it, but I did. We had to scrounge. I had Paterson's research idea about the incompleteness of the understanding of the human being, human adjustment, human potentiality. I started writing and doing research at the same time that I was doing counseling. I would counsel all day and then go home and write papers, and on weekends and on vacations I'd write too. I was working tremendously hard, and that took all the time that ordinarily goes to family, so the family was neglected.

When I was a little more established, we started taking the older children to Colorado for summer vacations, and I got a little relaxation that way. But I took my papers with me to work there. Under the circumstances, it had to come out that way. I had to meet the criteria of budgetary soundness with deficient finances. There was no money except my salary. Also, I wanted to establish this new field of counseling based upon the measurement and case study methods. I had to publish to get it accepted professionally. There was the motivation. Lorraine was a good sport and did a lot to help me, including some of the typing of my thesis. Later Janice, my daughter, did too. With that pressure and wide open opportunity, I got a habit, or a style of living—always on the active side. You don't rest—a teleological ongoingness.

THE DIRECTIVE APPROACH

***Ewing:** How would you characterize the directive approach in counseling students?*

Williamson: I used the case study approach to understand the totality of the individual. A lot of counselors look for gimmicks—how-to-do-it techniques, which I call processing students. We were using measurement data plus judgments plus case data reported by the students or from other sources to enable us to understand the individuals' potentiality and help them choose adult models as objectives. Individuals, in my opinion, do *not* have all the resources to become what they ought to want to become. Individuals, when they come to college, ought to become unsettled and dissatisfied with their own concepts of what they want to become. New, alternative models of becoming ought to be introduced to them. They have a moral right to choose or reject them, but at least they ought to broaden their conception of the possibilities of becoming—the style. *That's directive.* Students come from a particular environment, a particular family with particular concepts and models of becoming and aspirations of becoming. The collegiate experience ought to introduce them to the possibility of change. Our kind of university allows for great diversity. Some of this diversity I don't like personally, but if they have chosen it, all right—as long as it doesn't disgrace alma mater. That's my criterion for the cutoff point for change.

I think the nubbin of counseling and the whole student personnel program focuses upon different concepts of what the individual can become. In that respect I'm in line with Maslow's concept of self-actualization. However, that concept centers the whole universal attention upon the autonomous individual. It plays down that aspect of Skinner which I find congenial, namely, that the context of the gestalten does have the possibility for other life styles. In that sense the collegiate experience should be unsettling, in that it shakes you out of your dogmatic slumber. That can be traumatic for some individuals, so you have got to personalize this exploration of alternatives, otherwise it can lead to cynicism or withdrawal or rigid adherence to a particular model of becoming—and "to hell with the rest of it."

***Ewing:** This is pretty much the crux of your thinking.*

Williamson: Yes, it is pretty basic to my philosophy: the concept of the good life.

***Ewing:** That has a lot to do with what you spoke of as striving.*

Williamson: Yes, so many students come to the university who have finished striving. They have arrived! They've chosen, and they are satisfied with their choice. The unsettling of this rigidity is desirable and is the essence of the collegiate experience.

***Ewing:** Once you stop looking at those alternatives and deny that unsettling process, you stop. Period. Finis!*

Williamson: Right—finis. You're settled, fixed. Personally, I don't find that satisfying. I don't find it congenial to me to believe that there is a final answer.

***Ewing:** Where has your general concept of aspiring to excellence, or areté, taken you in terms of outcomes in our field?*

Williamson: The passivity of the recipient has always bothered me, because the student doesn't really participate in the learning process. Actually, individuals have to get some knowledge poured into them somehow—injected in them with a needle, if necessary. They don't have all the resources, the facts relevant to the solution or to the understanding of a problem. So you do have to pour it in through an interchange in which they are active participants in the learning process.

It has always troubled me that so many counselors seem to operate on the assumption that the individual is a passive recipient. In that sense I have empathy with Rogers, except that he's too damn passive! He might say that he was in danger of influencing the individual; but hell, what else is teaching except influencing? So it's an interchange. I feel more comfortable with Ellis and Perls in that sense, because there is an active interchange. Some professors act as though they light the lamp, and that means the student is the lamp and is passive until they light it. "Lamplighter" isn't a bad figure of speech, but the weakness is that the lamp is still an inert mass.

***Ewing:** I guess you would hand the individuals the match so they could light their own lamps.*

Williamson: Right. We ought to stimulate them and teach them how to light themselves.

***Ewing:** So that when we aren't there, they can do it without us.*

Williamson: Yes, a continuing process. Eventually the individual ought to be self-counseling.

THE ROGERS DEBATES

***Ewing:** How did people such as Rogers and critics from abroad get involved with the Minnesota point of view? How did you get into this directive versus nondirective debating that went on? How did all that come about?*

Williamson: I think it kind of peaked in that summer of 1946, when I taught a course in counseling at the University of Chicago. Dugald Arbuckle was there as a graduate student of Rogers's, then a new faculty member. Arbuckle set up a debate between Rogers and me. From there on it was directive versus nondirective.

***Ewing:** Did you talk with Rogers before the debate?*

Williamson: No, no, I've never had a meeting with Rogers, although we eventually had three debates.

***Ewing:** How would you characterize that first debate?*

Williamson: We were not in any sense in accordance. I suppose we were in disagreement, but I was stating, not defending, my

Some Facts About E. G. Williamson

1925	*Earned BA in psychology from the University of Illinois*
1925	*Came to Minnesota to work with Methodist men's groups (Wesley Foundation in Minneapolis)*
1926	*Became assistant to Donald Paterson in Testing and Counseling at the University of Minnesota*
1926–75	*Author of 400 publications (over a dozen texts) on concepts, research, and organized programs*
1928	*Married Lorraine Fitch*
1930	*Birth of daughter, Janice*
1931	*Earned PhD in psychology at the University of Minnesota under Donald Paterson*
1931–69	*Editor for a series of personnel work publications from the University of Minnesota Press*
1932	*Joined psychology faculty at the University of Minnesota*
1932	*Organized and directed the University Testing Bureau (later to become the Students' Counseling Bureau)*
1932	*Birth of son, Bud*
1937–41	*Member, American Council on Education (Washington, D.C.), Student Personnel Work Committee*
1939	*Published* How to Counsel Students: A Manual of Techniques for Clinical Counselors, *which brought into national focus the Williamson directive counseling approach, also referred to as the trait and factor approach and the Minnesota point of view*
1940–44	*President, American College Personnel Association*
1941–69	*Unified personnel services in a central agency as dean of students at the University of Minnesota*
1941–45	*Chairman of a joint army-navy committee on equivalency testing for academic credits in the military; Chairman, War Manpower Utilization Committee (Washington, D.C.)*
1941–55	*Chairman, American Council on Education (Washington, D.C.), Student Personnel Work Committee*
1945–47	*President, Division of Personnel and Guidance Psychologists, American Psychological Association*
1946	*Birth of daughter, Loridel*
1946	*Went to Germany with U.S. Department of Commerce to investigate manpower utilization by the Nazis*
1950–69	*Chairman, Advisory Committee on Counseling Services for Vocational Rehabilitation and Education (Veterans Administration)*
1952	*Chairman of an advisory committee to introduce personnel services to Japanese universities*
1953–54	*Vice President, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators*
1956	*Fulbright Fellow to Japan*
1957	*Awarded plaque by Minnesota Inter-Fraternity Council; it read "Presented to E. G. Williamson—the best damn dean in the country"*
1960–62	*Chairman, Langmuir Committee on Services to Foreign Students, National Association of Foreign Student Advisers*
1960–66	*Chairman, Commission VIII, Students Expression on Social Issues, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators*
1962	*Received the American Personnel and Guidance Association's Nancy C. Wimmer award "for organization of the first integrated program of student personnel services in the United States and for continued outstanding services in the development and administration of this program—a dynamic organization that has provided a model for similar systems in other colleges and universities throughout this country and the world, and for unusual leadership in the shaping of guidance programs through consultative and advisory services to many national, state and local educational agencies as well as private organizations and for significant and extensive research, writing and editorial contributions to the literature in the guidance and student personnel fields."*
1965	*Fulbright Fellow to Japan*
1965–66	*President-Elect, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators*
1966–67	*President-Elect, American Personnel and Guidance Association*
1969	*Danforth Foundation lecturer*
1970	*Asia Foundation Fellow to Japan, Taiwan, and Ceylon*
1970	*Danforth Foundation lecturer (second time)*
1975	*Published most recent book,* Student Personnel Work: A Program of Developmental Relationships

point of view, and he stated his. Judging from some of the questions asked by the students, they saw us in sharp contradiction.

Ewing: *And the debate continued in all the counseling classrooms in the country.*

Williamson: In 1939 I had published my book on how to counsel students, and Rogers had published some of his early articles. C. H. Patterson set up the second debate. The third one was set up by Willis Dugan in 1956 at a Minnesota institute. One time, toward the end of that institute, I found myself next to Rogers going into the cafeteria. I said to him, "Sometimes you sound like a Zen Buddhist." And he said, "Yes, I've been told that." And the conversation ended. And he did, and still does, sound like a Zen Buddhist. The means of communication are without sense organs—through intuition, through contemplation. You contemplate and become in tune with the universe. Rogers gets in tune with his client without verbal language; it is as though ESP were applied to counseling communication.

Ewing: *How did C. H. Patterson get involved with the second debate between you and Rogers?*

Williamson: As did Rogers, Patterson misunderstood my view on testing, which is understandable. When you measure, when you test, you are not depersonalizing the relationship. You are trying to improve your understanding by using data with a smaller probable error of estimate—such as test data—instead of judgments, which have a much larger probable error of estimate: variability. I had been so preoccupied with the improvement of accuracy in understanding that I had failed to say that at the same time we were continuing the personalization, the humanness of the relationship. So he misunderstood, as Rogers did, and thought that measurement meant dehumanization. I think this misunderstanding is common among counselors who are so accustomed to depending only upon gesture and words for communication. Measurement data increase the accuracy of understanding. You have to recognize that you're dealing with variable data which help to prevent you from over-interpreting. But if you're dealing with human relationships, as an administrator or a counselor has to do, all you've got is what you can observe. You tend to forget that that observation has error or variability or is less than complete.

COUNSELING IN THE '30s AND '40s

Williamson: I think it was inevitable that the Rogerian movement would gain momentum, because our experimental point of view and our measurement point of view seemed to be impersonal and dehumanizing to a nonmeasurement person.

Ewing: *Rational rather than in any sense affective?*

Williamson: Rational in the sense of mechanical-patronistic. Historically, counselors and psychologists were not therapists in that day. Therapy was restricted to psychiatrists, and clinical psychologists were only mental testers. They gave the Stanford-Binet, and it wasn't until the Second World War that psychologists were permitted to be therapists. Now, of course, it's widespread. In the '30s and '40s it was not permitted. As a matter of fact, I can remember many, many times hearing and even saying to myself that if you had an individual student with a complex emotional conflict, you referred the case to a psychiatrist rather than handle it yourself or handle it jointly. But never would you be a therapist.

Ewing: *And this certainly has changed.*

Williamson: Oh, radically! And the conflict of the sharpness of the dichotomy—the separateness of the categories of counselor and psychiatrist and therapist—should change. Now they are being woven together, and that's very good.

Ewing: *What do you think brought about the evolution in the three terms* guidance, counseling, therapy?

Williamson: *Guidance* is quite dated. I cringe every time I hear it, because I think of it with the modifying adjective: *divine guidance.* It is a term that has outworn its usefulness and relevance. *Counseling* came in as a result of the work of the army psychologists. *Therapy* had been segregated so that it could be performed only by the anointed psychiatrist. It's a good thing that therapy, even with all its incompleteness of understanding, has become widespread in the sense that almost everybody is talking therapy now. It's a good thing, even though it led to excesses and oversimplification.

Ewing: *So we've really evolved from the guidance counseling concept and have moved far from the original meaning of guidance.*

Williamson: True. Historically, in the nineteenth century, *guidance* meant preparation for adulthood, including vocational choice, but it also meant religious and moral guidance. Then it came to mean only choice of work. In that sense it has been good that we have broadened the whole term. When you change concepts, you usually change labels; and I think that's one of the reasons that *counseling* became popular.

THE FUTURE: GREATER PARTICIPATION

Ewing: *Where do you think the field is going now?*

Williamson: It's spreading out, which is all to the good, because the more innovations you have, the more options you have from which to choose. That's the way I view the chaos today—diversity. It's hard to keep up with it, because everyone seems to be innovating and spreading out. There are many varieties of counseling now. Twenty years ago there were only two kinds: directive and nondirective. The diversity is good. There is a new kind of student generation today with different mores as well as morals, and Biggs and I in our new book have been hammering away at the theme of participatory management: students playing a larger role in making decisions—or at least reacting to decisions—other than by violence. That's what I term "rational dialogue." It has taken us a long time to come to the place where we bring students into the management role rather than merely the role of the recipient of education. I think the Berkeley revolution detonated all of that. Otherwise we would still be having lectures from upon Mt. Olympus down to the peasants.

The participatory concept, like every other innovation, has had a good and a bad side. There was an emphasis in the sixties that the students would make their own regulations—"Those who obey the rules should make them." The concept of participatory management was borrowed from industry. Industry has developed the participation of the worker in management. Management as decision-making is not from the top down; it is the top finding out how the worker will react to that decision, and that makes the decision workable. That's a distinction that is difficult to get across, particularly to those in revolt. But it is just as difficult to get the idea across to those who are not participating. These latter ones concern me more than those who revolt. How the devil do you get students to participate when their conception of their role is that of people who merely sit there and take notes the professor dictates and then regurgitate them at the time of examination? But that's being gradually broken up a little bit. But whether it will continue to be broken up is in question. It is very difficult to get students to participate. They have been conditioned from the elementary school to be recipients rather than participants.

Ewing: *Even if you make it possible for students to participate, they often get upset because they can't seem to handle the ambiguity of it all.*

Williamson: I would suppose so. I suppose it's easier to have a French Revolution like the Berkeley revolt than it is to learn how to participate in management, particularly when the professors themselves have been indoctrinated through graduate school that the student is the recipient and not the participator. I think we personnel workers, including counselors, have been indoctrinated the same way. Some counselors and some of the group methods of Krumboltz call for participation, but there's an awful lot of the recipient role still being played and anticipated by the counselors and personnel workers. For example, we hand out scholarships rather than help a student learn how to live on money, which is a totally different function. The emphasis still tends to be on the banking function of financial aid rather than helping the individual learn how to *live* on money.

DISCIPLINE AND DEVELOPMENT

Ewing: *This concept applies also to the disciplinary function of pupil personnel work.*

Williamson: There the student was the recipient. The reform of discipline is in a sense impeded now, because legal thinking got into the whole field. Due process, legal representation, written charges, and things of that sort were brought over from courtroom procedure. We're trying to say that the counselor's rehabilitation or developmental emphasis should reform discipline, not the lawyer's due process. We do need due process, but we need to go beyond that if we are going to get more than is usually possible in the case of the civil courts or criminal courts with adults.

***Ewing:** It just happens to the students.*

Williamson: That's right, rather than helping them develop into the kind of persons that have their individuality but are still members of their society. We have the long historical precedent of punishment as a way of reforming. Now, from a counselor's point of view, rehabilitation—helping individuals learn to live within restraints of society and still have their individuality—is the reform that we have been trying to develop here. Most personnel workers will not accept discipline as a personnel function. Certainly counselors won't. Therapists won't. That is a very interesting phenomenon. They have been trained to think that individuals volunteer to come and that therefore they can sever the connection anytime they want to. That's pretty dominant in all the counseling theories I've read. Now, if you apply counseling approaches to discipline, you've got an interesting combination of *required* relationships—the reluctant client.

***Ewing:** Responsibility seems central to this whole theory.*

Williamson: It is, but how do you teach responsibility in terms of responsiveness to external restraint? In the ethos of our country, rugged individualism is adequate for self-management.

***Ewing:** But not within the restraints of group management.*

Williamson: Yes, so you have those two emphases working against each other. How to synthesize them is the crux of the problem. I don't know.

***Ewing:** It all gets reinforced by the counselor, by the system, so it never happens. The cycle never gets broken.*

Williamson: Part of the reason is that, as far as the school discipline is concerned, individuals have not been treated as counselees. They've been treated not quite as criminals but at least as people who have broken the rules and therefore have to be punished in order to get back into line. The problem is: How do you train students to become self-disciplining? We're trying to rethink the whole personnel field in terms of the developmental emphasis by including, of course, discipline (which has been my hobby), even financial aid, and certain extracurricular activity. We're trying to make the extracurriculum a part of the intellectual as well as the recreational, but in terms of developmental emphasis—aesthetic as well as intellectual and emotional. Every once in a while we take a little sideswipe at the limitation of the group therapy approach to "emotion only." We've had a lot of successful experience in pumping intellectual content into group phenomena in retreats off campus. Without minimizing the importance of the one-to-one relationship, we're trying to get the community context—the social gestalt—in trying to change the institutional climate so that it is conducive to the totality of human development. This is difficult to do, because since the twelfth century academic institutions have been geared to intellectual development, and all else has been extra.

From a student personnel point of view, the total development is vital. We ought to, in addition to the services we give students for crises, loans, scholarships, and discipline, teach them through student personnel work to organize a revolution that brings about societal change by means of rational dialogue rather than through the Berkeley style of violence. One of the things we ought to do as student personnel workers is help individuals not only change themselves but also bring about social change that will accelerate their own personal development. You don't find any emphasis upon the individual as a reformer of society, in spite of the fact that Skinner says the social forces impinge upon individuals and determine what kind of individuals they are.

So if you are going to change individuals or help them change in the sense of development, you ought to change society, since it impinges upon individuals in their development. But we tend to "either-or" it; either Rogers's autonomy of the self as being existentially supreme, or Skinner's theory that individuals are automatons played upon by their environment. We're trying to get the two together in an integrated relationship. The personal relationship of the personnel worker and the student is an instrument to help individuals bring about change in themselves *and* in society. You can have professional specialization, but each person ought to recognize that he or she is a societal force in a Skinnerian sense. At the same time, counselors ought to want to help individuals develop for adult citizenship by learning to use rational dialogue as a method of bringing about needed societal change in such things as racism, sexism, and discrimination of all sorts, as well as poverty.

COUNSELOR EDUCATION

***Ewing:** How do you think this evolution from the older concept of guidance has affected the training programs for counselors?*

Williamson: All to the good, because counselors now are trained beyond career counseling through the specialization of Crites, Holland, and Super. However, too many counselors today are still trained in technique rather than in terms of philosophic goals. They are trained "how to do it" rather than "for what purpose." That's why I welcome the contemporary emerging emphasis on development—if it is broadened to include all dimensions of development, which it usually isn't. It usually leaves out aesthetics, morality, philosophy, and values.

***Ewing:** For the first time, I have actually heard you defend values and what they mean for you.*

Williamson: Values are "matters of importance" for me. I'm quoting Whitehead. That goes back to the psychology of motivation. Not needs, but goals—the teleological. The old Greek concept of goals—what motivates you.

***Ewing:** You dared bring that into the whole guidance and counseling movement.*

Williamson: I wrote half a dozen articles.

***Ewing:** I remember—early in my training—to talk values with a counselee seemed somehow unclean.*

Williamson: Certainly, an imposition. Well, the nondirectivists fostered that feeling—that one was trying to manipulate.

***Ewing:** It seems to me that it was very brave of you to come out and show that that was important to the counseling experience.*

Williamson: I had a conviction that that was an important topic.

***Ewing:** And you wonder why you are considered a pioneer?*

Williamson: I don't hear anybody refer to that literature. Not that that bothers me, since I got a lot of satisfaction out of saying what I did about values.

***Ewing:** And yet it's become common now for values to be discussed in counseling.*

Williamson: Yup. They finally got around to it.

***Ewing:** What about the education of counselors? What about counselor educators?*

Williamson: Counselor educators should have experienced counseling themselves. They should have been counseled and should counsel before they teach. Also, there are many ways to attempt to facilitate human development. Every personnel service is an opportunity for a facilitative relationship. Counseling is only one of these services, and not necessarily the best one for everyone.

Ewing: *So guidance, as you see it, is a very broad function.*

Williamson:Oh, yes. Every human relationship has the potential to facilitate or to inhibit. A snippy clerk at the desk at the registrar's office can inhibit student development by creating the bureaucratic symbolism that "we don't give a damn about you as an individual; we just want to process you." Good personnel administrators will pay close attention to their clerical staffs as well as their professional staffs. Particularly in urbanized institutions, individuals can feel as if they are being processed like cars on an assembly line. If they can get that perception, whether it's true or not, it inhibits their sense of personal worth and therefore their urge to develop themselves.

THE PAST AND THE FUTURE

Ewing:*It sounds as though you think guidance in that broader sense is here to stay?*

Williamson:Oh, definitely.

Ewing: *No matter how bad the financial picture gets?*

Williamson:In my short lifetime, things have always been in a state of chaos. I was young when the First World War came on. Then, after that, the Depression, the Second World War, and the Korean War. It seems that everything is in flux. There has not been a stable period. You really can't step into the same river twice, so you have got to counsel on the run, as it were. I don't think we can ever go back to the old days. We'll never go back. We may fumble more, and we may lose a lot budgetwise in the tight days that are coming, but we can't go back. We have a hell of a struggle ahead of us to become central to the collegiate mission, but on with the revolution!

PUBLICATIONS

E. G. Williamson has authored over 400 publications in more than 75 different periodicals since 1926. At least a dozen of his publications are books. The list below is only a small sample of this extensive literature.

Allport's Experiments in "Social Facilitation." *Psychological Monographs*, 1926, *35*, 138–143.

Vocational Counseling at the University of Minnesota. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934.

The Role of Faculty Counseling in Scholastic Motivation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1936, *20*, 314–324.

How to Counsel Students: A Manual of Techniques for Clinical Counselors. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939.

(With E. S. Bordin) The Evaluation of Vocational and Educational Counseling: A Critique of the Methodology of Experiments. *Educational Psychological Measurement*, 1941, *1*, 5–24.

Impressions of Student Personnel Work in German Universities and Implications for America. *Educational Psychological Measurement*, 1947, *7*, 519–537.

(With J. D. Foley) *Counseling and Discipline*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949.

The Extra-Curriculum and General Education. *Yearbook of National Society for Study of Education*, 1952, *51*, 23–49.

Value Orientation in Counseling. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1958, *36*, 520–528.

Student Personnel Services in Colleges and Universities: Some Foundations, Techniques and Processes of Program Administration. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.

Vocational Counseling: Some Historical, Philosophical, and Theoretical Perspectives. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.

(With J. L. Cowan) *American Students' Freedom of Expression: A Research Appraisal*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966.

But the Counselor Does Sit in Judgment. *High School Counselor Today*, 1966, 34–43.

Youth's Dilemma: To Be or to Become. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1967, *46*, 173–177.

Some Thoughts about My Dasein as a Counselor. *Counseling and Values*, 1972, *16*, 227–231.

(With D. A. Biggs) *Student Personnel Work: A Program of Developmental Relationships*. New York: Wiley, 1975.

Dorlesa Barmettler Ewing*, Associate Professor of Educational Psychology at California State University—Hayward, is also a licensed psychologist in private practice. She received her PhD in Counseling Psychology from the University of California—Berkeley. Currently she is conducting research on the relationship of nutrition and mood disorder and is completing a textbook on counseling theory in practice.*

Year of Article: 1976

The Changing World of Gilbert Wrenn

DALE WACHOWIAK and ROGER F. AUBREY

IN SEARCH OF THE PERSON

I had never met Gilbert Wrenn before the interview. Nor have I seen him since. I'm therefore confronted with the problem of developing a personal sketch of someone with whom I've only spent a few hours. I can tell you that I met a Gilbert Wrenn of gentle, cheerful dignity. A young 72, he made our trite questions worthwhile with lively, lucid answers. I can say that the Gilbert Wrenn of the interview quickly overcame all age barriers by being amazingly up-to-date professionally and by being loathe to reminisce. These observations, however, don't give you much of a feel for the man.

In search of a better characterization, I retreated to a desk littered with Gilbert Wrenn information. The lists of publications, awards, and professional activities present a Gilbert Wrenn of great dedication and energy. The Who's Who list of students suggests a man who models what it takes to be a successful counselor and educator. These data still didn't get me beyond the public, professional side of Gilbert Wrenn.

I turned to his writings. The books reflect a generalist-scholar. The articles reveal a humanitarian. The poetry shows a man of intense feelings, about his religion . . .

> My choice makes me the paddler in a canoe.
>   I am facing forward.
>   I am moving toward the goal ahead.
> The God within me,
>   Supplying the energy,
>   Guiding the thrust of my paddle.

and about those dear to him . . .

> I am in a psychological life space
> composed of both inner and outer me
> and all of the "important others" in my life.
> I am not a lone star, but part of a
>   constellation
> all enclosed within my life space.

Still not satisfied that I had seen many facets of Gilbert Wrenn, I wrote those of his students whom I felt might know him best. Walter Johnson of Michigan State recalled the Gilbert Wrenn who met with all of his graduate students on the Monday after Pearl Harbor to admonish them against rushing off to volunteer and then proceeded to be the first to volunteer. Beulah Hedahl wrote from North Dakota about the exciting fifties at Minnesota. "Becoming one of Wrenn's advisees was becoming a member of the family." She wrote of sibling rivalry and of tremendous demands on the "father's" time and energy. Students often made appointments weeks in advance, but, as Minnesota's Clyde Parker recalls it, ". . . when he saw someone he gave them his full attention. It was as though there was no one else in the world. He made you feel important. . . ."

All agree that what pulled them together were the biweekly "family" seminars in which Wrenn, his wife, and his students shared of themselves in the Wrenn home. These interactions produced supportive, affectionate relationships that have lasted through the years. All are also in essential agreement with Charles Lewis, APGA Executive Vice President, who wrote that "Gil Wrenn, aside from my father, had the greatest impact on the development of my own personal value system and personal code of behavior standards with regard to human relationships."

To obtain a glimpse of Gilbert Wrenn outside the world of work, I contacted his family. His wife Kathleen, a musician, described a relationship in which each becomes enthusiastically involved in the other's professional concerns. This mutual sharing culminated one year in her being asked to lecture in a course on marriage and his being elected president of the faculty music club. Wrenn's son, Bob, wrote semi-facetiously suggesting that I just use his letter *in toto* and save myself a lot of editing problems. The letter presented Gilbert Wrenn from such a unique vantage that I'm taking Bob up on his suggestion:

Dear Dr. Wachowiak:

The assignment you have given me is a whopper. Where to begin? I have a very special relationship to C. G. Wrenn as his only child. And, quite naturally, people may already feel they know what that relationship must be—after all, I followed in his footsteps didn't I? [Robert Wrenn is Director of the Counseling Service at the University of Arizona.] It's not quite that simple.

There are certain consistencies in Dad's "personality" as I view him from my special vantage point. He is extremely *human* and, perhaps, that's what I like about him most of all. He can laugh; he can cry; he can be afraid; he can love; he can support; he can criticize; he can do all those things as can we all. But most striking about Dad, in my judgment, is that he really gives a damn about you. Ask his students, ask his wife, ask his next door neighbor.

Another consistency I notice is that he always has an answer. Not *the* answer but *an* answer. That's the difference between night and day. You always have something to respond to because he responds. He allows you to disagree but he loves a good debate. He may try to sell you on his point of view but he never insists. I have a good friend who is a potter at the University where I work. He and Dad have nothing in common professionally but they both look forward to meeting each other at my house because together they can solve any problem that comes up during the several hours of debate and discussion that ensues. They trip each other's imaginations and top each other from one high to another, usually ending the evening in a warm bear hug that speaks for itself. My father is a hard core romantic-idealist.

As a child I recall we somehow got into labeling each other after the characters in Milne's *Winnie the Pooh* series. Dad was Pooh-bear, the lovable bear with very little brain; Mother was Eeyore of the "good day, if it is a good day, which I doubt" vein, and I was Piglet, the character who flits from one thing to another and generally ends up center stage. There was some truth to these characterizations, I suppose, but the fact was that Dad used his head quite a bit, Mother could be quite an optimist, and I became more stable and left of center.

Next to his devotion to Mother, I think that Dad's main love has been his work. He has been fantastically productive, as we all know, but it is a labor of love. As a child, I recall vacations and trips with my parents with Dad's briefcase at his side. Sometimes Mother would say "Gilbert, let's try a vacation this time with no briefcase." It didn't work. He certainly took time to be with us, but as I look back on it he was like a young boy going out behind the barn for a smoke, only in his case it was to find a quiet place to be with his briefcase and papers. It was a true love affair.

Dad is a religious person. Anyone who has followed his writings knows what I mean. As a youth he was business manager for an evangelist; he had dreams himself of being a missionary to Africa. But his work with Terman at Stanford and his quest for knowledge provided a different pathway for his life work. As the first editor of the new *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, a journal striving for objectivity, scientific accuracy, and respectability, he strayed once again with the introduction of poetry, essays on God and Man, and other no-no's which, today, are much more commonplace. His treatise on the philosophical models of counseling some years back in an NSSE yearbook was in my opinion motivated in large part by his persistent quest for some answers to the meaning of life, love, and work in which a strong belief in a power beyond—call it God if you will—has always been an important consideration.

In my judgment Dad has always been sort of a loner. Of course, he has friends and acquaintances by the hundreds, but he really enjoys his privacy and can truly enjoy himself and his time together with Mother. Next June he and Mother will celebrate their 50th wedding anniversary. Shall we invite the world? I feel like the father of the bride who knows there is no way to exclude from invitation the hundreds of people who truly love this man—and I secretly pray for elopement. "Hey, Mom and Dad, go enjoy your 50th together. The rest of us will understand."

Sincerely,
Robert L. Wrenn

There are undoubtedly more sides to this person. I'm sure he has feet of clay. However, it was such a pleasure to find a man happily involved in his senior years, surrounded by many people who care about him deeply, that for the moment I've stopped searching, content with the conclusion that I like the Gilbert Wrenn I found.—*Dale Wachowiak*

THE ENCAPSULATED COUNSELOR REVISITED

Wachowiak: *I'm impressed by the scope of your thinking, Dr. Wrenn. In your books, you are a sociologist one minute, then into philosophical concepts, then talking about the skills of the profession. Does this represent the kind of person that we should be turning out in counseling.?*

Wrenn: Ed Williamson and I disagreed on this back in the 1930s. Of course, he was at that time stressing diagnosis, and even in the 1930s I was more concerned with relationships and attitudes. It's not an either/or proposition. Counseling competence is partly skills and partly the knowledgeable matrix within which the counselor uses those skills. The counselor has to know something of the world in which the client is operating and the pressures on him. Unless the counselor is sensitive to the attitudes and pressures operating within the client, his counseling skills are pretty sterile; they are as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

By the way, I thought I noticed you wince when I referred to a client as "him." Let's get that clear at the first. I have found no way in speaking or writing to indicate male and female, woman and man, in one word without its seeming forced or awkward. So I use "he" and "him" in the generic sense as meaning "the human being," both man and woman. And if that makes me a sexist to you, then I'll clobber you with a lot of writing I've done asserting the complete equality of woman with man! Often they are more than equal; they are better.

Wachowiak: *I'll buy that and I hope the readers will. So you think if we focus on training in specific skills, we will be missing a big part of it?*

Wrenn: You are missing the complete person, you see. You are missing the person that operates outside of the counseling office as well as in. The client comes to you as an accumulation of a lifetime of experiences in a certain order, in a certain period of time, in a certain ethnic background or cultural background. Unless you are aware of this, you aren't seeing a person, you are just seeing the outward verbal aspects of the person in the interview, which isn't enough. The counselor must understand the matrix out of which the client has come, the background the client brings into the interview. If they are talking about options for now or for the future, the counselor must surely know the nature of some of those options in today's world or in tomorrow's world.

Wachowiak: *This gets at your concept of an encapsulated counselor.*

Wrenn: You bet! Encapsulated counselors are those who wall themselves off from the world around them because it is an unpleasant world or a threatening world for them. So they weave a little cocoon around themselves and are protected. They pretend that life inside the cocoon is the same as life outside the cocoon. And many counselors constantly do this, you know, with the school environment as the cocoon.

Wachowiak: *Then do you think that the profession in general ought to look outside itself more?*

Wrenn: Counselors ought to have more background in sociology and anthropology, as they have been getting more background in psychology. We have far too many technique-oriented programs in counselor education. If we shook off some of our courses in counselor education and substituted broader courses that have more meaning for life itself, we would get a better job done.

Wachowiak: *More interdisciplinary courses?*

Wrenn: Yes, but don't use that term! It gets people's dander up. Just say we need more courses about the world, the meaning of the world, and about the nature of our own society. Beyond these, we need to provide more contact with people—live, inconsistent, contrary people. Even if we don't want to spend more time than two years to get a counselor's degree, I would like to see at least half of that time spent with people and half of it with ideas. Over the years I've come to see that many of the courses we are giving the students—including some of my own!—bore the heck out of them. They are not courses that seem to deal with the guts of life. We also need counselors to have some supervised experience in rehabilitation centers, employment services, mental health clinics, as well as in schools in order to get a broader slant on the nature of people who come to counselors.

Aubrey: *Related to what you have been saying, a lot of the better counselors I have seen have come out of the Peace Corps or VISTA or worked on some of the hotlines or in pregnancy clinics and have not had a lot of counseling training but have had the kind of contact with people you are talking about. They can't get that experience in the schools because their counselors are not doing much personal counseling; they are doing a lot of clerical and routine things.*

Wrenn: In my 40 years of professional work, I have seen almost a complete shift over from no psychology to a lot of psychology in the way of training. Bob Hoppock and I have had some friendly arguments about this. I don't know whether he has changed now or not, but we used to really go to it. He was afraid that psychology was going to take over the business, and I was afraid that it wouldn't!

THEORETICAL OPENNESS

Wachowiak: *One of the problems I see in training is that teachers and supervisors try to sell students on their own theory.*

Wrenn: All too true. I think the counselor educator should have more than one systematic point of view in his teaching. There is a need for the teacher to expose students to more than one theoretical approach so the student may select the one that fits him, and the supervisor may attempt to encourage that student to grow in his own way. Some do sell their students their personal point of view. That's too bad. For some students the teacher's theory about behavior is exactly the wrong approach. I think that "I have all the answers in my theory" is tragic. All people don't fit *any* theory. The problem is that if I have an idea that people behave a certain way because a professor told me so, and if the client I get doesn't behave this way at all, I warp the client into my mold. Rather, I should be able to adjust myself to him as a unique person and have a repertoire of approaches from which to draw in terms of giving this particular person assistance.

Aubrey: *It is interesting in looking over the several dozen PhD students that you've had, students like Don Blocher or Garry Walz, to find that they are all pretty broad-based people. I recall a statement by David Tiedeman on that. He said that we are always in danger of turning out technicians and ending up with a technology, rather than a science or at least a viable theory or bag of theories. Recently, the technicians seem to be coming out of the woodwork in guidance and counseling. They take this position or that position and give you a programmed text to be a good counselor, and that scares me.*

Wrenn: It scares me, too. Every major theory that has come into prominence over the years that I have been in the business has gone down the drain as a total theory. At one time it was measurement. I was a measurement man, studying under Terman and Strong. But now measurement *per se* is just a small part of the whole. It had a strong beginning and the elements are still here, but no total dependence. Diagnosis in the 1930s was a great step forward, but it didn't take into account adequately the feelings or attitudes of the person. So then came the '40s with people like Rogers and Maslow and others who believed that how people felt about themselves, their self-concepts, was very important. More recently, we have become concerned with the developmental or learning approach, and, looking a bit into the future, with what may be the beginnings of a merger of some elements of behaviorism and existentialism.

Wachowiak: *It seems like there must be insecurity there—to have supervisors want to instill in their students one or the other theory. Is that insecurity within the profession?*

Wrenn: I think it is an insecurity within the person. You see, if you know what you know, and you know it's "true," then you are safe. But if you know what you know, and you also know that it may not be the only truth, then you have to deal with ambiguity. To live with ambiguity is tough for some people, but for me it is a way of life. It's interesting to think how one can learn to live with unsureness. It means you have to be sure of yourself as a person. A student once said to me, "I have never seen you angry, but I have heard you many times saying, 'I was wrong, you're right, I should have done this; I had a mistaken idea, a wrong attitude.'" This student said, "You have to be very sure of yourself to be able to do that," and he was right. To live with uncertainty means you have to be certain about the fact that you are significant as a human being, you belong in life, you respect yourself; then you can admit uncertainty; without that you can't.

Wachowiak: *In line with that, didn't you regularly assign your students the task of coming up with their own value system by the end of a semester, a paper which defines themselves as persons?*

Wrenn: Yes, and that was a tough one for many because they had never thought about it before. They were faced with the question, "What are my assumptions in life, what do I believe?" I found tears on some of those papers. The students had to attempt to integrate their childhood moral training with their adult personal and philosophical convictions.

EXPANSION AND VULNERABILITY

Aubrey: *Dr. Wrenn, can I take you back in time? You've gone through the '30s, '40s, and the '50s very quickly, I would like to get a flavor for what things were like in the '30s and '40s, and particularly in that period which seems very significant, the late '30s up until the early '50s when so much was happening. I guess I'm thinking you were at Stanford in 1936 and came to Minnesota. I would like to get a flavor of what it was like in the middle of the Depression when you went across country and arrived at an exciting institution. The war comes after that. We go from Depression to wartime, and then Carl Rogers comes in, and there are fights with Williamson and the Minnesota school. Then Super comes in the '50s, and Havighurst and Erickson come up with developmental milestones. That 14- or 15-year period seems so critical to me, and you were right in on the whole thing.*

Wrenn: Roger, I don't think I am up to all of your requested insights. When I came to Minnesota from Stanford I was already in some disagreement with what I thought was arbitrariness on the part of Williamson and Darley. This exact diagnosis, following through six steps, and if you did all of them you would have the key to an understanding of the client. I was already in disagreement with that, so I became a maverick at Minnesota right away. We didn't have any quarrels, but we didn't really have any agreements. That was part of the picture. Williamson and Darley reigned for a while at Minnesota, along with Paterson. Donald Paterson must not be forgotten. He was a very influential person, a great innovator. So I went away to the Navy in World War II respecting all of these men, but feeling vaguely unhappy, still using some measurement techniques, but being wary of them, and still feeling the importance of feelings and self-concept. When I came back, Rogers had entered the picture with his '41 book. I hadn't really seen it before I left for the service, but now his approach provided one of the answers to my uncertainty.

Personnel work and counseling came into their own following the war. Up until that time they were pretty weak sisters. During the war twenty million people went through some kind of personnel selection in industry and the military. So we came back and immediately began to experience a great demand for counselors, personnel workers, and applied psychologists in general. Through the '50s there was a great deal of action going on in nonschool agencies, business, industry, and community agencies. Industrial psychologists and consulting psychologists proliferated all over the country. Then with the 1958 National Defense Education Act, the schools came into their own. We more than doubled the number of school counselors in a 10-year period. About 1970 something began to happen with federal support and that something is still happening.

Counselors are vulnerable now. With current budget cuts and little federal support I'm convinced that unless counselors justify their usefulness to the total school, teachers, and staff, they will be phased out. They are on the perimeter of teaching, the central focus of the school. So I have been arguing recently for more consulting work, working with teachers and other adults in the life of the student. To me this is a very important part of a present-day counselor's work. And if the counselor doesn't become valuable there, then he or she may be dispensed with. But if the counselor becomes valuable to the teaching function or to parents, then he becomes indispensable. As long as counselors define their job as working solely with individual students, they are in danger.

Counseling has grown so fast it hasn't had time to stop and take a look at its goals. Accountability has not really been an issue until recently. In 1959 or '60 I wrote that student personnel work had grown so fast it was like putting down the cement for the streets but not having time to put in the street signs. You didn't know where you were going but the new pavements were wonderful! You were moving, but where? I taught many NDEA Institute counselors-to-be in the '60s and some were pretty weak. Some were people attracted to the Institute because it was a subsidized way of getting a graduate degree, and they weren't always well selected. We are now ironing out the enormous burgeoning of counselors in the '60s into a stable state in which the counselor can become a valuable member of a more integrated school staff.

Wachowiak: *Are you saying that because of economy we should cut down on the numbers of people we are turning out and focus on selecting people on a different basis, more on the basis of personal characteristics?*

Wrenn: You stated it well. It takes time to select, but if we spent more time on selecting and dropped a course or two, we'd get better counselors. In other words, if you want to use the same amount of time, you reduce the amount of curriculum and spend faculty time in careful selection. I just think, you see, that people are pretty much the persons they are going to be when they get to graduate school. We hone them a little finer, we take off a rough edge or two, we may change their concepts, but we don't fundamentally change the persons that they already are. Selection of the person is crucial.

Take the difference between John Krumboltz and Cecil Patterson. I didn't try to instill "me" into these students of mine. My job was to insist that they be true to themselves, that they have no other persons as models to pattern themselves after, me least of all. I hoped that they would be people who have a feeling of congruency between their behavior and their beliefs in the way they work with counselees. So now you have John and Pat, great leaders in their field, but they are going to continue to be different people because they were that way to begin with and I didn't try to mold them. What I may have been to them is almost completely erased by what they are now. And that is the way I think a teacher should function.

ON THE DEFINITION OF GUIDANCE

Wrenn: To change the subject, Roger. Earlier you used the phrase "guidance and counseling." I have never had any clear concept of what "guidance" means. It is kind of an abstract work, and I have heard it used all my life. I have fought it most of my life. At times I'd get up and say I was through with "guidance." And I don't know what it means yet.

Aubrey: *I don't know. I have trouble using the terms "counseling" and "guidance" synonymously, particularly in a school system. I think that just using the word "counseling" often leads to viewing the counselor as a technician. I think "guidance" is nice to have on occasion. I like to have it there to play around with. I think it is important to the profession to keep guidance as a concept because, again I don't want to see single-skilled people in the profession.*

Wrenn: But then you have to change the concept of counseling.

Aubrey: *Well, okay.*

Wrenn: You see, I think counselors *are* changing from the one-to-one orientation. They are changing in many ways. We have had a narrow definition of counseling which isn't adequate.

Wachowiak: *So you want to expand the definition of counseling, and Roger wants to encompass all those activities under the term guidance.*

Aubrey: *"Guidance" is often a garbage-can term in the public schools for all the kinds of junk that administrators and teachers don't want to do. So they call it guidance, and they suck the school counselor into picking up all the clerical and administrative kinds of things. But when Dr. Wrenn was talking earlier, he was talking about consultation as a broad area of activity, or at least a very much needed skill of counselors. In public schools I see this coming in very heavily with the elementary counselors. They haven't had all that history of expectation laid on them as have secondary counselors. I think they are very much operating as consultants, and although they don't have the favorable ratios that the secondary people do, I see them making a much more significant impact.*

Wrenn: I do too. It is too bad that I really seem to agree with you, for I relish a good fight over "guidance"! In the elementary schools, the so-called counselor has always worked with teachers, or with parents or the school psychologists, even more than with the children. We have to unlearn much of what we have been doing at the high school level, and I must confess that I feel responsible for emphasizing in the past much of what I feel we now must change. There are some historical reasons why we have had this "student-only" emphasis, but it has divorced counseling from teaching. Now we have to see how a counselor can become someone who helps adults as well as students.

THE IDEAL COUNSELOR

Aubrey: *What kind of person should want to go into counseling?*

Wrenn: Well, that is a good question. First of all, a person who is concerned with all people: the teachers, the staff, the family, as well as the students. A person who cares for people. Caring is as important as doing. Second, a person whom others can trust easily. I don't know how you find that out as a counselor educator selecting candidates, but you try. Then of course the counselor has to be intelligent about the kinds of knowledge he should have in order to live in this world with a variety of people in a variety of environments. I think a counselor ought to be a person who is willing to engage in a variety of experiences.

It isn't just a question of saying, "I want to be a counselor." It is a question of saying, "What kind of person am I and do I want to be?" It may be that if you asked yourself this question seriously, you would find that the kind of person you want to be doesn't fit the role of counselor at all. If you want a sense of power, if you want a sense of authority, then don't go into counseling. If you want to be assertive, and you want to be able to express yourself fluently and often, then don't go into counseling. If you simply want a straight academic life, don't become a counselor. You'd become frustrated being a counselor under these conditions. Sometimes persons with these "wants" become counselor educators! I'm not slapping at counselor educators, really, for after all that's been much of my life. But I know many counselor educators who are not adequate counselors because they have a sense of authority, are assertive, and deal almost exclusively with ideas.

Wachowiak: *You have written that you have made mistakes in counseling and in interacting with other people and said the wrong* *things from time to time. However, you have become more convinced that those can be overridden if there is caring and trust.*

Wrenn: Well, I have survived that way I guess, just that way. I never would have lasted as long with the mistakes I made if they had not been balanced by some factor, and I think that factor is caring. There is also the factor of allowing the other person to be diverse, to be himself, to be different. I think sometimes that takes more psychological strength that anything else.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Aubrey: *Getting back to consultation, with the stress on accountability today in many institutions, there is a problem. If we start being consultants, we somehow have to prove that by being a consultant some behavior is changing or something is occurring, and I think a lot of the accountability push has made us become very specific, like "we did this with Johnnie." Now if we start to work indirectly to influence behavior, it is going to become even more difficult to prove what influence we as counselors have on a client. This is unfortunate and we are placed in such a narrow box in some states where the refrain is "accountability, accountability." This comes down to just another way of evaluating people and frightening them. I don't know a way out of that.*

Wrenn: The problem here is to prove that the counselor has been a factor in whatever change is seen. But accountability in terms of hours spent and the number of people seen will kill us. Everything I've talked about can be devastated by that kind of approach. The public is already disenchanted with the schools generally, and I'm not sure they think counselors are relevant. They hear the kids talk about the school's rigidity and irrelevance, and if the counselor doesn't do anything about what the child is interested in outside of school, the counselor may be seen as irrelevant, too.

Aubrey: *A lot of these disenchanted people, I suspect, were counseled in the '60s into specific fields and vocations and now are people with majors in electronics and foreign languages who are a glut on the market. Many of them are going to point their finger at our profession and say we overdid the placement kind of thing to save the country and the economy. I hope to hell we don't get into that again! I see these people bitter about the schools because a doctorate doesn't mean a thing to them right now: they are unemployed.*

Wrenn: We've done all our career counseling in terms of occupations. Even the more thoughtful people, David Tiedeman for example, who have a long-range view of career development, still think of a career as a succession of occupations or jobs. The succession is developmental, but it's always of jobs. There is little preparation in counseling or teaching for what a person does outside of working hours. I think that career education and career counseling are terms that have been vastly overrated. They can mean anything to anybody. Career counseling seldom means what I mean by it, which is planing for a life pattern, a way of helping a client plan the way he's going to live, communitywise, marriagewise, job/occupationwise, leisurewise.

THE MONDAY NIGHT SEMINARS

Aubrey: *Can I ask you what you do, what kinds of hobbies and interests sustain you?*

Wrenn: I don't have any.

Wachowiak: *Are you a workaholic?*

Wrenn: Ask my wife—no, *don't* ask her! I think my hobby is really people. I like people. I like talking with them. I like all kinds of people and when I work with people, it's not work. It's pleasure. So if I have a hobby, it's people.

Aubrey: *I have a burning question. What individuals or persons have had the greatest influence on your life and work?*

Wrenn: That's a hard one to answer because there have been so many. I would guess that many of my graduate students have had more influence on me than anybody else. And my wife. My wife is a very important influence, a very constructive critic, and a very well-organized person. She gets there on time, and I often don't. She keeps me straight, and if I engage in any, you know, hogwash, she says "That's hogwash, you don't really mean that." She is very helpful that way. She is creative, ingenious. She is a great person to love.

One thing Mrs. Wrenn and I did which I would recommend for anyone to do was to have all our students over to our house every other Monday evening. At first I tried to organize these into seminars and reports on research. That got to be dull, sticky, and I decided "Well, hell's bells, let's let them do what they want to do." So, for the last ten or fifteen years the discussions were of their own organization. They decided ahead of time what they were going to do, appointed people to do it, and I was there as a consultant, but they ran the seminar.

I learned something else from these meetings. At one time I was much taken with the idea that we were equals, and I liked my students not having to defer to me. When I spoke, they stopped and listened too closely, and I never liked this. You know, I'm just one of them. Well, one night I was scheduled for some meeting downtown and wouldn't get back until 10:00 or so. I had said, "It's your baby, you run it, and I am sure you will do it very well. I won't have to be here." So, when I came back, they said, "Dr. Wrenn, we've appointed a spokesman, we've been discussing you." I said, "All right, shoot." I didn't know what to expect. Here it came: "We've been discussing the fact that you are trying to be one of us. Well, you really aren't. You just be our professor, our advisor, our friend, our father-confessor, you be that and don't try to be a student. We're the students. You have a different role from us." So we worked together better after that. I didn't mind their listening to me too carefully and all that kind of stuff. I knew then that they were satisfied with my being an older person who had an advising-counseling relationship to them. That was the reality.

Wachowiak: *And they wanted you to be you.*

Wrenn: They wanted me to be me, and I've learned in the last decade or two that it's more and more important to be me. When I went to Arizona State University I got into a very different environment from the rather proper professional environment at Minnesota. The Scandinavians are inclined to be very polite. They don't express their feelings very often. Well, when I got to Arizona State, I got feelings all over the place. I stepped on them practically every day, and I learned to share myself. I learned to say what I believed in, and I got accustomed to somebody kissing me in the hallway and somebody blaming me in the next class and saying, "You aren't getting anywhere, Dr. Wrenn." Or I would get into a class that was going slowly, and I would stop and say, "Now look, something's wrong with this class, let's just go around the room and each person say what you think is right or wrong and where we should go." Boy, I got revelations! People supporting me and people criticizing me. People saying, "I'm getting what I want" and people saying, "It's just way off from what I want." Then we would reorient the class in terms of the discussion. They felt better because they got their feelings out, and we understood each other better.

INFLUENCES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Aubrey: *You mentioned you had often gotten more from your teaching assistants than from your colleagues. I wonder if there are any people* *in the profession that had any major influence on your life that you would care to mention?*

Wrenn: I've mentioned some already. Of course, my career was changed by Rogers and his 1941 book. In a sense he focused on what I had been quarreling about at Minnesota, being much too intellectual, too diagnostic, and too rational.

Feelings are an important part of the business. I'd always believed that, but he gave me some basis for going on, you see. Thorndike influenced me when I was a graduate student, especially Thorndike's Law of Effect. I wrote my master's thesis on this law. And then Strong, of course, was one of my graduate advisors, chairman of my committee. Terman was my master's advisor and Strong my doctor's, and I worked with Strong on his famous *Vocational Interest Blank.* This supported my belief that how you felt about things, whether you felt comfortable in a given environment, the things you liked and didn't like, had a lot to do with your success in life, not only your occupational life, but life generally. Starke Hathaway at Minnesota, one the authors of the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory,* had a great influence on me. Starke is quite a guy! He was a man who would just pace up and down in front of the class, completely forgetting the class, and they'd be just as still as mice, and he would suddenly come forth with just a great statement. He had thought it through, wasn't saying anything too quickly, and when he got it out, it was just worth taking down verbatim.

Wachowiak: *So even though you were in the midst of measurement people and rationally oriented people, you were leaning toward the feeling dimension as being the important thing and then Rogers's work reinforced your side?*

Wrenn: Rogers, and so did Starke Hathaway, and Paul Meehl. It's coming back to me now as I talk. There's no pattern to it, really, except maybe the pattern of my being influenced most by people who were concerned with how one felt about one's self and other people.

Wachowiak: *The pattern that I'm getting is that it was there beforehand, but other people brought it out of you.*

Aubrey: *I think Dr. Wrenn is being unduly modest here though. I recall coming across in a book of readings that in 1931, with Proctor and Benefield, you articulated for the first time the idea of counseling as an adjunct process to guidance. I was amazed that that had occurred as far back as '31.*

Wrenn: And I'm amazed that you read about something that happened in 1931! But you're right. Quite early I saw counseling as a personal process between two people, which they shared with each other. This in spite of the fact that I was deep in a measurement environment. The milieu both at Stanford and Minnesota was heavily measurement. I was fighting an uphill battle, maybe gaining because I was fighting. You gain strength as you fight. I always had a respect for the measurement side of life and a respect for some psychoanalytic perceptions. Those are part of my thinking, but I guess the most consistent part of me was the part that responded to how you felt about you right now. How you felt about the situation you were in, how you saw this situation.

I argued one time that the self-concept included more than the self, that the self was as broad as your life-space, that it included all the important others in your life. They're a part of you. I can't be just thinking about the nuclear me, but about how others relate to me and I relate to them. Important others in my life are a part of me. If you're an out-and-out existential sort of person, you may say, "I've got to say whatever I really feel, or I'm not honest with myself." But I must say, "All right, you can relieve yourself that way, but what about the other parts of your self-concept? When you hurt somebody else in your life-space you're really hurting yourself." You can't really say that being a self-concept person means that you've always got to express all of your emotions regardless of who else is affected. And the counselor doesn't, for heaven's sake!

Wachowiak: *You've mentioned a number of your professional ideas and activities. Which of your accomplishments have given you the greatest feeling of achievement?*

Wrenn: One, a few major addresses and some awards I have gotten have given me the feeling that others were responding to me. Two, some, maybe a few, of my writings. I have written four or five hundred different items and I suppose twenty-five or thirty of them are worth keeping. The rest of them have been ephemeral, transient, and won't go down as any significant contribution. The third accomplishment was my graduate students. Out of eighty-some, I think sixty or seventy are pretty great. They have made life richer for all of us.

THE COUNSELOR AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Wachowiak: *One thing I wanted to get a feeling for is how it evolved that you became the person in counseling looking at society and making predictions about society? You sort of became the sociologist for counseling.*

Wrenn: I think this is what happened; I'm never sure of course. Something over three years in the United States Navy, part of it overseas, broke into my comfortable academic life. I came to know men who were stronger and more courageous than I was, although their language may have been very rough! Also men who were weaker than I and whom I, as a personnel officer, had to transfer out or give evidence about at a court martial. Life was greatly broadened for me. Upon my return to the campus, I got pretty fed up with the pedantic self-centeredness, the small perimeters of many of my colleagues. I saw them never going to a symphony, never reading anything outside their own field, talking shop wherever they went, and I resolved that I was not going to do that. So I began reading widely and found that I enjoyed reading outside my field. I began to appreciate that life is much more than my narrow range of professional operations. I think that's a part of it. A part of it, of course, is the fact that you couldn't help but be aware of the striking social changes taking place during the 1950s and even more so in the 1960s.

Wachowiak: *Oh, but in reading your works, you were aware of this ahead of time. You were predicting things like women's liberation and radical student movements well in advance.*

Wrenn: I guess that I don't know how I came to a feeling that social forces were so important. Maybe it was because much earlier in my professional life I had the idea of self-in-situation as the key concept. That you never think of self alone, you think of self-in-situation, whether of the student or of yourself. And so the situation became very important in understanding the person.

Wachowiak: *That is the theme I hear running through, that some are too involved in self as an isolated entity.*

Wrenn: I think that without being aware of it, I was seeing the clinical psychologist and the counseling psychologist both as being narrow. If all I thought about as a counseling psychologist was vocational guidance (the environment), if all I thought about as a clinical psychologist was pathological behavior (the intrapersonal), then I was dead wrong on both counts. Reality was a blend of these two. Maybe one theme that has gone through my life a lot is that I respect many kinds of people for what they do and what they are, and I try to take the time to tell them so. I write lots of notes. A man came up to me at a convention and told me how much my personal note to him had meant. His wife had read it twice and wept, and he put it away in his keepsake box. Sadly, I don't know who he was.

THE COUNSELOR AS A PERSON

Wachowiak: *What would you counsel a person just beginning in counseling?*

Wrenn: Dale, you and Roger have been asking me questions as though I were an oracle, a fountain of wisdom. I don't see myself that way at all! But long experience has left me with some convictions, and I can answer in terms of those, as fallible and highly personal as they are. A person who calls himself a counselor or a counseling psychologist, in whatever setting, might have certain expectations of himself.

A counselor should know that he is seen by many as someone who is concerned with all people, whether formal clients or not. Being a counselor or psychologist doesn't stop with clients; he is a certain kind of person. He has certain sympathies and understandings helpful to anyone, on a plane, in a social gathering, wherever, as well as in a counseling office. He is expected to be interested in people, to listen to them, attempt to understand them, maybe have an idea or two to suggest. Unfair? No, a counselor is a "people person," he doesn't play a role to a few, he is in the business because human concerns are his concern.

On the other hand, a counselor should know that in the regular course of his work, whether in school or elsewhere, he makes a lot of humdrum contacts—at least they seem that way. People wanting obvious information, wanting to talk without listening, seeing the counselor for no readily apparent reason—and the counselor is left with a feeling of futility. But the fifth one or the tenth one really clicks with you, and there is a feeling of "What a guy—or gal—I think we really got somewhere!" So you accept the other nine as part of the business—and maybe some of them were helped. You never know. Maybe they were "feeling you out" for understanding and later contacts; maybe they were helped in ways unknown to you. Each one deserves your full attention—he is a person.

A counselor should know that he is committed to forever learning, whether about the subtleties of human personality or the changing social environments of his clients and himself. You'd expect me, wouldn't you, to say that about never being through with learning about society and social pressures? Well I must, for it's true. If you have only your understanding of the society of five or ten years ago, you're a menace to your client.

A counselor should know that he must learn how to show that he cares for the other person. Sometimes his face shows it, sometimes it's what he does, but sometimes it's in saying to the troubled client, "You've got some great stuff in you. I believe in you." The counselor must not take for granted that, of course, the client knows that he cares. The client often doesn't know, or isn't sure, unless the counselor tells him. Caring is as important as knowing in counseling, and communicating that is as important a skill as any the counselor possesses.

This has been a long answer, Dale, but it's a very big question. Let me say finally that the counselor's reward, his sense of satisfaction, seldom comes from outside. He must know when a job has been done well, and his reinforcement comes from within. People will say, "You're a great teacher, or a skillful surgeon, or what have you," but no one will say "You're a great counselor." Rewards sometimes come from a grateful client, but most often only the counselor knows when he has met his own standards. That's something, isn't it—you really have to live with yourself and accept within you when you are terribly inept or approaching greatness. No one else really knows.

A GILBERT WRENN SAMPLER

The following are a smattering of the several hundred books, booklets, chapters and articles published by Gilbert Wrenn. Although Wrenn's writings are well distributed from 1930 to the present, only the later years are represented due to greater relevancy for current readers. These works characterize some of his distinctive views on counseling, people, and the world. A few brief comments about what each meant to Wrenn are included.

The Fault, Dear Brutus—*Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 1949, *9*, 360–378.

This was my second year presidential address in the American College Personnel Association. Mrs. Wrenn suggested the title after I'd written the paper under a more prosaic heading. She said that many people wouldn't know the rest of this quote from Shakespeare and would come to hear it. Well, they came! And would you, dear reader, know the rest of the quote? Oh well, since you didn't come to hear the paper . . .

> The fault, dear Brutus,
> Lies not in the stars
> But in ourselves,
> That we are underlings.

I hope I have it correct!

Student Personnel Work in College. New York: Ronald Press, 1951.

This book was the only full-scale text in the field for some years. The field grew rapidly in numbers after World War II, and a comprehensive text proved useful. It was translated into Japanese in 1955, and I was invited about that time to accept an appointment in Japan—but I didn't.

The Ethics of Counseling. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 1952, *12*, 169–177.

This was another presidential address, this time for the Division of Counseling Psychology of APA. It was about the first paper on the subject in the literature and was based on the provisional code of APA. It was, I think, a thoughtful paper and made some contribution at the time. The paper called attention to what has since been seen as a most crucial ethical issue: one's loyalty to one's client as opposed to one's loyalty to society and the boundaries of confidentiality.

Philosophical and Psychological Bases of Personnel Services in Education. *58th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959. Pp. 41–81.

The writing of this paper proved to be a dilly of a task! I took almost three months of my sabbatical leave to think and write this one chapter. In a very real way I had to tease out the most basic concepts in the field and decide where I fit into them. The result is a statement on philosophy (meanings in life) and on psychology (the nature of behavior) that I could personally live with.

The Counselor in a Changing World. Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1962.

This book has been well received but I want to affirm that I had every advantage in writing it—a grant from the Ford Foundation (secured by APGA), a National Advisory Committee composed of some of the top men in the country from several disciplines, physical quarters at APGA, and so on. People are surprised when they learn that I didn't "strike it rich" from this book. I received no royalties from the 75,000 to 100,000 copies sold thus far. I wrote under a salaried contract, and APGA retained all of the income from it. They deserve this income—it was APGA's idea.

The Three Worlds of the Counselor. *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1970, *49*, 91–98.

This was a "fun" piece to write, all about some deep yet sympathetic convictions I had about counselors. It was also distinctive because Leo Goldman, editor of *P&G*, had me reorganize and rewrite this article twice—a new experience for me! But it is *much* better as a result, and my debt to Leo is considerable. And it touched the lives of some readers as they wrote to me—and that is what counts most to any writer.

Who Am I? *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 1973, *52*, 82.

This was a very open sharing of "me" with the reader—my convictions, dreams, and hopes about me. I would not have had the courage ten years ago to write in this fashion. I did some more of this personal sharing in 1975 with "A Personal Creed" at the close of "To Live is to Care" in a spring 1975 issue of *The Guidepost* and "The Future of One Person—Me" in the September issue of *P&G*. Maybe this personal thing is getting out of hand; who cares really? Yet, this "Who Am I?" bit has been reprinted in three other journals.

The World of the Contemporary Counselor. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973.

I am still too close to the three years of work on this book to have any perspective on it. I made clear at the outset that the first person would be used freely in addition to a very substantial amount of research presentation. Perhaps the reader learns more about me than he cares to know! Almost everyone who has reacted to me about the book has suggested that it should not have been so specifically directed to the counselor, that it has value for the general reader, but the title does not suggest this. I am waiting now to see what my "hit" rate is on the predictions made!

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Year of Article: 1983

C. H. Patterson:

The Counselor's Counselor

RODNEY K. GOODYEAR and C. EDWARD WATKINS, JR.

C. H. Patterson (Pat) has been a central figure in counseling and counseling psychology for over 30 years. As a major spokesperson for the profession and as a leading advocate of the client-centered perspective, Pat has had a direct or indirect impact on most counselors. The more than 150 articles and 10 books he has written—including his now classic *Theories of Counseling and Psychotherapy*—have provided the major vehicle for his influence.

Pat's impact on the two of us, however, has been more immediate and personal. We have both experienced him as no less than a mentor, even though we have each known him in a slightly different role at different times.

For one of us, (RG), Pat was influential even before we had met. As I tried to decide on the counseling programs to which I would apply for fall 1969 admission, my undergraduate advisor strongly recommended the University of Illinois program. There I would have the opportunity to work with C. H. Patterson who was, in my advisor's words, "the counselor's counselor."

My advisor's suggestion turned out to be well-founded. In fact, during my years at Illinois, I had the opportunity to form a number of impressions of Pat:

- of the soft-spoken professor who seemed remarkably congruent with the client-centered perspective he advocated
- of the leader in our profession who was, nevertheless, always accessible to and welcoming of students
- of the 2 years of biweekly doctoral seminars that met evenings at his home to informally discuss current issues in the profession (and I still keenly remember the time Robert Carkhuff, an overnight guest of Pat, conducted our seminar in a highly charged atmosphere)
- of the author who wrote *Humanistic Education* during the summer of 1971, one chapter per week. Unless he was out of town on business, Pat was in his office writing every weekday. He left his office door open as he wrote, giving his complete attention to all who stopped by, but as they left, he resumed his writing as if his train of thought had not been interrupted.

For the other of us, (EW), Pat's writing proficiency and his teaching and therapeutic abilities have been continual sources of amazement. Moreover, I have found him to be very giving of his time and most interested in facilitating the development of budding professionals. I met Pat some 3 years ago at a workshop he was giving at my alma mater, Western Carolina University, and later wrote to him to indicate my interest in client-centered therapy and to request his assistance in learning more about it. He agreed to supervise me and has done so for some time now.

Although Pat has been very helpful as a supervisor, he had been much more than that to me. He has served willingly as my colleague and peer and as a mentor and friend. From my perspective, then, Pat is the counselor's counselor.

We are aware that many counselors know C. H. Patterson only through his articles and books. Our primary purpose in interviewing Pat for this article was to allow them to know him more personally. In gaining that acquaintance, counselors are also provided an important historical perspective of their profession.

Rod: *You have accomplished a great deal in your lifetime, Pat. Not only are you a prominent spokesperson for the client-centered point of view and the author of a major counseling text, but you have served as president both of the American Rehabilitation Counseling Association and APA's Division of Counseling Psychology. I am curious, however, about what you regard as your major contributions.*

Pat: That's very difficult to answer. Certainly the major text you mention, my *Theories of Counseling and Psychotherapy*, is what I am most known for. If I go somewhere to lecture or if I meet students somewhere, that's the book they know. But I have always had some regrets about that, because I do not feel the book represents me. Although its last section has some of my own ideas, that book presents other people's theories or points of view.

Two of my other books represent me more, and I wish they had been more widely read. One, *Counseling and Psychotherapy: Theory and Practice*, was published in 1959. It was in print until 1972 or 1973, but in some respects has never become outdated. For example, although many books now cover ethics and values, its chapters on each of these topics were among the earliest statements and are, I believe, still current.

The other book, *Relationship Counseling and Psychotherapy*, was written during the year I was in England and published in 1974. It has been well received by reviewers and quite widely used. It represents my view of client-centered therapy.

But I regard the impact I have had on my students as more important than anything I have written. And I am not talking primarily of my work with the approximately 70 doctoral students I have had—though a number of them have gone on to write books and otherwise become successful. Because many of them had completed their master's work at other institutions, my impact on them was often limited to the supervision of their dissertations and to the doctoral seminars I offered.

I think my greatest contribution has probably been to that large number of master's students who took their sequence of theory and practice courses with me. That is, at least a 2-semester sequence of both the basic theory course and the supervised practicum. I have felt—and still feel it very strongly—that students can't really understand client-centered therapy unless they are exposed to it over at least that period of time. I have been very concerned about the misconceptions, the widespread misconceptions, about client-centered therapy among students, among practitioners, and even among instructors in many counseling programs. Lacking a foundation in the philosophy and theory behind it, many still consider certain techniques such as the reflection of feelings to be the essence of client-centered therapy.

CLIENT-CENTERED THERAPY

Ed: *I remember reading something in which you said that you did not really regard yourself as an originator or pioneer in the area of client-centered therapy but as more of an interpreter of the literature. Yet, many counselors perceive this as having been your major area of impact on the field.*

Pat: I have not felt any need to try to develop my own theory of counseling and psychotherapy—or even to try to change client-centered therapy in some way. I have felt that my contribution, if any, has been as a supporter of client-centered therapy. I have been a follower of *Carl Rogers* with no need to usurp his position. As he has continued to develop his theory, I have continued to follow by interpreting and elaborating on it without trying to extend it. It is true, also, that I have reached independently many of the same ideas or conclusions as Rogers has though perhaps not at the same time.

Rod: *Regardless of whether you have extended it, you are certainly closely associated with the client-centered position. How did you identify yourself so closely with it?*

Pat: I first heard of Carl Rogers and his work either in late 1942 or in 1943 when I was an Air Force psychologist stationed in San Antonio. One of the psychologists there with me obtained a copy of *Counseling and Psychotherapy* and passed it around. I made no effort to read it at that time, however, for I had only then heard of Rogers and, in fact, keenly remember the comment by one of my analytically oriented colleagues that Rogers was nothing but a country hick. Interestingly, this person later took his Ph.D. at the University of Chicago with Rogers!

After the war, I went to work for the Veterans Administration as a clinical psychologist but did not find it particularly rewarding to spend so much of my time administering Rorshachs, TATs, and Kuders to hospitalized patients and then to just file away the results. So when the new position of personal counselor was established with the VA, I was interested and applied for it at the Minneapolis VA regional office. The job description was that of a counselor or psychotherapist who would presumably offer short-term rather than long-term psychotherapy. This position, however, required me to participate in a 5-week training program directed by Carl Rogers and his staff at the University of Chicago. When I knew I was going to be spending several weeks with him, I obtained Rogers's book and read it. This was in the fall of 1946.

My first reaction was not particularly favorable. I suppose it could be summed up as, "Well, here I am a psychologist, and why shouldn't I know more about psychology than clients do? Why shouldn't I be able to make recommendations, give advice, tell them what to do? " But while that was my first reaction, it changed when I got to Chicago. I found that, actually, the client-centered point of view was probably very much consistent with my general orientation toward people, what could be called a democratic orientation. It probably did have something to do with my unexpressed system of values, so that when I was exposed to this approach to counseling and psychotherapy, it stuck.

Rod: *I know that while you were with the VA in Minneapolis, you were also completing your doctorate in counseling psychology at the University of Minnesota. Among your fellow students were people such as* Don Hoyt, Ken Hoyt, John Holland, John *and* Helen Krumboltz, *and* Tom Magoon, *who themselves were to become prominent counseling psychologists. You alone among the Minnesota people seem to have embraced anything as "soft" as client-centered therapy. I imagine this was in some ways a rather difficult environment for you.*

Pat: Well, in some ways it was, but in other ways it wasn't. It is true that the client-centered point of view was not very welcome at the University of Minnesota. But, then, none of the other Minnesota graduate students had been exposed to Carl Rogers personally in the way that I had. Also, I discovered that at least some of the antagonism toward client-centered therapy was because the University of Chicago's program for training personal counselors was one that the University of Minnesota had wanted and applied for, but it had been denied them. If I had known it at the time, I probably would have been afraid to go into that kind of environment.

On the other hand, my advisor was *Gilbert Wrenn*. Although Wrenn has never wanted to commit himself to any single theoretical perspective, he was and is quite client centered in his attitudes, his philosophy, and his approach to people. So I never had any trouble with him as an advisor or in any of the courses I took there. I think I had one or two classes with Wrenn that related to theory and practice, and I remember once when he was out of town he asked me to take the class for him to present my point of view.

There was one experience that is rather humorous and relates to the attitude of some Minnesota people towards client-centered therapy. At the VA, I was not always able to see my clients in a soundproof room and, at one point, one of the Minnesota-trained staff members apparently listened in on one of my interviews. I say "listened in," but the problem was that he didn't hear me talking very much. So he wrote to my superior in Washington to complain that I wasn't earning my salary, because I wasn't active or directive enough in helping my clients!

So since 1946, I've been consistently client centered and at times have felt that I've been even more client centered than Rogers himself. In fact, I have suggested that there are only two people who really understand client-centered therapy—myself and Carl Rogers, and then add jokingly that I sometimes wonder about Carl Rogers!

Ed: *What has your relationship been with Rogers over the years?*

Pat: We have very little actual contact since I left the University of Chicago program in 1947, though we have corresponded occasionally. One time, it was over the title of my 1959 book. It was clear to me that if the term *counseling* was in the title, certain people would read it and others would not; if the term *psychotherapy* was used, another group would read it and others would not. That led me, at the suggestion of E. H. Porter, to use both terms in the title. Well, Rogers wrote to ask whether it was not a violation of copyright laws to use the same title he had used. I replied to him that book titles are not copyrighted. How many "Introductions to Psychology" are there? I also told him that I felt considerable time had elapsed since the publication of his book, but that I would be careful to have advertisements include both the title and subtitle of my book, *Counseling and Psychotherapy: Theory and Practice*.

Another contact I had with him was when I wrote the chapter on client-centered therapy for my theories book. When I sent him my finished chapter for review, as I did with the other theorists, his comment was that it was pretty much an accurate representation, but that it was kind of dull, lifeless. He suggested I use some material he'd published elsewhere to give more of a personal touch to the description of the counseling process, which I did.

I have seen Rogers at conventions, of course, and was instrumental in getting him to the University of Illinois for a workshop on group counseling, which resulted in two films on groups. But my contacts with him have been almost entirely by mail.

COMMON THREADS

***Ed:** I'd like to shift gears a bit. You've written articles and books on a number of topics, including the therapeutic process, counseling theory, supervision, rehabilitation counseling, college student personnel work, and school guidance. What common threads are there in that diversity?*

Pat: The answer is really implicit in what I have been saying. All the things you mention are either helping relationships or helping professions, so the basic principles of a helping relationship should apply. These, as well as *all* interpersonal relationships should be directed toward the common goal of self-actualization. This is, or should be, the goal of our society and its institutions, including the family, the church, and our social, economic, educational, and political systems.

***Ed:** So, regardless of the area in which you have written, the relationship is primary.*

Pat: Yes. That's the common element.

***Rod:** Since we are on that topic, I wonder if you still share Rogers's 1957 opinion that certain relationship dimensions are necessary and sufficient in counseling?*

Pat: Well, I think writing on this topic has been restricted. First, I think it is necessary to be clearer about what they are sufficient for. Rogers defined it as therapeutic personality change and this implies to me *voluntary* positive changes: Certainly it is possible to change behavior, if not personality, through such other means as brainwashing, drugs, and brain surgery. Second, if the client lacks skills or information, then the conditions may not be sufficient. Third, although there is little evidence on this, it may be that the conditions are not, by themselves, the most *efficient* method. Finally, I would note that my emphasis has been that a total relationship is the necessary and sufficient condition for change. Although this relationship is characterized by the three basic conditions, there may be other conditions involved—for example, concreteness or specificity. And, of course, the three basic conditions are themselves complex and may eventually be broken down into more specific elements.

***Rod:** Your position on the relationship dimensions of helping has not always been a popular one. In fact, I have always admired your willingness to take a stand on professional issues without regard to the popularity of your position.*

Pat: I think I have always had a concept of myself as standing beside a bandwagon asking those who are falling all over themselves in their attempt to jump on if they know where the bandwagon is going. We've been going through a period of increasing numbers of fads and everyone seems to be afraid of being left behind or becoming out-of-date. So we've seen these movements develop and grow with no empirical support or theoretical foundation.

But I believe I have also appeared reactionary in my response to what *seemed* to be real discoveries among counselors during the late 1960s. One example was the realization of the influence of social or sociological and cultural factors in counseling. I reacted with some surprise to this because with my undergraduate work in sociology, anthropology, and the social sciences, I assumed all counselors were aware that clients occupy a social environment as members of a family, a community and a culture.

I was similarly surprised by the developmental counseling movement. In the 1960s counselor educators apparently discovered developmental psychology for the first time. Now, perhaps naively, because my masters' work had been in developmental psychology, I had always assumed that it was unnecessary to talk about developmental counseling, because all good counseling or therapy *is* developmental. That is, I believed all good therapists were aware that clients had a past and a future as well as a present and that they were changing and developing all the time.

Now my attitudes may have irritated some people. If so, this is unfortunate, because it was not my intent. I have responded honestly according to what I believe.

***Ed:** To continue in what may be a similar vein, I know you have expressed some concern about counselors' apparent lack of any sense of history of their profession. How specifically has that been worrisome to you?*

Pat: I guess I have been more concerned about this in recent years. It just seems to me the current generation of those publishing in the APGA journals demonstrate a surprising lack of familiarity with the history and development of the field. Very few references date back more than 10 years, and it is painfully apparent that authors are ignorant of the history of the counseling profession or of the ideas they write about. *Santyana*, the philosopher, wrote that those who are ignorant of history are destined to repeat it, and that sort of repetition is clear to me in the publications of the past years. Many go over the same ground covered in publications of the 1950s and 1960s.

Rothney, in his November 1981 letter in the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, reports his tabulation of the 256 references in the May 1981 issue (which was devoted to counseling research) in which he found only 1% of the references were from the period 1950–1959. Although his concern was research, I have the same concern about theoretical articles. Science is cumulative, incremental, building bit-by-bit on the past. Not only is it inefficient to ignore or to be ignorant of the past, but it also carries the implication that counseling is not scientific.

***Ed:** You sound as if you are saying that if we were to take note of this historical material and evaluate, integrate, and use it effectively, the potential for counseling as a profession would be a lot greater.*

Pat: Yeah. I think we're wasting a lot of time spinning our wheels and getting off the track on fads. I think we have to get rid of the idea that everyone has to be original, to have his or her own theory of counseling or psychotherapy—which is, of course, nonsense. One consequence of everyone trying to be original seems to be the rejection of anything not new. Anything more than 10 years old is regarded as obsolete.

***Rod:** As you mention the trend for everyone to have his or her own theory of counseling, I think of a study I recently completed using counseling psychologists as subjects. Of the 80 or so who indicated a theoretical preference, virtually half declared themselves to be eclectic. This is consistent with recent studies of clinical psychologists by* Garfield *and* Kurtz *and of counseling and clinical psychologists by* Darrell Smith. *"Eclectic" no longer seems to be the dirty word it used to be.*

Pat: There are two trends in psychotherapy I find distressing. One is the increasing attractiveness of methods and techniques—now called *strategies*—which cast the therapist in a controlling, manipulating position as an expert in directing the lives of others. This seems to be a revival or throwback to the 1930s and 1940s.

The other trend is the development of an atheoretical, almost antitheoretical movement. Therapists seem reluctant to subscribe to any theory and are reverting to eclecticism, which is not a theory but is essentially a "flying by the seat of the pants." Each eclectic therapist operates out of his or her own bag of techniques, on the basis of his or her own unique experiences, training, and biases, on a case-by-case basis with no general theory or set of principles for guidance.

Thus, there is no common body of knowledge that can be called eclectic counseling or psychotherapy. Therefore, it cannot be taught—it can only be developed on the basis of individual experience. This leaves the beginning therapist in an unenviable and, more specifically, in an untenable position, scientifically and theoretically, as well as practically.

Ed: *I sense as you talk that your criticisms stem from a genuine concern for our profession. I would be interested to know what some of your personal hopes are for the future of counseling.*

Pat: Although I have been somewhat disillusioned of late by some aspects of counselor education and of psychotherapy, my hopes, like all hopes, are optimistic. I would like to see us move beyond the divisiveness that has occurred with the development of innumerable methods, theories, and approaches to counseling so that we could move toward some essential agreement on the basic nature of psychotherapy. In my opinion, of course, client-centered therapy provides just this sort of integration. With this agreement we could implement more effective training programs and have more effective practitioners.

It may be too optimistic to expect this to occur soon, because I think we are still in a very confused and confusing stage in which we are emphasizing the differences rather than the commonalities among the various counseling approaches. We also need to get away from our present overemphasis on techniques and back to the recognition that the essence of good therapy is the *person* of the therapist. Effective therapy is characterized by a therapist who really lives and represents the conditions of facilitative interpersonal relationships so that they are not practiced as techniques but are simply implementations of the counselor as a person, so that he or she is not playing a role.

BECOMING A COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGIST

Rod: *Your commitment to counseling and counseling psychology is obvious. How did you make that career choice for yourself?*

Pat: The road I took to counseling psychology was long and winding. But it was one that afforded me a number of learning experiences I would not have had if I had made an early vocational decision and spent my whole life going down one narrow path. It is perhaps ironic, then, that I have often been glad that I received no vocational counseling in high school.

I graduated from high school in a small Massachusetts town. Because I had no further educational plans at that point and because my family needed the support (my father had died when I was 6), I went to work in a local factory. During the 3 years I worked there, I became active with the young people in the Methodist church and eventually decided I was going into the ministry. To implement this career choice, I applied to and was accepted at the University of Chicago.

With the liberal influences I was exposed to at the University, I became interested in the social sciences and majored in sociology. By the time I graduated, I had abandoned the idea of going into the ministry.

But it was 1938 when I graduated, and there was still the depression and a scarcity of jobs. Therefore, I continued to work at two jobs I'd held part-time as a student. One was as a busboy. The other was as a student assistant in the Department of Education, where I'd been working for 2 years on a research project involving the development of a battery of mental ability tests.

The man under whom I had been working, *Marion Agustus Winger*, (we called him Gus) left to head the Division or Department of Psychology at Fel's Research Institute for Child Development, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. The year following my graduation, he was instrumental in my obtaining a position there. It is interesting to note that this is when and where I became a psychologist: The title of my job was research assistant in psychology with rank of instructor. So it was a rather easy way to become a psychologist.

I spent almost 3 years there and realized that if I wanted to go on in the field, I would have to have a graduate degree. So I applied to several universities for admission to graduate work in child psychology and eventually settled on the University of Minnesota, partly because it offered me a half-time teaching assistantship. I spent the 1941–1942 school year working on my master's degree there with *Florence Goodenough* and *John E. Anderson*.

In the fall of 1941, of course, there was the bombing of Pearl Harbor and we entered the war. A program was set up in the U.S. Army Air Force for the purpose of selecting pilots, navigators, and bombadiers. This selection program, headed by *John Flanagan*, recruited psychologists who were to administer 8 hours of paper and pencil tests and 1½ hours of psychomotor tests. In July, 1942, I left Minnesota for San Antonio, where I was assigned to administer the psychomotor tests. That made me an aviation psychologist.

Later, the armed forces recognized the need for a clinical psychologist in their hospitals to deal with the psychiatric casualties. A program was developed to give direct commissions to psychologists, although they did not necessarily have the Ph.D. So I applied for and was granted a commission as second lieutenant early in 1945. I again changed my profession overnight, this time to become a clinical psychologist.

After a 5-week training course taught by *Max Hutt* on the Rorschach, the TAT, the Wechsler, and the Bender Gestalt, I became the chief clinical psychologist at Fort Knox. Then, in the summer of 1946 at least a dozen clinical psychologists were sent to the Phillipines. We did not know it then, but an invasion of Japan had been planned, and we were being sent in order to care for the resultant psychiatric casualties. But shortly after we got there, the war in the Pacific ended, so I spent 6 months or so in a general hospital outside Manila. It was then that I began to consider what I would do after the war and decided to join the VA, which I've already told you about.

Ed: *Well, we've heard something of your years at Minnesota. How did your career develop from there?*

Pat: My primary intent in obtaining my Ph.D. was to be able to work in an academic environment. As I finished my doctorate in 1955, a development occurred that fit into my career plans: The federal government began to support university programs to educate rehabilitation counselors. Most major universities were interested in developing these programs, and I looked into several program coordinatorships—including the one at the University of Minnesota—before accepting the one at the University of Illinois.

I went there in March, 1956. I developed a 2-year master's program (which I believe is the minimum necessary length), and also a Ph.D. program in rehabilitation psychology. That was essentially a counseling psychology program with a specialty in rehabilitation counseling.

I never wanted to develop that program independently of the other counseling programs. So at the University I became the fourth full-time counseling faculty member within the Department of Educational Psychology. My grant for the rehabilitation counseling program provided a secretary whom I shared with the others, and that became the nucleus for what would become the Division of Counseling and Guidance. But the name did not last long, because I've always had an antipathy towards the term *guidance;* we soon became the Division of Counselor Education. It was not until 1975 that we finally became the Division of Counseling Psychology: *Bill Gilbert* directed an APA-approved counseling psychology program in the psychology department, and I did not feel it was politically wise to rename our program until he retired.

From the beginning, I felt that the common denominator for the programs being offered within the division was psychology and that the basic program was counseling. Regardless of their intended work setting, our students at the master's level were being prepared as psychological counselors. Therefore, students in school and rehabilitation counseling took many of the same courses together, including the practicum—a "generic" practicum. This was taken at the counseling center we had established for our training purposes at the Chanute Air Force Base and which the Air Force supported with administrative personnel for almost 20 years.

The Division grew to 12 full-time staff members in the late 1960s. But then the university started reducing staff and by the time I retired in 1977, it was down to about 6 members again.

Rod: *The impression I've had is that you withdrew from that program during your last years. For example, you took two Fulbright professorships within a few years, one to the University of Aston in England (1972–1973), the other to Haceteppe University in Turkey (1976–1977).*

Pat: You're right about my withdrawing. I became quite disillusioned as the State of Illinois refused to provide adequate funding. In fact, that was one of my reasons for retiring at 65 rather than staying on until the mandatory 68. Perhaps I made a mistake in developing a program to prepare high quality professionals rather than researchers in a University focused on the preparation of the latter.

Ed: *How have you found your retirement?*

Pat: I stayed in Urbana the year following my retirement to allow my youngest son to graduate from high school and to finish the third edition of my *Theories* book. Then, I moved here to Asheville, North Carolina, a place I "discovered" when I came for a convention of the National Rehabilitation Association in about 1960. It was October, and I remember how beautiful it was. One of my daughters moved here shortly before I did, and two of my sons have since settled here, so I am fortunate to have three of my seven children living near.

But I have also found retirement to be perplexing in ways others have noticed and commented on. For example, I am amazed at how my motivation has changed. I was hard working—almost a workaholic—before I retired, but now find it very difficult to motivate myself to follow up on ideas I have. It's so easy to procrastinate. In the time since retirement, I've published only a couple of small articles. Recently, however, I've become interested in completing a second edition of *Relationship Counseling and Psychotherapy* and have been working on that.

I do occasionally conduct a site visit for the American Psychological Association, and I've continued to do some work for publishers—particularly my long-time publisher, Harper & Row—reviewing book manuscripts. Also, I've conducted workshops and lectured at a number of universities and have very much enjoyed doing that. I really enjoy getting into contact with students again and interacting with them; not lecturing to them, but interacting with them. Although I wouldn't want to go back, I do miss teaching.

I guess the most exciting thing I am involved in now is my son's new restaurant here in Asheville, The Annex. To help support him, I work 5½ days a week as the maitre d'. It's one more career shift for me, but like the others have been, it is something I'm glad I found my way into.

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Reflections on Bill Kell: The Legend and His Legacy

NANCY E. DOWNING and MAGGIE M. HAYES

One of my fondest memories of Bill is a conversation we had about, of all things, his teeth. He had a mouth full of gold and misshapen teeth. He had had trouble with them and had to have all of them pulled. Several days after his dental work, I had coffee with him. At one point he smiled and there were Bill's teeth, exactly as they had been before he had the work done. I was dumbfounded—he had had the new teeth made exactly like the old ones! I said, 'Bill, you had a chance to have beautiful, straight, white teeth. Why?' He smiled his toothy grin and said, 'Nope, it wouldn't have been I [*sic*].' "

Told by Paul King, this story captures the humility, genuineness, and self-acceptance of Bill Kell, former training director of the Michigan State University (MSU) Counseling Center. Kell's impact was primarily and powerfully interpersonal—his insightfulness, humor, and private pain; his respect for the process and pace of others; his commitment to generativity in all spheres of his life. These qualities make up the legend of Bill Kell, and the lasting impact he has had on those lives he touched constitute his legacy.

Bill L. Kell was born October 21, 1917, in the small rural town of Pawnee Rock, Kansas. Kell, the son of a poor tenant farmer, grew up in Kansas, played high school basketball, and put himself through college, attending first Ft. Hays Kansas State College and then Ohio State University. After receiving his B.A. in 1941, Kell continued at Ohio State for the next 2 years, earning his master's degree in clinical psychology under the guidance of Carl Rogers. He then spent more than 2 years in the army and served in Europe during World War II. In 1948, Kell followed Rogers to the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D. in human development in 1950, again under Rogers's sponsorship.

Kell's first job was at the University of Texas–Austin, where he shared responsibility for the graduate training program in counseling psychology. It was in Austin that he met and married his second wife, Grace "Dinny" Welch, with whom he later fathered twins, Kevin and Laurie. After 3 years in Austin, Kell returned to Chicago and held a joint appointment as an assistant professor and staff psychologist at the University of Illinois (Circle Campus). Concurrently, he was responsible for teaching a graduate sequence of courses in client-centered counseling at his alma mater, the University of Chicago.

In March of 1957 Kell and his family moved to East Lansing, Michigan, where he became director of training at the MSU Counseling Center, a position he held for more than 16 years. It was during his Michigan State years that Kell supervised and/or mentored several hundred professional psychology graduate students and wrote his three books. On June 11, 1973, Bill Kell, age 55, died suddenly and unexpectedly of a heart attack while fishing at one of his favorite lakes.

In this article we attempt to convey the essence of Bill Kell through interviews with six former colleagues, trainees, and family members. Drs. Bill Mueller, Gershen Kaufman, and Paul King, all former colleagues, and Dr. David Kopplin, former trainee, were interviewed, as were Dinny Kell, his widow, and David Kell Miller, a former client and "adopted son." While not quoted directly in this article, Drs. Harry Grater, Josephine Borow, and Don Grummon, all colleagues of Kell's, were also interviewed for background information and impressions. We spent more than 12 hours interviewing these nine people and compiled more than 200 pages of transcribed materials.

KELL AS THERAPIST AND TRAINER

Kell's views of human nature permeated his entire personal and professional life. He believed that people were basically good and capable of change—that no one was helpless or lost. He did not judge people or see them as pathological. He believed, recalled David Miller, that everyone had an "inner light" to their core, which, if triggered, could be brought forth and nurtured.

What followed for him as a therapist, then, was to communicate a sense of deep respect and optimism for clients' ability to change. Said David Kopplin, who was first a student in the MSU clinical psychology program and later an intern under Kell, "He designed internal dilemmas for clients so they *had* to choose to change. Basically, he brought to awareness internal conflicts, or cognitive dissonance, which would unfreeze the old behavior." Furthermore, Kell believed that client issues were often longstanding, with their current manifestations being the presenting problem. If therapists were sufficiently astute, they could understand the underlying message of what was being communicated, often by analyzing the sequencing of client statements.

Bill Kell appears to have been influenced heavily by his mentor, Carl Rogers, as well as by other theorists such as George Kelly, E. H. Porter, and Harry Stack Sullivan. Like Rogers, Kell emphasized acceptance, trust, and respect for the individual's right to choose—things that made sense to the son of a Kansas tenant farmer. "Gradually Bill began to get beyond the client-centered stance," reminisced colleague Gershen Kaufman. "He began to realize that quite often, there were defenses to work through, that clients needed more than just expression of their feelings." It was then that Kell began integrating elements of Sullivan's interpersonal work, of providing corrective emotional experiences for people to resolve developmental traumas. As Kaufman continued, "He was very Sullivanian in his approach to therapy, yet more specific and differentiated than Sullivan had been able to be."

There are numerous anecdotes of Kell's work with clients. Gershen Kaufman related one of these. "Bill once told me of a client who, at her last session, said to him that she had always had a fantasy of pulling down his bookcase. He looked at her and replied, 'Are you going to leave it a fantasy?' So she got up, walked across the room, pulled over the bookcase, then turned and said, 'Picking it up was not part of my fantasy.' And she walked out. Later I came into his office, still in chaos, and he told me what had happened. He said, 'Some people need to leave angry. She needed it to be that way.' He knew that often clients didn't need to have things interpreted or explained to them; what they needed was an opportunity to live out their problems. He allowed them to do just that."

"Listen to understand, not to fix."

Several interviewees recalled particular axioms that Kell would use as he talked about the process of therapy. His widow, Dinny, remembered two in particular. "Listen to understand, not to fix." She reminisced that, when Kell entered college, he worked at a psychology clinic to earn money, seeing community clients. "I remember him telling me that one of the greatest lessons he ever learned was from an elderly male client there who came in with various problems. One day as Bill was with him and struggling to say something helpful, the client remarked, 'Sure is hard to help people on purpose, ain't it?' Bill just never forgot that." The second axiom was " 'You can't save a happy victim'—that we all have the right to choose misery as well as contentment. There is no choice otherwise."

"Sure is hard to help people on purpose, ain't it?"

"One of the most important things I remember him emphasizing," reminisced Kopplin, "was the importance of telling people that, in fact, they *did* need help and that they had come to the right place. He saw it as extremely important to support the client in seeking help and to instill hope that it would result in eventual good."

Kell was as potent a trainer as he was a therapist, fostering the same sort of growth with students as he did with clients. Kell played a tremendous part in building the MSU training program as part of the director's, Don Grummon's, vision of expanding it into a full-service center, including service, training, and research. Bill Kell started in 1957 with only six interns and gradually created a program that consisted of 15–16 full-time interns and 35–40 practicum students per year.

"He created a very unique kind of training program," said Gershen Kaufman, "one which fostered a sense of community and participation, one which was very much like a family." Said David Kopplin, "Interns at Michigan State were really regarded and felt themselves to be equal staff members, even though, in fact, we weren't. Interns never felt excluded from anything going on at the center, except that we knew, as children know, that parents sometimes deal with issues of their own. I can't remember the senior staff every going off for a meeting or excluding interns, yet somehow they got that work done, too. It gave us a model of how to be a good parent." This metaphor of the internship being like a family, with Kell as the father figure, was repeated throughout our interviews.

"Some have argued," said Gershen Kaufman, "that this place didn't prepare interns for reality, but I disagree. I think interns just needed to be alerted to the fact that the world wasn't going to be like the center here, or that they could go out and create a new family atmosphere for themselves."

Individual supervision with Kell was an intense experience that integrated the personal with the professional. He had a unique knack for blending the roles of supervisor and therapist without overstepping the boundaries of each. Kell was highly sensitive to issues of parallel process; often supervisees who reached impasses with their clients would bring these problems to the supervisory relationship, particularly through reenacting the role of the client with the supervisor. Kell's way of working through these parallel process issues was to "digress" momentarily to explore the trainees' personal issues contributing to the therapeutic impasse and then "to relate the gain made in what could be called 'quasi-therapy' back to the case at hand so that it blended very smoothly." Kopplin continued, "When he did digress into supervisees' personal dynamics, it was limited to whatever could be done in that particular supervisory session. Supervisees knew that they were being helped in a very personal way, that this 'quasi-therapy' wouldn't be happening if Kell weren't committed to the notion of them becoming better therapists."

Gershen Kaufman received postdoctoral supervision from Kell. "Often, in supervision, he would talk of his own experiences, both painful and positive, so that I felt he allowed me to know him on the inside. He lived predominantly inside himself. Often he would look out a window, or close his eyes to go off in imagery."

One instance of Kell's use of imagery in supervision stood out for Kaufman. "During my second year here, an interaction with a client triggered some strong emotions in me so I brought the case to supervision. Bill listened for a while, eyes closed, and he finally said, 'A sentence keeps running through my head, keeps repeating itself, so I guess I'll say it. Did anyone every say to you, 'I'm pleased and proud to have you as a son?' His question opened an incredible door inside of me. He was able at that moment to see what was going on and to phrase it in such a way to open me up and allow it to emerge. He allowed me to feel loved and cared for as I had never felt before, and I loved him in return." Kell's use of intuition and imagery was so powerful at uncovering and unlocking that some of his former supervisees have labeled it telepathy—the ability to see inside.

A legendary component of the MSU internship was the supervision group that took place every Wednesday night at the Kell home. Typically, the sessions began with an intern sharing a therapy tape. Kell would sit in *his* chair and work individually with an intern while others observed, often focusing on countertransference issues and impasses with the client. Usually the group began at 8:30 p.m., with the lively discussions often continuing until 2 or 3 in the morning.

What was the atmosphere of this group like? Bill Mueller said, "The sessions were extremely powerful. Bill had a way of creating an atmosphere where people were free to express their own feelings and hangups without the fear of being judged. He had an excellent sense of people and dynamics and could ask incisive questions about where one was without sounding like 'the psychologist.' His way of doing it was to raise questions in such a supportive way that nothing seemed crazy. No matter what feelings or thoughts you had, you were just a person. Because of the warmth and respect he communicated, his insightfulness—and he was extremely insightful—was not nearly as threatening as it might have been."

In fact, Kell was so powerful that trainees formed extremely close bonds with him and often idolized him. While Paul King felt Kell was uncomfortable being so revered, Kopplin explained his perceptions of the bonding and idolizing process. "Besides the fact that Bill was such a wonderful individual and trainer, I think part of the key was that the group experiences linked students to Kell in a very personal way, but also in the presence of others. It gave people freedom to talk to each other about their experiences with Kell, which fostered closer bonds to him."

If Kell had lived longer, how would he have felt about the status of counseling psychology training today? Kopplin speculated, "I don't think he would have liked the economic preoccupation of clinical practice today, that many students want training in order to go into private practice and make a lot of money. I think the current greater emphasis on the medical model of therapy rather than an educational one would also have really bothered him." Bill Mueller also felt that Kell would have been disconcerted by psychotherapy today, but for different reasons. "I think he would probably be a bit dismayed at some of the patchwork trends—shorter-term interventions—just to keep the individual going, rather than attempting to reconstruct personality. I think he would probably still be fighting for the model of involving oneself with one's clients and doing what one needed to do to help, no matter how long it took." As for training, "I think he would be content with how therapists are trained now, so long as the training program provided students with opportunities to identify strongly with and be mentored by some solid professional figure."

KELL AS A COLLEAGUE

Kell is probably best remembered in his role as trainer for the group of students who have carried forward his legacy. Some of the most powerful stories from our interviews, however, came from people who were Bill's colleagues. Bill Mueller, coauthor of two books with Kell, reminisced about what it was like to work with him. "It was a wonderful experience. Between 1963 and 1964 I was developing a research library of psychotherapy tapes at the center. Bill and I decided that we would like to write a book about the process of psychotherapy and used these tapes (about 40 fully recorded cases of psychotherapy) to develop our ideas. We would sit in the same office together, listening to tapes and sharing ideas back and forth. We must have listened for six months before we actually began writing. One of us would form an idea, begin writing, and play it off the other person. At times I would say something to him and he'd respond, 'Write it down! Print it!' He would never try to compete with or take away from my ideas in any way."

Interestingly, Kell and Mueller struggled to finish *Impact and Change*. "We only had the preface left to write and had a very difficult time with it, even though it really is the easiest part to write. I think we struggled so much because finishing meant that this project, something that we had done together, was coming to an end. When we finally did write the preface, I remember shaking hands and Bill looking at me and saying, 'Well, it will never be the same.' It was a very enriching experience."

Gershen Kaufman also experienced such nondefensive sharing and collaboration with Kell. "I had been seeing a client who left town on an internship and was having difficulties. She had been writing off and on to me, expressing all kinds of fear and loneliness. I had not responded in a long time. One day, I got a letter from her stating that she felt I did not care about her and asking if I was rejecting her. I felt confused so I went to talk to Bill. We discussed what she might have missed from her dad and needed in her life. Then, the critical event happened. We had finished discussing the case, I was ready to leave, and he said offhandedly, 'By the way, have I told you what I've figured out about shame and rage?' I sat back down again, and we began to have a fascinating discussion about the relationship between these two feelings, from an inner, phenomenological perspective. It was an incredible experience because it opened me up and flooded me with all sorts of memories, feelings, discoveries, and insights. I suddenly began to have a grasp on shame in myself. It was the most incredible experience that had ever happened to me, not because it was an area of professional interest, but because it gripped me so powerfully personally. Our discussion gave me words for something I had struggled against and with all my life, but never understood or had words for. It was, quite literally, a personal odyssey from that point on. I began to explore shame and rage, work with it and see it in clients. I was more excited and activated than I have ever been in my life." Kaufman was indeed affected by that meeting and eventually went on to write a book about shame and identity (Kaufman, 1985).

"If you understand it, you can say it clearly."

Both Mueller's and Kaufman's reminiscences illustrate the powerful personal and professional impact Kell had on colleagues. Paul King added, "Professionally, Kell had the ability to impart the method and basics of psychotherapy better than anyone I have ever met. He was able to take notions that were intricate and make them simple and understandable. In addition, I will always remember one of his adages: 'If you understand it, you can say it clearly.' I'm reminded of this idea frequently—when I think I understand but just can't express something, I remember Kell and tell myself, 'No, Paul, you really don't understand it yet.' "

Kopplin listed Kell's greatest professional contributions as his tracking of affect (as delineated in *Impact and Change*), notion of parallel process, and ability to weave personal with professional learning in his use of "quasi-therapy" in supervision. In a personal sense, the greatest impact Kell had on Kopplin "was the sense of adequacy that Kell communicated—that I was good, I was able, and that I could be an equal with him. I learned to trust my own reactions and not be so afraid of making mistakes. Kell once said, 'If you aren't making mistakes, then you aren't learning. If you keep making the same mistake, then you're not learning either.' This adage conveys the sense that, if you figure out what's happening, then nothing you do is tragic as a psychotherapist."

"If you aren't making mistakes, then you aren't learning. If you keep making the same mistake, then you're not learning either."

Gershen Kaufman summed it up very succinctly by saying, "Bill was, in many ways, the father I needed and didn't have growing up. He was able to repair some of those deficits from my childhood, although we never talked about it that way. In fact, I never knew what was happening until he died and I realized what I didn't have anymore."

KELL AS A FAMILY MAN

Kell found much joy in his role as a family man and father. In addition to having twins, the Kells also "adopted" four others, all students whom Dinny and Bill met through their work as therapists. These four adopted adult children lived in the Kell home, worked as they could, and participated fully in family life. David Kell Miller, the first of such adopted adult children, had been a client of Dinny's in 1963, when she decided he would benefit from a male role model. She approached Bill and they agreed to do cotherapy with David. Soon, David became a family member. The Kells believed that individuals with problems needed a chance to be children again, in a sheltered environment, which provided consistent love while allowing them to work through their painful experiences of childhood. "They didn't just practice their beliefs, they lived them," said David.

What was it like to be one of Kell's adopted adult children? David reminisced: "The thing that stands out in my mind is family meals and holidays, where a group of people, all wounded and crippled in different ways, would get together and have fun. Bill would be at the head of the table and later get up and dance as the music began. Most of us [adopted adult children] had never before seen the kind of interactions that occurred there. In fact, the emotional climate sometimes was threatening to people at first because it was so strong, so close, so much freedom to be happy. All this with the security of knowing that these two giants [Bill and Dinny] were capable of managing things. Within that environment, we all grew, whether we were in therapy or not."

Kell had the gift of humor, which he passed on to his children. One of David's fondest memories was when, at age 21, he went fishing for the first time with Kell and his son Kevin. "We all got out in the boat and had about an hour's discussion on the 35 benefits of owl shit, at which point tears were rolling down our faces as we trolled this beautiful bay on Lake Michigan. We didn't catch a thing, but it was a wonderful experience, unlike any I'd had in my life. . . . One of the things I will always remember Bill and Dinny saying was 'Part of life is enjoyment. You can join in or you can watch, but the thing is *we* are going to enjoy life.' And they did so, which provided a wonderful example for me."

The Kell household was filled with laughter, love, and limits. "We always said that when Mom (Dinny) got mad you could fight with her, but when Bill got mad, the earth trembled." Kell could set definite limits with his kids and did so. As David recalled, "When I was trying to weasel out of something he would say, 'Shit will do for brains if you're lucky but if you're not, you'd better try something else.' "

As a husband, Kell was a man ahead of his time in his promotion of equality. Says Dinny, "He was most insistent on his own freedom and equally insistent on mine. He was not riddled with competitive feelings if one of the kids, a student, or I had a success. I had the freedom to go and do, to be a separate person in addition to being a wife and mother." An example of this freedom took the form of trips Dinny would make to Chicago while Bill was home during spring break. "When the twins were young, I was often very tired. So Bill and I invented a person, Mrs. Wilson, who was a childless widow with no responsibilities. He would take care of the kids while I went to Chicago as 'Mrs. Wilson' for a couple of days to do anything I wanted without having to meet anyone's demands. In this way, I was free to discover who 'I' was."

This freedom and sharing was noticed by other family members as well. David Miller remembered family vacations: "Neither one of them enjoyed what the other one did so they picked locations where they could both do their own thing but enjoy the best of what the other one did. I remember one vacation in particular. Mom liked to rock hunt and Bill liked to fish, so Bill and I took off across the island and found the best place to hunt for rocks. We also found a good flat spot to fish. They each did their own thing and the kids were free to pick and choose which they wanted to join. Then we would all come back together for a great family dinner. It was the best of both worlds."

Another aspect of Bill was his ability to take things as they happened without trying to control the outcome. Dinny described him as solid, rarely angry despite adverse circumstances. "When there was a disaster, he didn't ask whose fault it was. Instead, he always asked, 'Is anybody hurt?' or 'How do we clean it up?' and 'Let's go on from here.' I, on the other hand, used to worry and prepare for disasters constantly. I remember him saying to me one day, 'Honey, you're building bridges over rivers God hasn't even made yet.' That was one of the biggest lessons he taught me."

". . .[our adopted children] always left knowing they didn't owe us anything, and that the greatest gift they could give would be to help others in the way they felt helped."

Bill's sense of acceptance and peace with circumstances was one of the hallmarks of his life. He derived a sense of joy from being alive, which he shared with his whole family. As Dinny reminisced: "He'd be sitting at the end of our very large dining room table with all the crew gathered 'round on Christmas Eve. Bill would make a brief statement before the meal about the year and what it had meant to him. The words were always a little different, but the message was basically the same: the joy and gratitude he felt because these young people were willing to share their lives with him. They always left knowing they didn't owe us anything, and that the greatest gift they could give would be to help others in the way they felt helped." There are no better words to capture the essence of Kell's profound and unselfish commitment to generativity—to others' growth and development.

BILL'S EARLY LIFE

What was it about Bill Kell's past that influenced his views and ways of being? Much of his hardworking, yet accepting, nature was attributed to his early years of growing up on tenant farms, moving from place to place and often living at the mercy of nature. Dinny remembers Kell telling the story of when "he saw an entire crop devastated by hail after a year's worth of work and heard his grandfather say, 'tomorrow we'll save what we can, plow the rest under, and start again.' He learned as a child that much of life was uncontrollable, and that our task is to learn the things we could control and let go of the rest." Kell also realized he would rather work with people than things. As David Kopplin observed: "I think he decided he was better at making people grow than wheat."

Kell was afflicted with a debilitating disease that progressively calcified his spine and caused him intermittent extreme pain. Dinny remembers his pain being so intense at times that it would take him 20 minutes to cover an area that a normal person could cross in 3 minutes because of continuous muscle spasms. Although his disease went into remission for a period, he lived with the knowledge that his illness would eventually confine him to a wheelchair. As Bill Mueller recalled: "I think his disease added to his own strength of character. He never complained about pain or his illness; I think he dissociated himself from it—in the same way he could put one project or problem aside and work on another in his work life."

In addition to chronic physical pain, Kell felt much psychological pain over his distant and difficult relationship with his

> *"I think . . . [Kell] decided he was better at making people grow than wheat."*

mother. Gershen Kaufman remembered how Kell talked about the importance for children of feeling wanted by each parent and how this issue influenced psychotherapy. Kaufman also recalled how Kell thought his relationship with his father counterbalanced the pain caused by experiences with his mother. "I think this taught him that a painful, destructive relationship can be mitigated and that fathers play a potentially vital role by their presence or absence."

KELL'S GREATEST DISAPPOINTMENTS AND JOYS

What would Kell have considered his biggest disappointments in life? "Probably his relationship with his mother," says Kaufman. "He would mention it in treatment as a way of letting clients know that they weren't alone in feeling defective." Others mentioned Kell's years in Texas as being a difficult time for him. While Kell never talked much about those years, it seemed to others that he experienced much physical pain because of his illness and much psychological distress as the result of his divorce from his first wife. In addition, his health was a difficult thing for him. "I think the fact that it took so much extra energy for Bill to move and the knowledge that there was a wheelchair in his future took a lot out of him," says Dinny. "I think there was a part of him that wished he could be healthy, especially since he had been such a good athlete when he was younger. Overall, I don't think he was one to regret much. I never heard him say that he wished he had done anything different, so I'm not sure he would have felt many disappointments over his life."

Finally, we asked the interviewees what they thought were Bill Kell's greatest joys in life. Gershen Kaufman said: "The first thing that comes to mind are personal things—his boat and camper. He had dreamed of having these for so long. I didn't understand their significance until I learned from Dinny that he was very poor as a child and lived in the middle of Kansas where there was no water." Bill Mueller cited Kell's family and the joy he derived from watching his interns grow, leave MSU, and become successful in the professional world as very important to him. "[Probably most of all, however, was that] he knew how much he was respected and how much people valued him. I think that was a source of considerable satisfaction for him." Dinny mentioned Bill's joy at receiving American Board of Professional Psychology (ABPP) diplomate status and later serving on the ABPP board, as these honors represented acceptance by his professional peers—something he had not felt earlier in this career. One of his most consistent joys, however, was the sense of family that he created not only with his own family but with students and friends. "A sense of 'home' and 'children'—I always felt these were the center of Bill's life. Our real and adopted children and even his graduate students shared so much of their lives with him. They were a tremendous joy to him."

David Kopplin (1970) eloquently summarized Kell's legend and legacy: "Bill [was] not known to the thousands in our field but to the few in whom he invested his time, his sensitivity, his interest, his skills, and his humor. For many of us, Bill Kell was the difference between having just an excellent graduate education and having one that also integrated our knowledge about psychotherapy with our knowledge about ourselves. In his sessions we were never sure whether we were in a case conference, receiving individual supervision, doing mutual supervision, receiving individual psychotherapy, creating group psychotherapy, or just being sensitive to each other's development. All these things were blended into our experience with Bill; and it never seemed important to differentiate exactly what we were doing at any moment, for it all facilitated our learning." Bill Kell, whose curved spine and crooked teeth belied the beauty of the soul beneath, was truly a gentle healer. His legacy lives on today in the hearts and minds of those whose lives he touched.

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Harold B. Pepinsky: A Life of Science and Practice

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Harold B. Pepinsky has been a central figure in the counseling profession for nearly 40 years. An early advocate of the scientist-practitioner model, he has helped to shape the intellectual life of the profession through his research, criticism, and theoretical writing. His impact on counseling practice and the counseling profession can only be described as definitional: The work counselors do, the training they receive, and the professional identities they establish all derive in part from Pepinsky's influence.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Pepinsky received training in psychology, social work, and student personnel work at the University of Minnesota, where he studied with Donald Paterson, Gilbert Wrenn, E. G. Williamson, Edward Bordin, and Fred Brown. He married a fellow graduate student, Pauline Nichols (Polly) Pepinsky, who became a lifelong colleague. They were undoubtedly one of the first dual-career couples in counseling psychology.

Pepinsky's early research focused on a number of issues that directly affect counseling practice: projective techniques, group counseling, outcome criteria, productive behavior, and the role of theory in the counseling process. From the beginning, he was concerned with observation, inference, and theory-building in counseling, not only as a scientific endeavor but as an essential part of the counselor's work with clients. This theme received its fullest expression in the book, *Counseling: Theory and Practice* (1954), which he co-authored with Pauline Pepinsky. This book established the Pepinskys as major theorists in the field of counseling and, probably more than any other single work, promoted the idea of the counselor as scientist and practitioner.

Throughout his career, Pepinsky has maintained nationally prominent professional involvements in guidance, counseling, and psychology. He served on the Executive Council of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (1954–56) and as associated editor of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal* (1953–56). Also, he was president of the American College Personnel Association (1955–56).

He has twice been elected to the Council of Representatives of the American Psychological Association (APA), first by the Division of Counseling Psychology (1954–56) and then the Division of Personality and Social Psychology (1966–69). In the late 1950s, he worked with several APA committees that were concerned with the education and training of psychological practitioners. He has also served on the editorial boards of two APA journals, the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (1954–63) and *Contemporary Psychology* (1970–79). For the former, he wrote a column titled, "Research Notes from Here and There," in which he commented on scientific activities in the field. Within APA's Division of Counseling Psychology, he chaired the Committee on Definition (1954–55), whose work culminated in the report, "Counseling Psychology as a Specialty" (Bordin, Hahn, Super, Wrenn, & Pepinsky, 1956). He was also president of the division (1956–57).

Since 1951, Pepinsky has been on the faculty of the Department of Psychology at Ohio State University. He has devoted much of his career to the study of language and communication, cross-cultural psychology, and, more recently, health policy. He has also become something of a historian for the counseling profession. Although he has always been active in the training of counseling psychologists and in the direct delivery of counseling services, his professional identification has never been limited to counseling psychology or even psychology. He is a social scientist in the most literal sense, concerned simultaneously with education, information science, sociology, organizational behavior, public policy, and psychology. His role as a commentator in the counseling profession, in fact, is based on his ability to consider counseling psychology in the larger context of the social sciences. The divergent thinking that has characterized so many of his contributions (it is, I think, Pepinsky's hallmark) stems from the breadth of his perspectives.

Students and colleagues know Pepinsky as "Pep," a nickname expressive of his personal impact. His intellectual power, enthusiasm, and goodwill are unmistakable, even on first meeting. I remember my tutorial with him as a beginning graduate student at Ohio State. He ran circles around me—not only running faster than I, but moving in several directions at once. Ultimately, the ideas came together for me, as he seemed to know they would, but the real learning was in the process. I learned from him, as from no other, what it means to think critically and meaningfully and to communicate that meaning precisely. I also had a great time; his warmth and good humor ensured that. I re-experience much of this each time I interact with Pep. I certainly felt it in the interview reported here.

Naomi Meara, once a student and now a close friend of Pepinsky's, has been a major collaborator with him in his research on language. She wrote this about him:

> For those of us who have been fortunate enough to study with him, the name Harold Pepinsky evokes many images. One is a thoughtful scholar leaning back in his chair as he converses with us, constructing and reconstructing a social reality, a policy science, a theory of language and, as he would say, "and the like." Another is an exuberant, gregarious, friendly man, a delightful companion, who befriends taxicab drivers, waiters, secretaries, distinguished scholars, and frightened graduate students as he learns from these "cultural informants" and mutually builds with them common understanding and social support networks. Still another image is editor and critic who juries our work, sometimes with patience, sometimes by impulse, sometimes with anger born of frustration, but always with care, respect, unfailing "instincts" and accuracy. He

> exorcises our literary demons and impels us to make explicit what we take for granted.
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> But most of all he is a man who strives endlessly to create, articulate and revise his visions, and who is not distressed by ambiguity or lack of certainty in the doing of science. Years ago, I remember being in his classes and not knowing what certain concepts meant—for example, informative display, common understanding, and concerted actions. I later learned that what I needed to know was not a list of definitions but rather what he was about. Simply because he was unsure about something or something wasn't finished was no reason not to teach it. How could he and his students learn about ideas, much less learn to think about them, if they weren't discussed in their formative stages? Currently, he is working in collaboration with others on ideals related to health policies and qualitative aging. What's he about? I think he might say, "We won't know what the goal is until we've done it." (N. M. Meara, personal communication, October 24, 1984)

Mike Patton is also a former student and now close friend of Pepinsky, who worked with him and Naomi Meara on the language research. He and Pepinsky co-edited the 1971 book, *The Psychological Experiment: A Practical Accomplishment*. He said this about his colleague:

> Evocative teachers like Harold Pepinsky are all too rare. He is an improbable blend of scholar, scientist, counseling practitioner, and social analyst. With him one learns about the delicate balance between doing and thinking, being a colleague, asking for help when you need it, intellectual courage, and patience. He takes genuine pleasure in collaborating with others and in promoting their interests. (M. J. Patton, personal communication, October 25, 1984)

Finally, Lyle Schmidt, current president of APA's Division of Counseling Psychology and longtime colleague of Pepinsky's at Ohio State, wrote this:

> I first encountered Pep when I was a graduate student attending the annual meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association in St. Louis. He had just completed a year as president of the American College Personnel Association and was then president of the Division of Counseling Psychology of the American Psychological Association. I had just written a review of *Counseling: Theory and Practice* (which he and Pauline Pepinsky had co-authored) for a graduate seminar at the University of Missouri. I was at a small reception for friends of the University of Missouri when someone came up to me and said, "I'm Harold Pepinsky." I was practically speechless. It was my first meeting with anyone outside of my own graduate faculty who was such a distinguished person in my field of study. We exchanged a few words and he moved on to talk with other guests. It was a minor incident for Pep, but strangely enough he remembered it years later, long after we had become colleagues at Ohio State. For me it was one of the most unforgettable events in my career, one to which I have often looked back as the beginning of an enduring friendship with a most remarkable person.
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> Pep and I have shared countless experiences over the past 23 years at Ohio State. I doubt if there is any aspect of academic work that we have not done together: co-teachers, co-investigators, co-authors, co-advisors, co-administrators. Through it all, one thing in particular stands out. He never failed to regard me as a colleague, even when I was the greenest of academic rookies. This attitude and his conduct that followed from it, were instrumental in helping me understand the meaning and responsibilities of being a professor. And, I believe, many other faculty and students who have known Pep in this way would agree. (L. D. Schmidt, personal communication, October 30, 1984)

Pepinsky began his career with an honor. In 1951 his dissertation research on diagnostic categories in clinical counseling received the highest award for research in student personnel from the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations. In 1983, his entire career was honored when he received the Leona Tyler Award from APA's Division of Counseling Psychology. Probably the best way to sum up his contribution to the counseling profession is with the statement accompanying that award:

> For distinguished contributions as a professor, author, and scientist whose creativity is unsurpassed in counseling psychology. Through his dedication to excellence, informed scientific curiosity, and willingness to share and collaborate with others, he has inspired students and colleagues to challenge their own presumed cultural, conceptual and expressive boundaries. Always at the intellectual frontier, he and Pauline Nichols Pepinsky were among the first to delineate learning theory as a foundation for explanatory and predictive models in counseling. Originality has characterized his research, as he pioneered investigations novel to counseling psychology in both focus and methodology. One of counseling psychology's most ardent supporters and severest critics, he has worked throughout his career to establish common understanding among colleagues whose perspectives differ from his own. His intellectual integrity, indefatigable ebullience, and delightful gregariousness have earned him a worldwide network of admirers and friends who hope this award can express the depth of their love and respect.

EARLY LIFE

***C.C.:** Tell me something about your early life, your upbringing.*

H.P.: I was born and raised in St. Paul, of Russian-Jewish parents whose parents had come over to this country in the 1870s and 1880s. My father was a professional musician. He and my mother spent 4 years in Germany (1907–1911), where my father was in the first violin section of the Berlin Philharmonic. My mother was a physician, and at the time the assistant director of a big women's clinic in Berlin. I mention this because in many ways my background is very European.

While my mother had an MD degree, my father actually had no degree—he left high school simply to go on with his violin and viola. Their career conflict was a part of my upbringing—the kind of conflict that persists but is resolved very differently these days. My mother was persuaded to put her medical training in the background once they were back in St. Paul, and she spent a lot of her time raising four kids. So I grew up with the difficulty of a woman who wanted a professional career. My father was at the University of Minnesota in the Music Department, and he did a lot of what he used to call "playing jobs." He was enormously versatile. At age 50, he got a PhD in physics and psychology at Iowa and spent his second career years as a psychologist at Haverford.

***C.C.:** What was your childhood like?*

H.P.: I was the baby of the family, very overprotected. And being Jewish in a very gentile neighborhood, I grew up feeling quite marginal, though I didn't really understand it until much later. I was raised to be a very religious person, at least privately. In 1929–30 our family spent a year in Germany, and I attended a German school during the seventh grade. (This was just before the Nazis.) This experience made an indelible impression on me, though again I wasn't aware of it at the time. One of the things that must have happened was that, in studying French and German, I became very interested in languages at that point. It was an enormous upheaval to come back to high school in Minnesota. I was accepted, but I always had that feeling of marginality. My own status as a member of a minority group, in fact, has made me very sympathetic to ethnic minority concerns today and to the need for compassion.

C.C.: *What influence did your father have on you?*

H.P.: I was kind of overawed by him. But when I was in college and minoring in music, I took two of the best courses I've ever taken from him. He had at that time gotten interested in the physical basis of music and taught a course that was jointly listed in physics. It was one of the few times in my college career that I was enormously motivated. At the same time, we got to be pretty good friends.

C.C.: *What about your mother?*

H.P.: Well, she was not a happy person, and I think for a very good reason. I loved her, in many ways respected her, and learned from her. She was bright and intuitive, an inductive synthesizer.

C.C.: *You were raised as a scientist, it sounds like.*

H.P.: The cultivation of the intellect was a very important thing.

INTELLECTUAL INFLUENCES

C.C.: *Could you talk about your training?*

H.P.: I was made very much aware of what it was like to be on my own as a graduate student. I didn't have my father around anymore as a sponsor. It was really at that time that Gilbert Wrenn took me on as a PhD candidate in educational psychology, in what now passes for counseling psychology—we called it student personnel work in those days. And as Polly has said, this was, for both of us, a program in applied social psychology, and we took to it actively. But then Gilbert went into the Navy, and a new advisor, Walter Cook, took me under his wing (I was his first PhD advisee). As my mentor, he subjected me to severe criticism of my writing, I mean really. But I think I was impressed by the fact that I was able to work hard and pull a lot of things together. I was really hand-crafted, hand-tooled in doing that dissertation.

C.C.: *What was it?*

H.P.: It was the one that eventually resulted in the monograph on diagnostic categories in clinical counseling. It was really one of the first intellectual challenges that was mine. I always remember when I first got into this thing, it was just a glimmer of an idea. Ed Bordin had some very rough sketches of diagnostic categories—maladjustments that ambulatory college students were likely to manifest. I fleshed these out, revised the system a little, then worked like a dog in doing a lot of research on it. This was one of the first times in my life where that kind of intellectual pursuit, the thirst to know something, became a consummatory sort of thing.

C.C.: *What was driving that? What did you really want to know?*

H.P.: Discovery, I think. It was like a jigsaw puzzle, where you are attempting both to create a picture and find the pieces and to fit the pieces together so that something comes out looking like a whole.

C.C.: *What impact did Bordin have at that time, or Bordin's ideas?*

H.P.: Oh, he was tremendous, really a marvelous supplement to several of us, for things we wouldn't have gotten otherwise. One of the things that Ed questioned was this matter of immutability, or the genetic predetermination of test scores. In the 1930s at Minnesota, there was a lot of emphasis on two things: individual differences and the idea that what could be measured was to a considerable extent biologically determined. I remember when I got to my preliminary examinations, we had the question, "What is an aptitude, and what is an aptitude test?" So I gave them a definition of an aptitude—at least there was an idea of what an aptitude was in principle—but thanks to Ed Bordin's influence, I said there was no such thing as an aptitude test, because from the moment you are born, you are having experiences, which are doing things to whatever native talents or capacities you might have. Another mentor, E. G. Williamson, scolded me roundly for saying that. But anyway, Ed fed me that other kind of thinking, and I read it and just ate it up.

C.C.: *What about other influences at Minnesota?*

H.P.: Another person who was a tremendous influence on my life was Fred Brown, who was at that time director of the Minneapolis Child Guidance Clinic. He took me under his wing, in about my third year of graduate school, and taught me a course in the history of psychology. We would read what some author had to say and what was being said about him, and then he would ask me to tell him about it. Well, hell, I wasn't used to doing that. I wasn't used to thinking about the stuff I'd read. It was a completely new experience. Those were good influences. . . .

I also was an administrative fellow for 2 years under Ed Williamson. He wanted, first of all, to discipline me to perform well on the job, and he did. In the second year, Williamson had me do a study for a committee of the University Senate on what kind of counseling was going on at the University of Minnesota. So he sent me out to do this, and I could do the interviews, write them up, and then he and I would talk about them. It almost wrecked my marriage, because Williamson was no respecter of hours—coming in at 10:00 in the morning and staying on till well past dinner—but I learned more about the university, and more about a point of view toward it, than I could have in any other way. It was a marvelous tutorial. And then, lo and behold, a year or two later a big offset thing came out: "Student Counseling at the University of Minnesota," prepared by Harold Pepinsky. That was the kind of thing he would do. And it was one of the first things I ever published. So I had good mentors, in that way.

C.C.: *So, whereas Bordin and Brown got you excited about ideas, Williamson's style was more, "Here's how to do it." But you learned something from it.*

H.P.: I learned something from it, because Williamson was at the same time a productive scholar. . . . I was brought up on Williamson and Darley's *Student Personnel Work* (1937) and Williamson's *How to Counsel Students* (1939).

C.C.: *Can you think of any other influences in those days?*

H.P.: I remember when Rogers came up to Minnesota in 1940 to address Psi Chi; part of his book, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (1942), was an adaptation of that address. I remember this sort of sandy-haired person, not striking looking, who talked in a very soothing voice. And he was talking at that time about nondirective counseling. Rogers was a genius; he was marvelous at first drafts and marvelously stimulating.

C.C.: *Did you have much personal interaction with Rogers?*

H.P.: Not too much. I went to see him in 1948 when I was in Chicago. He was very nice, and we talked together, and I remember his saying to me that the most hostile students at the beginning became the most appreciative students, and they were the best ones to work with. But, you know, I have to hand it to him, because he did learn from students around him. One of the most interesting examples, by the way, was Victor Raimy. He was into a self-psychology, but Rogers wouldn't have any part of him. Yet Rogers obviously had been affected by that work; later, after his APA presidential address on the subject, he acknowledged it privately.

THE SCIENTIST-PRACTITIONER MODEL

C.C.: *Your writing has had a major influence in the development of the scientist-practitioner model in counseling psychology. What about that?*

H.P.: The big hope of the Boulder Conference in 1949 was to promote the idea that the clinical psychologist is going to be, at one and the same time, a scientist and a practitioner. I think it's ironic that some of the writing that came out at the time in clinical psychology, particularly out of my own university [Minnesota], was written by people who had no real interest in therapy as such. And so, when Polly and I did the book (Pepinsky & Pepinsky, 1954) together, one of the ideas I had was that of the dual roles, of the counselor as scientist and practitioner. And she accepted it, because it came out of our background. Some of the best parts of the book, by the way, were things she wrote, for example, the chapter on observation and inference. It was priceless, and I think it's a great chapter to this date.

The book did pretty well over time, never made much money, and had we done what the publisher and a reviewer urged and used "Counseling and Psychotherapy" in the title, we probably would have sold a lot more copies. But we were just damn stubborn. We wanted to use the word "counseling," and we wanted it to mean something distinct from therapy.

> *". . . what [Polly and I] could agree on, out of our common interests, was that there should be components of scientist and practitioner in what a psychologist did."*

But anyway, what we could agree on, out of our common interests, was that there should be components of scientist and practitioner in what a psychologist did. It's not as popular today; but to me, psychology's distinctive contribution to the helping professions was always a methodological and conceptual one. We've really abdicated that kind of contribution. That's become far less important.

C.C.: Becoming so identified with practice, divorced from scientific thinking.

H.P.: Yes. In the 1954 book we thought one could be at the same time a scientist and a practitioner. I don't believe that now. I said to my father years ago, "You know I've become impressed. There are some very good therapists in New York (where I had been teaching), and they know a lot about human behavior." And he said, "Well, buddy, I don't mean to be derogating, but I think you're talking about artisanship." Now I think most of what we do is artisanship, the learning and doing of a craft. And for the few, there will be science, the pursuit of knowledge.

C.C.: As I read the book, I interpreted the scientist-practitioner model as being something that everyone could do, whether they functioned primarily as a scientist or a practitioner. You could look at two practicing counselors, if you were able to see inside their heads, and you could say, "This one is a scientist, in the way he or she works, and that one is not." You were talking about a set of mental processes by which people work with clients and think about their clients.

H.P.: Yes, that is part of basic crafting.

C.C.: What's happened to the scientist-practitioner model today?

H.P.: On the one hand, there are people who are pursuing knowledge, people who are concerned with asking questions. But at the other extreme are the entrepreneurs, who are out there contributing to the health business. I think we have a kind of warehousing idea in this country. We look for short-term profits, and long-range consequences are the last thing to be concerned about. It's the neurotic paradox.

C.C.: So you're saying the model breaks down because there are lots of external forces pulling practitioners away from the scientific base?

H.P.: And I'm saying the model breaks down, even for practitioners, because they are ostensibly contributing to public service, but when push comes to shove, it's a matter of vested interests and making sure they get a share of the funding source.

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C.C.: What impact does all of this have on the development of counseling psychology as a science?

H.P.: I think counseling is a many-splendored thing, of which whatever passes for science is a small part. Counseling psychology does have its share of entrepreneurial and technologically driven bigots. We shouldn't be so disappointed. Some of the science won't be lost, because some of the people are going to be impelled to ask questions.

DEFINING COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY

C.C.: You were in on that Committee on the Definition of Counseling Psychology back in the early 1950s. Could you say something about what that was like to do?

H.P.: It was really funny, because Frank Robinson, who was then president [of the division], asked me to chair it and said, "We have some prima donnas on that committee, and I'd appreciate your help in pulling that together." So I think mainly that was one of my major roles. I didn't realize I had that kind of ability, but I guess I did. . . . We came to one point in the discussion where there was a conflict between two of the members. One of them had just been to Bethel [Maine; the National Training Laboratory] and had come back with this training as something that could be very helpful to people working together. So when he and this other person got into it, I remember him saying, "Well, I guess we're polarized." But we never let it go at that. It was a compromise among potential factions.

C.C.: What were those factions?

H.P.: Well, I think part of it was the extent to which counseling psychology was going to have anything to do with marked deviates, with psychopathology, or whether its concern was going to be with the normal person.

C.C.: So that was one. What were other conflicts in the group?

H.P.: I don't think we had any other major hang-ups, and that one we got through. And I will say, the person who wrote up the pivotal draft, Don Super, quite generously included things that might have been at variance with his own individual opinions.

C.C.: It was kept broad?

H.P.: And it was correct, because even in those days we had a diversity of special interests that we represented.

C.C.: To me, that's always been the strength of counseling psychology as a specialty. Do you see that as something counseling psychology needs to maintain?

H.P.: I think it would be helpful. Someone just wrote recently about the idea that maybe counseling psychology will become part of clinical psychology. And, of course, when Berg, Pepinsky, and Shoben (1980) wrote their paper [in 1960, suggesting a similar idea], it was anathema, and that's why we were pretty well excommunicated from the division. A lot of fiery counter statements were published in things like "Counseling News and Views."

C.C.: What were you saying that elicited such a reaction?

H.P.: Well, we were questioning where counseling psychology as a specialty was going and how different it was from clinical psychology at that point, especially since counseling psychologists had gotten into VA hospitals and were functioning essentially as clinicians. The counseling psychologists didn't want to do vocational counseling in those days; they wanted to be therapists. And so the mistake we made was in proposing a general clinical psychology, suggesting that maybe counseling psychology was in trouble, as indeed it was. Clinical was more proactive, looking particularly to NIMH for subsidy—and there was a promise of broader things to come—and counseling psychology was more reactive. One of the marked changes between the counseling psychology of the late 1950s and 1960s and now was that counseling psychologists then were not politically active within APA.

C.C.: *You're saying the Committee on Definition, early on, defined the area but didn't carry out the ongoing political activities necessary to make that definition work?*

H.P.: But we did do things. I was a therapist in those days, but a lot of my training was in what was called vocational psychology. It was a little like the feeling some people have about their minority group membership—they're ashamed of it. Therapy was the buzz word, and the other stuff just wasn't very interesting. So people, even on that Committee on Definition, who might have pursued within the Division of Counseling Psychology that theme of our distinctive competence—like vocational psychology—were not vocal. They were vocal in other places, like what used to be called APGA, but not among psychologists.

C.C.: *Could you talk some about the APA-APGA split?*

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H.P.: It used to be that psychology and education were close. Even in my day people would bemoan the fact that the great psychologists were also the great educators—Dewey, Angell, Carr. But I would say the pioneers in counseling and counseling psychology were people who had credit ratings in both psychology and education. Then, in the late 1950s, I saw this splitting off between APGA [now AACD] and APA. It was aided and abetted by psychology and by the counselor educators. Initially, the counselor educators didn't give a damn, because at the time the National Defense Education Act provided a lot of money for people who were going to become school counselors—as a matter of fact, who were supposed to be entering into a contract where they agreed not to go on [for doctoral study], though of course many of them did. But the times have changed. In the early 1970s, I remember visiting a counselor educator in another state (a fellow of the Division of Counseling Psychology) and hearing his students talk about therapy much more than our students did. What he told me was, "Well, they can't get jobs in elementary and secondary schools now, so they want to become eligible to take jobs as psychologists."

C.C.: *What do you think of the professional psychology programs, as opposed to the traditional training programs?*

H.P.: Well, it's ironic that clinical psychologists who've been strong promoters of the schools of professional psychology have, at the same time, disavowed what they call the medical model. Yet those schools are organized very much on the medical model—all for third-party payments. I see a lot of sanctimoniousness in all of this.

C.C.: *How should we be training our students, given their wanting to become practitioners?*

H.P.: I appreciate fully that counselors should have a crafting, a discipline of sorts. But I hope more and more that these people will be able to be adaptive to kinds of demands that don't even exist at the time they're in training. You know, Professor [Donald] Paterson said many years ago—and it's largely gone unheeded in the thrust for the development of professional psychology—there's an awful lot people can learn on the job. I want to be a voice to remind people that there are pitfalls in this lock-step training and technology. For one thing, that technology is very soon going to be out of date. For another, the training is going to be very dehumanizing. And for yet another, it's going to cause a lot of hostility and lose us a lot of clients in the long run.

C.C.: *Aren't you saying that if in addition to teaching our students skills, we also teach them to think about what they do—to think scientifically—that they would carry with them that built-in flexibility?*

". . . in teaching people how to think, we may put them at a disadvantage in terms of other kinds of challenges and marketability."

H.P.: I don't know. Can you teach people to think? A lot of my energy has gone into that in the latter days of my teaching, and I figure if one or two people get really excited about it, well, that's a bonus. But that's a big order. And again, in teaching people how to think, we may put them at a disadvantage in terms of other kinds of challenges and marketability.

C.C.: *But shouldn't we do it anyway?*

H.P.: I'd like to think that. But you see, if we have to keep playing the number of publications game in order to exist as training programs. . . .

REFLECTIONS

C.C.: *Then what should we be doing?*

H.P.: I have the naive feeling that if people like you and me can contribute to awareness about these things [issues of science and practice], it becomes a little more difficult for people just to short circuit and go blindly about doing what they're doing.

C.C.: *Is that a role you've seen yourself play in counseling psychology?*

H.P.: [laughing] I don't know!

C.C.: *In your "Research Notes" column in the Journal of Counseling Psychology, I saw you in the role of a commentator—sometimes a critic, sometimes a promoter—of others' research and activities.*

"I would like to make it possible, in training programs, for students to turn their everyday worlds upside down and see things afresh, things they've never seen before."

H.P.: Once, when a colleague was really angry with me, he said, "You're nothing but a gadfly." Well, maybe that's my role. Maybe I'm a gadfly because I don't know any better. Maybe I'm a gadfly because I can't take these things for granted. Maybe I'm a gadfly because I want so much to share my awareness that things aren't what they seem to be. . . . That's why the work of Alfred Schutz, the social philosopher, has become very important to me. For instance, he wrote an article on multiple realities, the assumption that we don't all know *a* reality, but that there are multiple realities. Even for individuals, there can be multiple realities. I would like to make it possible, in training programs, for students to turn their everyday worlds upside down and see things afresh, things they've never seen before. My own status as a member of a minority group has made me very sympathetic to Blacks, Hispanics, women, people whose realities are different from mine. As I've realized from my excursions into cross-cultural kinds of activities [in Germany, Norway, and Mexico], there's a lot of potential for culture shock or for cultural insensitivity right in our own backyard.

C.C.: *One thing you've done in your 1954 book (Pepinsky & Pepinsky) and other writings, it seems, is introduce counseling psychologists to large bodies of literature that they may not be aware of—like learning and social psychology—and show how it's relevant to their work.*

H.P.: Yes, but that has led to misunderstanding. Polly and I included in our book a behavioral approach to anxiety-reduction, which some people, like Cecil Patterson, took as our theory. But it was never a theory for us; it was simply a "for instance."

C.C.: *You were functioning as a metatheorist.*

H.P.: I think that was our idea. Yeah, you're right.

C.C.: *Because you were teaching people how to build and use theory, regardless of what that theory is.*

H.P.: Yes. Today, though, I'd like people to be inductive synthesizers. The whole idea of inductive synthesis is to attend to events in everyday life and put them together in ways that make sense.

C.C.: *Could you say something about your work with language?*

H.P.: I wasn't consciously aware, when I got into the language business, of how my whole career had been a concern with language—whether it was diagnostic categories, the criterion in counseling and productive behavior, or convergence. I am among those who've chosen to say, "Look, let's start with the language that people put out there as behavior; let's start there and draw our inferences about people from them."

C.C.: *That's what you mean by the "informative display" that you, Mike Patton, and Naomi Meara have written about.* [H.P. nods] *My problem's always been, what do you look at? I mean language in itself conveys multiple levels of messages.*

H.P.: Well, it was my brother, a physicist, who said to me, when we were talking about information processing, that in the behavioral sciences we were hampered because our phenomena were not accounted for in terms of their structural properties, but rather identified in terms of their trivial names. We didn't have adequate ways of describing the phenomena we were working with. I didn't know what he was talking about, and yet I had an intuitive sense of it and it nagged me. Then he said to me, if you want to get information about something, limit your domain to start with, try to circumscribe the area you're working in. And the third thing he said was, get your hands dirty with data, at that point be solely concerned with gathering information, and save the evaluation for later. This made such good sense to me, but still it was a number of years before a linguist working with our research group, right when we were looking for a unit of analysis, said, "Of course, the clause is the unit of informative display—it has one and only one verb." And that impelled an information scientist to point to things like nouns and verbs as names and relations. That's what made sense to me as "structure." So that's where Naomi, Mike, and I could begin in our analysis of transcripts of what people said to each other—interactive discourse. That way, we could deal with behavior without attributing something to it that was based in our own preconceived ideas.

C.C.: *So it was how not to impose categories, but let them emerge.*

H.P.: Yes.

C.C.: *Pep, can you think of anything, at the end here, that I haven't asked or we haven't dealt with?*

H.P.: Well, we haven't dealt with my beloved colleagues at Ohio State, nor with Polly, who's the light of my life. She's an attractive, highly intelligent, and just wonderful person to be associated with—an enormously stimulating and challenging person through all these years. And while it hasn't always been easy, I think we've arrived at a marvelous kind of relationship of mutual understanding. It was hard to write the book together. Part of it was that I discovered that she was a hell of a lot smarter than I was, and that hurt. But then there's the business of not just having one kind of relationship. We did research together for a number of years, and that wasn't easy, but we did it. And then, in a way, we've gone our separate routes. But I would say I've been very blessed.

C.C.: *Yes. And the rest of your family? I know you have a son.*

H.P.: Our son, Harold Eugene Pepinsky, just turned 40. He is a professor in the Department of Criminal Justice Studies and East Asian Languages and Culture at Indiana University. Our daughter-in-law, Jill (nee Jolanta Maria Bystydjienski), is an assistant professor of sociology at Franklin College and is also active in the Women's Studies Program there. She was born in Poland but has spent most of her life in the U.S. and Canada. She is currently a Canadian citizen. Kathryn Pauline Pepinsky, our ebulliently attractive granddaughter, will be 8 years old in May. We see each other three or four times a year, visits we all look forward to with pleasure.

C.C.: *What do you do when you're not working?*

H.P.: In Columbus, Polly and I lead an active intellectual and social life. Partially by design, our circles of friends are limited neither to the university community nor to any one age group. Their active lives also center on pursuits that are socially useful.

C.C.: *What do you see your impact as having been? What will history say about you?*

H.P.: I don't know. That's not as much of moment to me as it once might have been. On a small scale or a large one, I hope I've helped people have more understanding of and more leniency toward each other.

I have two mottoes—one French, one Latin—but I'll give them to you in English. The French one is, "It isn't necessary to hope in order to undertake, to succeed in order to persevere." In a lot of what we do, obviously we'd like to have some hope, but for me it's not the expectation, the anticipation that things will be a certain way; it's just working because it's worth working for. The other one is what Dido, Queen of the Carthaginians, said to Aeneas when he arrived on the shores of her country: "I who have known misfortune have learned how to comfort the distressed." Maybe that's a nice one for counselors—whether it's an antidote to burnout, I don't know. I think doing some of those things because you're impelled to is nice. And then some pats on the head along the way, I think we all need them.

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Editors' Note. This interview is based on edited transcripts of audiotapes that are housed in the AACD Library.

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Leo Goldman: Serendipitous Maverick

WAYNE ANDERSON

Leo Goldman presently lives in midtown Manhattan, not far from his two married daughters. I have known him since the late 1960s, when we served together on the APGA Board of Directors. Later, I wrote a chapter for his book, *Research Methods for Counselors* (1978a). We arranged for our interview to take place at his apartment, with the noises of New York very apparent in the background. In spite of the fact that he was recovering from routine surgery, Leo seemed very fit. There clearly seemed to be no loss of energy or of his maverick impulses.

The 4½-hour interview roamed over many aspects of his personal and professional life. The son of Jewish immigrants, living in a tenement in Brooklyn, he originally had no expectations of moving out of the working class. His own hard work and creative thinking, which he tends to downplay, and fortuitous events, which he stresses, combined to give him a professional life and an influence on others that are a source of amazement to him. His being in the right place at the right time is a theme that appears throughout the interview. The reader will note, however, that when the opportunities arose, Leo Goldman had prepared himself to take advantage of them.

Leo's early experience as a psychometrist, counselor, and professor led him to write *Using Tests in Counseling* (1961), a book that became a standard in its field and that is still in print after 23 years. Later, as editor of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, his strong feelings about the need for the journal to serve practitioners rather than researchers caused him to markedly change its nature. Some academicians and researchers were disturbed by his movement away from research to more applied articles. The responses varied. One professor said, "I was so angry at what he was doing to the journal that I dropped out of APGA." On the other hand, a fellow editor reacted with, "I really appreciated the way in which he found and published articles that translated abstractions into ideas that the practitioner could use."

More recently, he has been highly critical of certain aspects of the field of counseling. Through talks and papers, he has launched attacks on the prevailing status of test use in counseling (1969, 1972a, 1972c, 1973b), on confidentiality (1972b, 1978b), and on research methods (1976, 1977, 1978a, 1979, 1982). He has met with some strong reactions to his stands in these areas. One editor responded, "It is wrong to base practice on literature that is not research based. New ideas must be checked out through research or we are flying blind." But more writers are beginning to share Leo's view that we are using the wrong model of research and that research as presently conducted has little to tell the practitioner. Hill underscores his position when she says, "A relatively small, insular group of researchers, predominantly based in academic settings, produce and consume most of the research without it filtering down to the practitioner" (1982, p. 10).

OVERVIEW

W.A.: *Leo, what do you feel has been your major role in counseling?*

L.G.: At times I have been very critical of counseling as a field, and I think my role became that of intermediary between the practitioner on the one hand and the researcher/theorist on the other. In truth, I have never fully identified with either, but became something of a bridge between them and also a needler of both. I have tried to bring what I believe to be pertinent research and theory to the practitioners and have pressed them to do the best that we know how to do, maybe better than I could have done, which is an advantage of not identifying fully with the practitioner.

Similarly, my not identifying fully with researchers in a way freed me to pick at them, to play the maverick role, to get enough distance to say, "Look, the emperor has no clothes!" This didn't happen until I had been in the field for many years and was expressed most strongly in my reevaluation of the counselor's use of standardized tests in the early 1970s and in my critical look at research methods in the middle and late 1970s.

The intermediary position came into play in my role as editor of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. I sought out the best that writers could offer and always asked the question: "Is this likely to be helpful in some way to our readers, who are mostly practitioners?"

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

W.A.: *Let's talk about how you got to be the needler, the maverick. You are willing to look at aspects of the field and say, "This isn't working." You have been a bit of an outsider and seem to have a different perspective on what we are doing in counseling than most people do. What accounts for a person who has different ideas?*

L.G.: Well, it's hard to be certain about cause and effect. The mysterious part of why one person becomes successful and another doesn't I don't know about. In my case I feel pretty sure that my parents are a key factor.

W.A.: *They were from an Eastern European, Jewish background; I think that has some implications.*

L.G.: Yes, they were very special in some ways. They grew up in orthodox Jewish families. They also grew up in undemocratic countries, where everybody was lacking in civil liberties, particularly Jews. They came to this country separately at about the same time. They both soon became free thinkers: They abandoned religion and they became socialists, but in a nonviolent way. They were idealists; they believed in a better world. I grew up with very little dogma, so I did not have any to unlearn. I would think that my personality and certain characteristics we talked about, such as independence of thinking and the questioning of accepted belief systems, comes from my parents.

My parents also placed a great value on learning. When I graduated from high school at the age of 16 in the depths of the depression, I was prepared to go to work. But my mother insisted that I go to college. I commuted on the subway to City College for 4 years. My parents had very little comprehension of what went on in a college. All they knew was that it was learning and education, and that was "good"—that was what you must have.

W.A.: *Now if I understand your background correctly, there would also have been some pressure on you, subtle though it might have been, to produce and achieve.*

L.G.: Well, I can say this much—I was never happy in school. I think it had to do with the fact that I got very little praise; it was expected that I would do very well. If I came home with five As and a B, the question was, "What happened with the B?" Even though I now recognize I have achieved some things in life, there is still down deep in me a basic sense of somehow it is not good enough. I mean, for example, look at how many more books others have written. Whenever honors came to me, I was really sort of amazed.

W.A.: *Let's go back to your earlier years. You learned a life style then that was very different from the one you later had to adopt.*

L.G.: Right, right. I have to remind myself every once in a while that one should expect to feel some stress at having moved so many notches in the world from where I started out. I was just rethinking some of this the last few days. I had to learn how to speak, how to dress, how to eat, how to order in a restaurant, how to handle myself on an airplane, even a train. I had to learn the social graces. I had to learn to own a house. We lived in an apartment, a very small apartment. When I moved to Buffalo, it took me 2 years to work up the courage to buy a little house. I got used to it and learned how to grow vegetables. Those were all things that were thoroughly foreign to me. My kind of background, Jewish, New York, is atypical in the counseling field. I've always felt my minority status in the field. I think I still feel an outsider to some extent. There is a kind of stress that does not seem to exist when people are born in educated families. I guess it is a familiar American story. So different from the tradition that our parents knew in Europe, where you lived your life the way your parents did.

W.A.: *I get the feeling that a lot of what happened to you was not preplanned.*

L.G.: Oh, at 16 I thought I was going to work for my father, who was a carpenter. He had a little shop he had opened during the depression years when he had lost his job. I used to help him after school and summers. When I went to college, my father thought I ought to be an architect. So I took the entrance test at Cooper Union for architecture. I did miserably because most of it had to do with artistic talent, of which I had none. The next closest thing was civil engineering. It only took me a very few months to realize that that was a terrible mistake. Finally, I just looked through the catalog, and the courses that caught my eye were in sociology. I really enjoyed that. I think my early exposure to sociology research techniques is also partly responsible for my dissatisfaction with the present state of psychological research.

One thing I want to mention is in regard to my having always been fascinated by words. I love to play with words. When I was 12 years old, I got an old typewriter and banged out carbon copies of a little scandal sheet for the kids in my neighborhood. In college I was editor of a magazine that the sociology students put out. I like the sound of good language. One of the things I took pleasure from on the *P&G Journal* was setting higher standards for people in quality and clarity of writing. I still care about the sound of words; it is something I value very highly.

PROFESSIONAL BEGINNINGS

W.A.: *Let's talk about your earlier years as a counselor.*

L.G.: I started with a brand new master's degree working with veterans in 1947. Veterans would come in a bunch in the morning, and those who could not see a counselor right away would come to the testing room, and we would give them all a Kuder. If at the end of the Kuder a counselor was still not available, I would look it over and guess what tests the counselor would want. The second year was an extremely rich experience because I worked as a psychometrist with severely disabled veterans. I would spend a half-day to a day testing with each one. Well, it was only years later that that experience became an important factor in my writing a textbook (*Using Tests in Counseling*, 1961). Then I got bored; I didn't know what I wanted. I was the first person in my family to go to college. I had expected only the master's, but I couldn't see myself as doing either the testing or the counseling for the rest of my life. So I resigned and went back to graduate school at Columbia Teachers College.

W.A.: *So while you were moving on vocationally, your goals were not clear?*

L.G.: Yes, I am never thinking more than one step at a time, but because of a feeling of boredom or some kind of happenstance, I would find myself moving along. Toward the end of my PhD program, Don Super referred me to a job in Cleveland at an agency run by Olive Bannister. We had a very satisfactory visit, at the end of which she sat me down and said, "We'd really be happy to have you here, but you'd never stay. You will be a professor." That was the first time anybody ever suggested that to me.

W.A.: *That was a whole new idea to you?*

L.G.: It was a whole way of life I never dreamt of for myself. It just seemed way beyond me. And I went back to Super, and he referred me to a teaching job at the University of Buffalo. It has turned out to be the most satisfying career I can dream of. Buffalo is the place where I learned to be a professor. I've just been plain lucky: Good things came along, many of them without my seeking them. Now, it's true some of them I thought of, like writing a book. Usually I wrote a book or wrote an article when I got angry about something.

"I never dreamed of being a professor."

W.A.: *Part of that seems to go back to your early training. You could be critical, but at the same time you could have pictures of what things could be like.*

L.G.: Somehow everything can be improved, and, if I can find a way to improve it, I'm going to do that. After I had been at the University of Buffalo a year, the director of the counseling center received a Fulbright Award, and I became acting director. For the next 7 years I carried about a half-time load there. That is where I got most of the case material I used in the book on testing (1961).

W.A.: *What kind of orientation did you have as a counselor in those days?*

L.G.: You know, I think I had two separate ones. I had a trait-and-factor orientation that I obtained mostly from Don Super. The other orientation was client-centered. I guess I was trying to pull those two together. Some of my writing reflects the effort to use tests and yet use them in a client-centered way (1961, 1964a, 1964b). I think that early on I disliked telling people what to do. This brings back some memories of another counselor in one of the centers where I worked, who came dashing into my office one day with a battery of test results asking me in great desperation, "What do I tell him?" I was startled by the question. It seemed obvious to me that, "You go over the test results and you interpret them. Then you get him involved in discussion of the implications."

W.A.: *At some point you felt the need to take the things you were learning about how to use tests and present them to a wider audience.*

L.G.: Well, I can tell you what happened very concretely. I had been at Buffalo for 7 years. I had been teaching a testing course, Advanced Measurement, and I did not have a textbook to use. Over a period of a few years I had built up very extensive notes, from the literature, from research, plus my own cases. I became eligible for a sabbatical, but I didn't want it. A colleague said, "You're crazy. You're eligible for a sabbatical. Take it; you never know what will happen." So I thought there must be other professors who did not have a good measurement text, and here I had already done a lot of the work in laying out the contents of the book. As it happened, it turned out to be my last semester at Buffalo, so it's lucky that this colleague talked me into getting a sabbatical.

During that semester, I got a letter from Brooklyn College asking me if I was interested in a job there. Frankly, I had never expected to return to New York. I had grown up in tenements in New York, and it didn't appeal to me as a place to live. I was very happy in Buffalo. But the job at CUNY (City University of New York) was very appealing. I took the next summer off and finished the text (*Using Tests in Counseling*, 1961). It just flowed. It was not anything I had planned in advance. I enjoyed the experience of doing it, and I figured it would probably sell four or five thousand copies. I was shocked beyond belief when the first royalty statement came in and here were 3,000 copies a year. It went on that way year after year, until it went beyond 50,000. I was absolutely astonished. The truth is, it's like most other things I have done in my career: I really did not plan it. I had not planned to get a PhD. I never dreamed of being a professor.

P&G EDITOR

W.A.: *At certain points in your life there have been people who provided direction for you, as Olive Bannister did.*

L.G.: Yes, yes. This happened with the editorship of the *P&G Journal*. I remember meeting on a committee with Gail Farwell, who was then president of APGA. We had lunch and he said, "Leo, your name has come up several times as a candidate for the editorship." And I said, "Well, I'd be very interested." So there was a combination—I didn't go out and reach for it, but I was at the right place at the right time.

W.A.: *Leo, in 1969 when you took over the* Personnel and Guidance Journal, *it had a heavy research emphasis. When you left the journal in 1975, it had become distinctly oriented toward practice. Would you discuss your editorship of the* P&G Journal? *It seemed to be a critical point in terms of your rethinking the value of research.*

> *". . . I was catching hell from people like John Holland and Roger Myers for not publishing research in the journal."*

L.G.: That was really critical, because I was catching hell from people like John Holland and Roger Myers for not publishing research in the journal. I was feeling a little defensive about it, you know—"research is good." But I could not find research manuscripts that were appropriate to publish, except a very few. I would ask basic questions: "What does this have to say to a practitioner?" "Is it going to broaden a person's vision in some basic way?" "Is it going to contribute to our understanding of human behavior?" "Is it going to guide a counselor in functioning as a counselor?" I would look at the studies and see a 50% response rate to a questionnaire. How can you conclude anything about that? Here is something that is based on responses to a paper-and-pencil questionnaire as well as on averages of a group. What did that have to say to a counselor about anything?

I must say I did turn around the *P&G Journal*. I feel very good about what I did, and I think it was well-received by the applied people in the field. I realized only in retrospect that one of the reasons that I could get away with what I got away with was that I had held office in APGA and was known to the people in leadership. I had their personal regard and could do things that somebody else without that background would catch hell for. The editorship, by the way, was the one thing I have done where I had the clearest sense of mission and goals. Anita DeVivo, who was the managing editor at that time, and I redesigned and reconceptualized the journal. It was one of the great times of my life.

MAVERICK THOUGHTS

W.A.: *Besides changing the* P&G Journal, *you were changing your own attitudes toward a number of issues. In the late 1960s, you were becoming a maverick and needler. Your first target was tests.*

L.G.: Yes, you want to hear the story? Well, it was another one of those accidents. I was invited to make a presentation in Minnesota. I asked for a list of the other speakers and their topics so that I might work around that in some way. The speakers were test authors and publishers, and most of them were telling about their tests and what was good about them. So I said, "Someone ought to take the other side. Someone ought to at least take a somewhat skeptical look and ask the question, how good are tests?" I ended up giving a talk that raised some real questions about how useful tests were for counseling purposes, making the point that they really had been developed originally for selection. For that, they worked pretty well, but not for individual prediction. Well, that would have just sat there except that a few months later I had a call from the president of the Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance (AMEG) asking if I would fill in on short notice for their luncheon address (1970 APGA convention).

W.A.: *So another accident?*

L.G.: Another accident. I polished up my talk on how good are tests, and it was very well-received. It was published as "Tests and Counseling: The Marriage that Failed" (1972a). The article set off a small ground swell. The publishers were up in arms, and the next year there was a symposium on the article at the APGA convention where many people (e.g., Kenneth Clark, Wilbur Layton, Alexander Wesman) for whom I had a high regard spoke, and I finished up as a discussant (1972c).

W.A.: *You said that not only has the marriage between tests and counseling failed, but that it was never consummated. When you closed, you said you questioned whether counselors ever would be able to gain the level of expertise to make their use of tests worthwhile.*

L.G.: That's right. By the early 1970s I had been teaching counselors for more than 20 years. Besides my experience at various schools, the book had gotten me speaking engagements around the country. It seemed pretty clear to me that the average master's program was not enough to prepare counselors to use tests well.

The same sort of thing happened on the topic of privacy and confidentiality. I know when that changed—when my own children went to school. All of a sudden I looked at the school counselor from the point of view of the parent. I heard that my children's counselor was running groups, and that the children were being encouraged to talk about their families. I began to think, "Now wait a minute. Confidentiality, what does it mean? Does it mean that the counselor decides what he's going to do in his work and he's doing it with these kids who are not old enough to have judgment as to what they should or should not talk about?"

I then got invited to be on a symposium at APA on the subject of confidentiality and the sharing of professional information. That led to a chapter on school records and who had a right to them in a book, *Prometheus Principle* (1978b). Again, I was lambasting the profession. I had some violent arguments with my students, who were working counselors in schools. They were taking the position that they had the right to offer a child a confidential counseling relationship without parental permission. I was livid because now I was looking at it from a parent's point of view, and saw that counselors might intrude on my family's privacy.

W.A.: *You had some questions about research when you were editor, but it was some years later before you went public with your feelings.*

L.G.: That was the result of another piece of serendipity. At the 1975 APGA convention there was a major session presentation on what the counseling field was doing for special groups. My assignment was to raise the question of what research had done to help meet the needs of these various groups. I went through years of the journals. I began to look at the kinds of research that were being done. Researchers were looking at small questions through a microscope, and what they were finding had little to do with being a good counselor. They were obsessed with statistics. I became really excited about this thing. There was a message that I wanted to get across, because it was not reflected in the literature. So I wrote the article, "Revolution in Counseling Research" (1976). I was frankly surprised that the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* published it, because nothing resembling it had ever appeared in that journal.

W.A.: *It seemed that you were making a different assumption than the editors of research journals were making: "Material in certain journals should be directly useful for practitioners."*

L.G.: Well, that's part of it, Wayne. In a practitioner journal I would set up that criterion, but not necessarily for a research journal. For a research journal I would challenge the assumption that there is an accretion of little pieces over the years. Eventually we've got to show that the accretion has led to some useful conclusions, whether in theory or in practice. I do not see that. The acid test is in research review articles. Almost none of them have anything to say based on research that is in any way definitive, conclusive, or illuminating. And this is after 50 years of research. I feel it's not working, and something different ought to be done. By the very nature of the methods that were taken from the physical sciences, they simply do not work for the study of human beings.

W.A.: *Would you agree that we train better counselors today than we trained 30 years ago?*

L.G.: No doubt about it.

W.A.: *Given that, where do we get the advances that have led us to be able to train better counselors, if not through some of the research findings?*

L.G.: The advances have not come from research findings. I think that we have learned from theorists, people who have made original contributions over the years—certainly therapy theorists from Rogers to Ellis whose contributions came out of their heads based on their experience. Rogers did a lot of research, but his ideas as to how to do counseling and therapy came out of his head. They did not come out of numbers. This was also true with people like Super and Hoppock. These are people whose ideas and contributions did not come from the kind of research that floods our journals. The major contributions came from people doing counseling and observing others doing counseling, and then having insights. My impression is that there is very little by way of traditional empirical data research that helps one to know how to counsel.

W.A.: *Let me summarize that; it seems like a key idea. Much of the traditional research has not told much about how to work better with clients or how to train people to work better with clients. Intelligent people with good insights are able to see clients or observe others working with clients, and there seems to be some kind of research process going on in their minds that is more valuable than we get from using a statistical format.*

L.G.: That encapsulates one of my assumptions. I would give as an example Piaget's work as the kind of research that didn't get published in this country for many years. I think Freud and Rogers did the same thing. I think that is where the best knowledge we have has come from. I have reached the conclusion that research into new ideas is more of a killer than anything else. It tends to question and criticize and point up the shortcomings of an approach, rarely showing its merits.

W.A.: *I get the feeling that there are people you recognize as being like prospectors who find where the rich lodes are. Then there seem to be people who follow-up and dig out the small pieces.*

L.G.: Yes. The first group are people who let their imagination go. The second group I am inclined to call grubbers. They have convinced themselves that this is a worthwhile activity, and journal editors confirm that. Here is where I really distance myself. My publications did help me get promoted and tenured. They did make me visible, so I am grateful to the people who published my articles and books. But we are in a system where everyone who wants to be promoted and tenured must have a publication record. And it has to be something that the existing journals will publish. Many editors of research journals see their main obligation as being to authors rather than to readers. They feel that one of their jobs is to help people get promoted and tenured, and they do it by publishing safe articles. It's a rare editor who will take a chance on a totally new idea.

W.A.: *You made a valiant attempt with your 1978 book,* Research Methods for Counselors, *to show counselors how to do applied research that seeks to answer practical questions. Unfortunately, the book did not sell well.*

L.G.: It did not do very well at all. This is one of my great disappointments. I did it as a labor of love. I have to be honest; it is not a sufficient book to cover a whole introductory course in research because it does not cover the traditional methods. Maybe half the book should have been on traditional research methods; maybe that would have made it more acceptable. I will say that there has been a beginning of some response. Some of the younger people are beginning to go off in new directions. Unfortunately, there are those who claim they are off in new directions and really are not—they are doing the same old thing. At this point, I don't hold any hope for any of the research journals. They are not likely to select as editor anybody who has maverick ideas.

TRAINING COUNSELORS

W.A.: *Let's talk about your ideas on counselor training.*

L.G.: I long ago reached the conclusion that ordinary didactic courses have very little to contribute to any positive changes in counselors in training. I dislike to teach any course that does not have an experiential component. I feel that from the very first session students should be engaged in doing something. In my techniques in counseling courses, I ask the students not to read the book until I tell them to. First, get experience, record an interview, do what you think is the best way to conduct this interview. When they have gotten out of their system what their impulses tell them to do, only then can we look at that and show a model of other things and tell them why our model is better. Then we start introducing change.

I learned a lot about training from Randy Tarrier, a colleague at CUNY who died very young. I got a basket full of training techniques from him. He really sold me on structured groups. He was extremely skillful in using values and goal exploration exercises and in using games for learning. He always started with those, did a debriefing, and only then would give a theoretical lecture. Now every one of my classes is in effect like a workshop. As I walk down the hall in almost any university, I go past open door after open door and hear one voice in each room. Most professors seem to believe that their job is to prepare a lecture and deliver it. They do not see their teaching as a kind of a planned package with a number of steps. Students sit around passive. I expect everybody to be actively involved. Everybody gets heard from.

PRESENT AND FUTURE

W.A.: As we talk, I don't hear many complaints about the way your life has gone. Are there no regrets?

L.G.: Well, not entirely by any means. I had my chance and I did what I could. I feel good about some things, and I regret others. I look back on my professional life with almost amazement for the opportunities I have had, as compared to how I started in life and what my expectations were. I could not have asked for better opportunities to develop whatever abilities I had. As a professor at a good university, I had incredible freedom. My professional life has been terrific. I regret that my personal life was not richer. I really had a very solitary childhood. It was the result of a lot of factors, partly of my own choosing; so I was a bookworm, a scholar. I missed out on a lot. I deeply regret that I had a marriage that could not continue. These are the years that I could really enjoy, free from financial stress, from career stress, child rearing stress, and all the rest. I'm in the process in my personal life of trying to decide how I'm going to spend the rest of my life, whether alone or once again sharing it.

"As a professor at a good university, I had incredible freedom."

W.A.: *Your divorce created a crisis in your life. You went into therapy, and that created some changes in you. How are you different now than you were in the past?*

L.G.: I think that I have reduced the emotional distance between me and people. I think I was playing somebody else. I do not know when the change started. It was a gradual change; it was a process that led me to let down my guard, to welcome talking with a person and learning about that person. Professionally, I am much more sympathetic to the emphasis in counseling that insists that something must happen, that there must be more than talk. I believe that much of the talk that goes on is not very helpful, that counselors need to be accountable in terms of real changes in client behavior.

W.A.: What kind of plans do you have for your future?

L.G.: Well, I do not have any plans beyond the 3 years remaining of my 5-year appointment as a professor at Fordham. I welcomed that appointment because it let me get back in the classroom and regular graduate teaching. I feel that I do not want to stop now. I will be interested in continuing to work, at least on a part-time basis, teaching, consulting. I have developed some increasing musical interests. I started to take classical guitar lessons 2 years ago. Just this fall I joined a choral group. I love the singing; I love classical music. I'm more athletic than I was as a child and as a young man. About 15 years ago I started swimming, and I've been swimming regularly.

W.A.: You have had good luck with fortuitous events happening when you were ready to take advantage of them. Are you still waiting for the serendipitous occurrence?

L.G.: I suppose; I suppose. The guitar, choral singing, they were not serendipity. I reached out for them. But Fordham came along when I was ready to retire at CUNY. And so serendipity has been good to me. [laughs] I'll have to write a piece of music to go with that. I say, well, if I live as long as my parents did, I've got 20 more years. Twenty years is a lot of time. On the other hand, I think of eternity, and I think why make a fuss about these 20 little years. They're nothing; they will be gone so fast, why fuss?

W.A.: Because they are your 20 years.

L.G.: That's true. And the only ones I can expect to have.

W.A.: Where do you see the profession going?

"AACD represents a flexible adaptation to changing times."

L.G.: [long pause] You know, I'm torn, on the one hand, with what AACD represents and, on the other, with what APA represents. I've always had one foot in each camp. At times it has been hard to keep a balance. But together they have given me a fuller sense of what my beliefs and commitments are. Maybe we are lucky to have the two. AACD represents a flexible adaptation to changing times. We move quickly. Jobs for counselors in mental health, a whole new mental health division opens, a whole new specialty overnight. APA represents more solidity, long-term standards, and I value both. And I'm critical of the inadequacies of both. I think the thing we have to watch for, APA particularly, is that counselors do not become too deeply entrenched as a guild and become fat cats who hold on to what we have and resist any changes. We need to have our eyes and ears open constantly looking for new ideas and welcoming somebody with nutty ideas. It does not mean you jump on the bandwagon, but it means if it is nutty enough maybe it is worth paying attention to.

W.A.: [laughs] *I think there are some limits on that. How about primal scream therapy?*

L.G.: Let me tell you, Wayne, a couple of months ago I went to not a primal, but a scream thing, called the AREBA Institute. I found it very supportive. We were given the message that it's all right to be angry, to express your anger, your fear, your needs, very directly. "Scream them out." You can come once; you can come once a week; you can come again in 3 weeks; use it as you wish. The client has to be a satisfied consumer, or he's not going to come back.

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Editor's note. This interview is based on edited transcripts of audiotapes that are housed in the AACD Library.

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Frank M. Fletcher: A Curious Career

NAOMI M. MEARA

Frank Fletcher is curious about most things and delights in new activities and projects. He works for the best interests of the individuals and organizations he serves, and he cares deeply about students. No one is more pleased or claims less credit for success than he.

He says that much of his own success was "just plain luck." Actually, it is the counseling profession that was just plain lucky to have this man participate in its early development.

Fletcher helped organize the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA) (now the American Association for Counseling and Development [AACD]). He served as the association's first treasurer and as an early president. His work was instrumental in the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which provided support for the training of high school guidance counselors.

He developed procedures for and presided over the counseling of thousands of veterans returning from World War II. Francis P. Robinson and Frank Fletcher were the first to secure Veterans Administration (VA) training positions for graduate students in counseling psychology. Fletcher was a consultant to the Ministry of Education, the Government of India in New Delhi, the U.S. Department of Labor, and the Veterans Administration. For many years, he was a field selection officer for the Peace Corps. He was a major figure in the growth of Ohio State University's (OSU) highly regarded counseling psychology program.

Although his career was illustrious and important, it included disappointments. He left the OSU Counseling Center in the early 1960s because of administrative conflicts. Earlier, he had not received an appointment to the position of vice president for student affairs at Ohio State. Some believed that his liberal personnel philosophy cost him the position. Throughout the subsequent hard times at the counseling center, he was optimistic and faithfully performed his responsibilities to Ohio State and its students.

Fletcher hired Roger A. Myers to work in the OSU Counseling Center when Myers was a graduate student. Myers made the following comments regarding Fletcher:

> Being called a pioneer of professional psychology would embarrass Frank Fletcher and evoke from him a tolerant, self-effacing smile and a gentle denial that he was any such thing. Nevertheless, he was a pioneer and an influential member of the architectural team that sketched the professional specialties in psychology as we know them today. A lucky few of us who studied under and worked alongside him got to watch and listen, impressed with his mastery but largely unaware of the import of what he was up to.
>
> Like most of the professional psychologists in his cohort, Frank's education was far from what we now consider to be the ideal preparation for a professional specialty. With his doctorate from Yale under Robert M. Yerkes in the Primate Lab, Frank would—thrust upon the contemporary scene—struggle to get licensed anywhere, be denied the chance to earn an American Board of Professional Psychology diploma, and be barred forever from the National Register of Health Service Providers in Psychology.
>
> Frank's career was deeply etched by his service in World War II, when, due in no small measure to Yerkes's leadership, applied psychology came of age.
>
> When I first met him in 1954, the field of counseling had scarcely reached its toddler stage; it was searching for confidence in the use of its legs and seeking clarity for its ego boundaries. Despite the potential for professional angst, Frank was calm, confident, and marvelously cheerful about the challenges connected to helping this child grow and understand itself.
>
> With his colleagues, Harold B. Pepinsky and Francis P. Robinson, he was vigorously pursuing the difficult tasks of convincing the world of psychology and consumers of psychological services that counseling psychology did exist and that, if it didn't, someone would have to invent it. No one ever asked Frank Fletcher the question, "Just what is the difference between counseling and clinical psychology, anyway?" and walked away without a comprehensive and convincing answer.
>
> What strikes me as remarkable about that period was Frank's skill at involving his students and junior colleagues in the exciting enterprises in which he was engaged. His professional leadership in every counseling arena was approached with such zest and communicated with such enthusiasm that we were all certain that we were in on it, consultants to it, and immediate beneficiaries of it.
>
> I remember vividly the preparation for the passage of the National Defense Education Act. Consultations with President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, and various congressional leaders were as real to me and to my fellow students as if we had been there. I now realize that all those vicarious experiences were distorted by virtue of having been filtered through Frank's optimism, his irrepressible tendency to catch the humor in the most serious of events, and his infuriating tolerance for human frailty—his own as well as others.
>
> I have learned a great deal from Frank Fletcher about psychology, about being a psychologist, and about being intentionally helpful. Oddly enough, most of it was learned without a conscious awareness that learning was taking place. Frank approaches the sharing of what he knows and what he believes with a kind of moral compulsion that suggests that knowledge and wisdom must be shared in order to exist. And the sharing is always accompanied by the twinkle and the bemused state of understanding—and enjoying—the silliness that creeps in when serious people grapple with serious issues.
>
> Of such stuff are great professors made. (R. A. Myers, personal communication, April 24, 1985)

One of Fletcher's doctoral students, Alida Mixon Glen, discussed Fletcher's influence as a mentor. According to Glen:

> Dr. Fletcher was there to guide and encourage when needed. But he was also experienced at being there and observing unobtrusively, guarding for us our opportunities to think, to try out ideas, to mature. The diversity of his background showed his commitment to studying behavior and applying psychological principles wherever people are working and carrying on their lives. He was an outstanding member of a department that encouraged diversity in faculty and students, one where students were not shaped but were allowed to develop according to their own potential. He was a teacher who

> believed in us because of his knowledge and faith, his own capacity to love and to work. He had a permanent impact upon me of the kind that only a good teacher and a good human being can have. (A. M. Glen, personal communication, May 8, 1985)

Enthusiasm, curiosity, and appreciation of and gentleness toward others are the keys to understanding Fletcher. But his own words best express those attributes. He has enriched the counseling profession and the lives of those with whom he has worked. Listening to what he has to say may enable younger readers to become more thoughtful and enthusiastic about their own careers. Nothing would please him more.

EARLY CAREER DEVELOPMENT

N.M.: *You are a Colorado person?*

F.F.: I was born in Colorado Springs when that was just a little town, relatively speaking. We moved to Denver when I was about 10, and I got involved in all kinds of organizations. I was an Eagle Scout and worked in the Denver Scout Camp in the summers during high school. The scout camp was located high up in the Rockies in a remote section. I used to take kids out on hikes by myself many of the times. One trip, I remember, we took more than 50 scouts over the Continental Divide and into wild country; there were no trails. We were there for about 3 or 4 days. We were at least 25 miles from the nearest road. On a trip like that today, you would have to be accompanied by 10 parents and I don't know what all else.

N.M.: *How did you get interested in psychology?*

F.F.: During my senior year in high school, I took a course in psychology, which was almost unheard of in those days (1930–31). The teacher's only qualification was that he had served as a psychologist in World War I. He was in the section, headed by Robert M. Yerkes, that developed Army Alpha. He told us all about it. This is the only thing I remember about the course, but it had a real impact on me. I decided that I wanted to do some kind of personnel work.

N.M.: *Then what happened?*

F.F.: I found out that psychology would probably be the best thing to major in. I also found out that if you became a psychologist, you needed a PhD. Talk about cocky young people! Furthermore, I said what the heck, if I am going to take a PhD, I want a good place, so I will take a PhD at Yale or Harvard. That was wishful thinking, because I didn't know anything about graduate programs. I wanted to be a psychologist like Yerkes and the others in World War I.

N.M.: *Were you a psychology major in college?*

F.F.: In 1931, I went to the University of Colorado to major in psychology. The first course in psychology I took was the worst course I ever took in my life. But I had my goals set, so it didn't deter me. I got in psychology for the personnel perspective, but in those days there was only one kind of psychology—experimental. There was a professor named Karl Muenzinger. He was a wonderful person, and I became very close to him. We did a lot of work together. Later, the psychology building at the University of Colorado was named after him.

N.M.: *How did you get to Yale?*

F.F.: The chair of the psychology department at Colorado had taken a degree with Yerkes at Harvard. In the middle of my senior year, he called me to his office one day and said, "Would you be interested in going to Yale for graduate work?" I said, "I sure would." He had a letter from Yerkes at Yale: "He needs an assistant and I can recommend you if you want." I never applied or anything. I got a letter from Yerkes offering me the position. That type of thing doesn't happen these days. So I went to Yale. Fifty dollars a month doing research with chimpanzees. One of the chimps I worked with, named Alpha, was the first chimpanzee to be born in captivity.

"The first course in psychology I took was the worst course I ever took in my life."

N.M.: *What was Yerkes like?*

F.F.: Yerkes was a wonderful person to work with. He was very shy, but he had an interest in everything. He knew my interest in personnel work and was very supportive about it. I communicated with him numerous times for many years until he died. I sat down with him one time and he told me all about his World War I experiences.

N.M.: *Did that conversation get you more interested in personnel matters?*

F.F.: Well, no, I was already interested. I took my PhD in 1939. In 1940, an opportunity opened with the Occupational Analysis Section of the U.S. Employment Service. The service was developing many new approaches to understanding occupational information such as occupational families, or job families as we used to call them. That is where I first met Cal Shartle, one of the grandfathers of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles (DOT)* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965). The *DOT* and these other occupational aids were real pioneering activities at this time, so it was exciting.

N.M.: *How long did you have that job?*

F.F.: Just about a year and a half. I went with them in September 1940; I left in April 1942. Pearl Harbor came, and on the day of Pearl Harbor I said to myself: "Well, I guess it's time that I get commissioned as a psychologist." Four days after Pearl Harbor, I went down to Washington. In one day I was offered commissions in four parts of the armed forces. One of the jobs was personnel classification in the navy. I decided on that.

N.M.: *How did you happen to choose the navy?*

F.F.: For some reason, ever since I was a little kid I had more interest in the navy. I was commissioned as Lt. (jg) in the navy and reported on April 6, 1942. The navy already had selection classification programs in the recruit training centers at Great Lakes, San Diego, and Norfolk. They gave tests to incoming recruits. These were pretty lousy tests, frankly. On the basis of some of these tests, they assigned people to service schools. I was involved with recruit training for about 7 or 8 months. I reorganized the process for training recruits and developed a new test battery.

N.M.: *What was it like to be an early organizer?*

F.F.: An exciting thing about my career was that I was always on the ground floor of so many different things. Getting things started was always fun. I used to get bored after I got something going.

"An exciting thing about my career was that I was always on the ground floor of so many different things. Getting things started was always fun."

N.M.: *What kinds of things were you able to start in the navy?*

F.F.: The commodore was very progressive thinking, and we also had a wonderful executive officer. I went to them and said I would like to have some interviewers to help with the selection. They said, "Well, that is a good idea; go out and find some." It so happened that there was an athletic training program on the station called "Tunney Fish." Gene Tunney, the famous world champion boxer, headed this program. Almost all the fellows in this program had college degrees. I found a couple that were interested, and they became the first interviewers in the navy. There are now hundreds of interviewers, but they were the first. Next, we started to work on selection for advanced training.

N.M.: You were selecting who went to sea?

F.F.: The navy was making up crews for the destroyers and the destroyer escorts. There was dissatisfaction with the crews. We were not sure what we were going to do to reduce the dissatisfaction. But we did a very simple thing. We developed this idea of a balanced crew. We literally just divided up all these people, making sure that each crew got a share of every category (e.g., a man from the North, the South, the naval prison in Portsmouth, and so forth). This went across like a million dollars. We were sold overnight. Actually, we hadn't done much, but this really put us in favor. Then we set up a complex process of testing, interviewing, and checking physical qualifications. We made sure that every crew had as good as possible of everything. This became a model for classification throughout the navy.

Then I got sent out to Pearl Harbor to get this type of thing going throughout the Pacific. That was the first time I met Gilbert Wrenn. Gil was a big help to me in my work there. When I came back from the Pacific after the war, I did not want to go with the government.

THE OHIO STATE YEARS

N.M.: What were your reasons for not wanting to go back with the government?

F.F.: Oh, I had had enough of bureaucracy. It was too binding. I wanted to go academic. Don Marquis, who had been at Yale, was hired to revitalize the Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan. He called and asked if I would be interested in coming to Michigan. I went. I was part time in the department and was involved primarily in counseling veterans. That became a big thing. So I helped get that going up there. After the first year, I was invited to Ohio State. By then, Cal Shartle was a professor of psychology at Ohio State, and he suggested my name.

N.M.: What made Ohio State more attractive than Michigan?

F.F.: The opportunities for counseling here were better. And we had total and complete backing from Vice President Stradley.

N.M.: Did you come to Ohio State as the director of the Occupational Opportunity Service (OOS; now the Counseling and Consultation Service)?

F.F.: Yes. The idea of OOS got started back in the late 1930s to help young people find their vocational goals. That is how it got its name, Occupational Opportunity Service. There was nothing about counseling in the usual sense of the word, personal adjustment. The only thing that OOS really did during the war was develop a little booklet called *Ohio State and Occupations*. This book listed all the majors and occupations appropriate to these majors. Right after the war, the book sold like hotcakes.

N.M.: What was it like when you came to Ohio State?

F.F.: There was lots of counseling going on, similar to what I had started at Michigan. You were paid by the VA. It was a contract arrangement, a very good salary. I was paid about $5,000, and in those days many full professors were only paid $5,000.

N.M.: It was 1947.

F.F.: Yes, and in 1947 there were no counselors but a tremendous demand. The veterans really wanted counseling. Well, none of us were really very expert in counseling. We had almost all the graduate students in psychology working part time, doing counseling. We couldn't supervise adequately. It was such a big operation under crude conditions. The only thing that saved the day was that our counselors were good listeners and, luckily, the majority of people could help solve their own problems. This is still true of a lot of counseling that goes on today.

People really worked hard in those days. Offices didn't amount to anything; typically, there were two or three professors to an office. But morale was high and it was fun. The veterans were a very eager and serious-minded group. It was a glorious period to teach. Everybody here agreed that the few years after the war were the all-time utopia in terms of teaching in higher education.

> *"It was a glorious period to teach . . . the few years after the war were the all-time utopia in terms of teaching in higher education."*

N.M.: Were there events you remember as humorous?

F.F.: An amusing part of those days was an overdependence on tests. This was partially caused by the VA. There was a VA employee assigned to check our cases to determine whether OOS should be paid. Well, he didn't really know what went on. The only criterion he used was, "Are enough tests being given?" To be very frank, many times tests are not worth a darn. Frequently, he turned down a case for payment because we had not given enough tests. We would contact the client and say: "Look, would you please take another test or two for us; we need them to get paid." They always cooperated. Then you filed the case again and the VA would pay it.

N.M.: Do you think that promoted the idea that counseling involves being tested?

F.F.: Oh, goodness, yes; in the early days, the publicity was test oriented. Almost all newspaper stories started with a picture of a person taking a test. Of course, let's face it, the tests were just not that good. They never have been and never will be.

N.M.: But you did do evaluation research on the effectiveness of the counseling with the veterans.

F.F.: There were studies published, but there wasn't much in terms of honest-to-goodness validity. They were satisfaction studies. It was helpful to know that people were not dissatisfied. This was the first counseling program of any consequence and was a key to the development of the whole counseling movement. It was certainly the key to starting the graduate programs around the country, and most present day counseling centers developed out of the veterans' counseling program.

N.M.: Was there a direct relationship between the beginnings of the counseling psychology program at Ohio State and the veterans' counseling in the center?

F.F.: Oh, yes, very much so. The VA got interested in counseling and formally started counseling psychology traineeships in hospitals in 1953. Frank Robinson and I went to the Chillicothe, Ohio, VA Hospital to talk about the counseling psychology program. We frankly had no idea just what the counseling psychology program was going to do in the VA. The way it worked out was that the VA provided traineeships and the faculty were consultants. That was some consulting I really enjoyed. We started the so-called Exit Service. This program became a model throughout the VA, and various types of programs resulted. But

Chillicothe VA was the first one. It was the counseling psychology trainees from Ohio State that really put it in operation. They were very capable people. I think that I planted some of the seeds, but they carried it through.

N.M.: When you came here in 1947, were you in the department as well as director of OOS?

F.F.: I came here with an appointment in the department. At first, the only counseling course in our department was psychological counseling, which Frank Robinson taught. He had also started a study skills practicum. When I came into the picture, we got into other kinds of counseling. We started practicum on a very small scale at OOS.

N.M.: Do you remember other important events from these early years?

F.F.: The first year (1947) I was at Ohio State, the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology (ABEPP) (now the American Board of Professional Psychology [ABPP]) started awarding diplomas. I was awarded a diploma under the "grandfather" clause. I was then on the examining committee for the first exam held for counseling. Accreditation of training programs came sometime after that. The VA wanted accreditation to determine which universities should be given traineeships. So the program was started. I was in on it quite early. I assure you it was held much more informally than it has been in more recent years. I went out and did evaluating alone in some cases.

N.M.: How did it happen that you hired Harold B. Pepinsky (Pep) at OSS?

F.F.: When I first came, I wanted to find somebody who would do primarily research. So I looked around, and I found Pep. He was interested.

N.M.: How did you know him?

F.F.: The first time we met was at the first APA meeting after the war in 1946. That was the first official meeting of Division 17.

N.M.: What were some of the early issues in establishing a center?

F.F.: Attitudes regarding counseling proved to be an issue. Originally, we were supposed to be strictly vocational counseling people. Well, you can't do only vocational counseling; you get into personal problems. Of course, it really became an issue with homosexual clients. This was the scary part. Those were the days when, if students were found to be homosexual, they were kicked out of school pronto. It was almost like the McCarthy era, being a communist. I used to really worry because we had some homosexuals in counseling. And I used to get with the staff and say, "Look, don't ever breathe a word anywhere." People cooperated very well in this respect. I used to get scared that somebody on the campus would pick this up and all hell could have broken loose. You were expected to report it. It was a real worry for a number of years. It gradually changed, of course.

Another concern was that practically nobody was doing counseling in those days. Now everybody is doing counseling everywhere. When you found cases back in the early days that you wanted to refer, you had trouble finding a place to refer them. I wouldn't use most psychiatrists. They cost too much, anyway. It was really frustrating.

N.M.: In your history of the counseling center, you wrote about times when the center was in conflict with other units on campus. Was that over this issue of not doing personal counseling?

F.F.: Well, no, but that could get into it. Overall, it was a purely philosophical argument over presenting what I called a pretty liberal student personnel perspective versus a very conservative one. What affects a counseling center so much when you talk about conflicts is the administrative support. In my years at Ohio State, administrative support varied from one extreme to the other: good administrative support to absolutely terrible administrative support. And it finally got hopeless. That is the reason, of course, that Pep and I left the center.

N.M.: What is the history of all that? That was in 1962, wasn't it?

F.F.: It is very simple. The executive dean was just completely unqualified. He was very insecure. For example, one person on the staff had done something he didn't like. He called me up and said: "I want you to fire him." I said: "Put that in writing; give me an order to fire him and I will." Of course, nothing came of it. He couldn't have gotten away with that anyway. It was a hopeless administration. So Pepinsky and I got out of the place; it wasn't any fun.

You know, one of the interesting parts about a career is that you are bound to run into major problems. And you have to put up with some of them. If you go through your whole career without ever having a bad administrative situation, you are very lucky.

N.M.: You have always had the reputation of being a staunch supporter of students. In the late 1950s, when the vice president of student affairs died, were you not considered for his position?

F.F.: Well, I never will know. Part of the problem in my being considered was that the university had a new president. I hate to say it, but he was a weak president who hated psychologists violently. In the early student activist days, two or three psychologists played some key roles in supporting activists. He was a very conservative president, and he was scared to death of anything like this. I found out later that that was one of the reasons why I was never considered at all. Also, I had another enemy or two here on campus—people philosophically opposite. I wasn't alone in the conflict with them. I was always quite outspoken. During the late 1950s and 1960s we had a low period in administrative support. It was very discouraging. We had, however, some very good times for counseling psychology. As far as I know, the center and the program are in good shape now.

A NATIONAL ORGANIZER

N.M.: Another thing that has been a part of your professional life is that you were a leader in both APGA (now AACD) and APA. How was it you arranged for APA to rent office space to APGA?

F.F.: This was at the very start of APGA. The APGA did not specifically come into existence until the meeting in Los Angeles in 1951. The year before, I was elected treasurer, Bob Shaffer president, and Don Super president elect. The association had little money, but we had to have a headquarters. In a sense, Bob Shaffer and I were APGA. So we met in Washington to try to find a place. We spent a whole day going around looking at the attics, a most discouraging day. We couldn't find anything worth a darn. We were desperate and had to find something. Luckily, I had an idea. The APA had moved to Washington and bought a building on 16th Street, not far from where the current APA building is. They didn't need all the space. During the war, I had got acquainted with Dael Wolfle, who was the first executive secretary of APA. I called Dael that next morning and went over and explained. He was very much interested in APGA. He was one of the persons who had interests in a lot of things. The best bet, as it worked out, was the old carriage house that was in back of the APA building. We surveyed it and, sure enough, we could fix it up. So APA rented it to us for a very reasonable rent. I don't know what we would have done if that hadn't happened.

N.M.: How long did APGA headquarters occupy that (APA) carriage house?

F.F.: Well, until we bought an APGA building (8 or 9 years later). It was after I was president. The first steps were being taken to buy the building when I was president.

***N.M.:** What was the impetus to the founding of APGA?*

F.F.: All the personnel organizations started meeting together. Most of the meetings were in Chicago and were just like APGA turned out to be. The ACPA (American College Personnel Association) and the NVGA (National Vocational Guidance Association) were the largest groups. The Deans of Women never would come into APGA; they couldn't give up their identity. Of course, the Deans of Men stayed miles away. Talk about combining started immediately after the war.

***N.M.:** What was it like in the beginning?*

F.F.: I recall very vividly two events at the meeting when APGA officially became established. Dues were $7.00 a year. I was treasurer, and I wanted very much to raise the dues to $8.00. I was talked down because people thought that the raise would cost us too many members.

The other thing that was rather amusing was the move to establish a new division of school counselors, which was led by a group from Michigan. Don Super and I were the two main supporters. Some people thought it would never amount to anything. I made the prediction that it would soon be the biggest division in APGA, which of course it was by far.

***N.M.:** You were deeply involved with the original lobbying for the NDEA, which provided funds for the training of high school guidance counselors.*

F.F.: That really started when I was president of APGA. One of the main activities when I was president was trying to put the NDEA through Congress. I can't say that it never would have happened without us, but APGA played a very significant role. The NDEA and the original VA counseling programs were the two biggest factors in promoting counseling as a whole. Another was funding for rehabilitation counseling. That was the only thing Eisenhower ever did that was what I would call on the progressive side. Those are the three main forces because of the money factor. Undoubtedly, many other minor forces came into the picture. But the role money plays in supporting any program is very dominant.

STATUS OF COUNSELING

***N.M.:** Your were president of APGA in 1957–58; you were president of Division 17 in 1964–65. Was there overlap between the APGA and Division 17 memberships?*

F.F.: Back in the early days, there were many people who went to both APGA and APA meetings. This number diminished over the years.

***N.M.:** What do you think happened?*

F.F.: It is the same thing you see everywhere. It's a matter of people picking their own identity. They want to make sure of their own security, promote their own attitude. Then, if you are on the fence between two outfits, you are eventually forced to decide which way to go. If you were to run a survey of Division 17 members, there would be far fewer individuals involved with ACPA and NVGA (now the National Career Development Association [NCDA]) than there used to be.

***N.M.:** Do you think that makes any difference?*

F.F.: It is very unfortunate from my own standpoint. I was very happy in those days when we didn't have all these barriers. You have the same thing in the academic setting among education, counseling and guidance, and counseling psychology. You finally get these areas combined and then you get real splits. There is a problem of standards, I hate to say. I have been disturbed over the years that some of the education programs turning out PhDs in guidance and counseling are not very strong. That doesn't mean all of them. Some of them are very good. There are differences in standards. When you have different standards and then you try to control things, it generates conflicts. I don't think certification and licensing solve much. As far as I can gather, they do not necessarily protect the public.

***N.M.:** What about the future of counseling psychology and counselor education. Do you see them coming together?*

F.F.: I doubt it, although I would hope that they would. The big problem is we have too many people in counseling. If I were starting, I wouldn't get very fired up about counseling. I always tell young people starting a career to find something new, that is developing, that is fun, and that has chances for advancement.

> *"I don't think certification and licensing solve much. As far as I can gather, they do not necessarily protect the public."*

Taking the field of counseling, I really question whether its future is in traditional therapeutic counseling. As long as there are openings, it is fine to have people that go into this arena. The clinical side of the picture is overcrowded, however, and it will become more overcrowded. It is vital for counseling to return to its original career orientation.

***N.M.:** In the future, do you see people trained in counseling moving toward industry?*

F.F.: I have thought for a long time that more of our people should be going into industry. There is potential there. To be confident in that setting, however, one needs to have contact with industry. I wish everybody had experiences similar to those I had back in the Occupational Analysis Section of the U.S. Employment Service.

***N.M.:** What would say is the current status of counseling as a social force in our culture?*

F.F.: People as a whole expect counseling now, in contrast to right after World War II. Then there was little counseling. Now you have so many places offering counseling that it is pitiful. I don't think the public is very savvy about good counseling. What concerns me is that every time you turn on the radio or pick up the newspaper, you hear or read something about a counseling outfit. Some of it is very good and some of it is "for the birds." A lot of people who can listen will do some good. The sad part, of course, is that they can do real harm.

***N.M.:** One of the things that we haven't talked about here is your research and your thoughts about research.*

F.F.: Frankly, I was never a number one research man. As much as I have done and as much as I have loved it, I would not classify myself as a major contributor to research. Part of my difficulty with research is that I don't like to stick to the same topic long enough to carry it on indefinitely. I like to skip from one thing to another.

I have always had a very strong feeling that the strength of psychology has been its research. One of the things that has disturbed me among graduate students is that there has been less interest in research than there used to be. Of course, there are still some who are very interested. My expectation is not that they all be active researchers; however, they need to be interested in it. Many are not even interested in keeping up with research. They just want to go out and do things. This is hurting. One of the things that disturbs me about many counselor training programs is the lack of research orientation. I am not saying that all training programs should be simply developing researchers. Very few people become researchers, as such. I am disturbed, however, by the lack of interest in research. If the profession is to be healthy, it has to have research.

N.M.: Do you think the profession is in danger of not having enough people who value research?

F.F.: Yes, there could be danger in this. Psychology is becoming more and more dominated by the practitioner. I don't think that it has reached a danger point yet because there is still quite a bit of emphasis on research. I am not pessimistic; there is enough tradition in psychology to keep it going. Psychology has been strong because it has both research and practitioner forces. In the early days, the research was so strong that the practitioner was very much frowned upon. Now, of course, the situation has reversed.

> *"One of the things that disturbs me about many counselor training programs is the lack of research orientation."*

RETROSPECTIVE

N.M.: What was pivotal in your choosing a university career?

F.F.: Well, this deals with values that I am not sure I can fully identify. My contacts with industry and government showed me that I wanted more freedom than was possible in those settings. I was much happier to take less money and have more freedom. Furthermore, I enjoyed all the different associations made possible by an academic life.

N.M.: Would you consider your work in the Peace Corps a very positive experience?

F.F.: It was extremely positive. It was the type of experience I wish all counseling psychologists would have. During the late 1960s, I did manage to get a few graduate students involved. I was hoping to get more. No other situation has ever existed where one could learn as much about diverse groups of people in such a short time. You realize the complex lives that many people live.

When I became a selection officer, I was put in the situation where I had quite a bit of power. I didn't enjoy this part because, frankly, I hated like heck to deselect anybody. I used to just dread it. I did it, but I didn't like it. There were numerous psychologists who took advantage of their power and became quite authoritarian. Boy, did it make some of the volunteers mad. When the volunteers returned and began working with the Peace Corps training, they wanted to get rid of those "damn" psychologists. The psychologists were not being sensitive to the situation.

N.M.: You have always had international interests; you had time in India and the Peace Corps. And you have traveled extensively. I wonder where those came from.

F.F.: I married a wife who was born and raised in Korea. We had international students in our home, particularly in the early years after we came to Ohio State. When I was a graduate student at Yale, I became good friends with several international students. Of course, the year we spent in India was significant. I would like to go to another foreign assignment. Three or four years ago, I was approached. I couldn't accept with my arthritis, but I would enjoy it.

N.M.: Are there things you wish you had pursued?

F.F.: I wish I had carried further some of the stuff that I played with relative to career development theory. I don't think we yet have what I call a real, honest-to-goodness theoretical basis for career development. This is not to criticize anybody. Good attempts have been made. I don't have much hope of seeing a well-integrated theory of career development. Career development is much too complex to have a simple type of theory. What always intrigued me is that certain critical experiences for people became very vital. The timing of such experiences takes place by chance. If it happens a year or two too soon or too late, it won't be very influential.

N.M.: What were some of those critical incidents for you?

F.F.: One was being involved in a lot of organizational work as a kid and having fair success at it. The psychology course that I took in high school where I learned about the experience of World War I psychologists intrigued me to no end. It was a lucky break when Yerkes wrote a letter and I got an assistantship at Yale. It was not pure chance, however, because I was determined to go to college and get a PhD. The amusing part about all the dreaming I did was that, well, it happened to work out. This was, in a sense, pure chance. It just happened to work out that way.

N.M.: Was Yerkes one of the big influences on your career?

F.F.: Yes, he was. Karl Muenzinger was also. I spent a lot of time with him; he was a pure traditional experimentalist of the old German School. Some of the other staff at Yale were, in different ways. There was a wonderful faculty at Yale in those years; everybody's door was open all the time. It was also a very lucky break, getting associated with Cal Shartle back in the Employment Service days. He has been a close friend for years, and we still see a lot of each other. Those were some of the significant people. Significant people play a definite role in terms of career development for most people.

> *"The amusing part about all the dreaming I did was that, well, it happened to work out."*

N.M.: Of all you have done, what are you the proudest of?

F.F.: I feel very lucky to have had the chances and opportunities I have had. Things worked out for me very well in most respects. Cal Shartle and I have commented numerous times that we were lucky because our careers happened during a period of tremendous development. We will probably never see such a period again. As I look back, where I have had the most fun and personal satisfaction is having been involved with the instigation of numerous things. It's a little frustrating sometimes—you don't get any credit for most of the things you start. But, at least in your own mind, you know that you were responsible. Being president of APGA was significant. The fun was in the process of helping get APGA started. That was the most fun.

N.M.: Do you have some of the same feelings about helping start the Journal of Counseling Psychology*?*

F.F.: Yes, as a matter of fact, that was a lot of hard work, but it was for a good cause. There were three of us who did most of the work—Harold Seashore, Gilbert Wrenn, and myself. I was happy when we finally managed to get APA to take it over. That was quite an accomplishment. It was the first time that APA had taken a step like this. It was a very significant development in advancing Division 17 and counseling psychology.

N.M.: You had some satisfaction there. Sounds like starting APGA was more fun.

F.F.: Yes, it was more fun. APGA was the thing I got more satisfaction out of, career wise.

N.M.: When all that conflict occurred with the counseling center, did you consider leaving Ohio State?

F.F.: Yes, I seriously considered it and went out and investigated two or three different things. All I can say now is, thank goodness I didn't go.

***N.M.:** How were your years in the department (1962–1979)?*

F.F.: Oh, very happy. There were the usual frustrations, obviously, but I thoroughly enjoyed the whole period. The most rewarding part of teaching has been with graduate students. You get close to people and you get satisfaction. You look back at the accomplishments and see what is happening to all the students who have gone out. They are all over the place doing all kinds of things. They certainly haven't followed any exact pattern. It is fun keeping in touch. I don't hear from all the graduate students, but I do hear from many.

***N.M.:** What about the future for Frank Fletcher?*

F.F.: I am enjoying life. Actually, I was lucky I retired. I started getting rheumatoid arthritis quite seriously. Luckily, it is better. With retirement, I want to do something different. I have done more reading than I ever did. I have read many books on World War II. Because I lived through a lot of the war, I get a kick out of them, particularly those related to the navy. I have read a lot of anthropology. If I ever had gone back and started again, anthropology would have interested me as much as anything. I don't know, however, if I would have the capacity to go out and get involved in excavation and stay with it for months and years at a time. Intellectually, I would surely love it.

***N.M.:** Is there anything that you wanted to say that I didn't ask you about or that we didn't talk about?*

F.F.: Many people wait too long to retire, and they don't have a chance to enjoy it. I am very happy I did retire. I can go back and do things I did as a kid, like handicrafts. I like to do new things. In fact, my biggest enjoyment is starting and doing something for the first time.

I am going to start doing something that I have never done before—cane a chair. I don't know how many more chairs I will cane, but it will be more fun to cane the first one than it will be to cane the tenth. It is just a lot of fun to do a lot of different things.

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The Leadership of Merle Ohlsen

ARTHUR M. HORNE

My first encounter with Merle Ohlsen was brief, tense, and full of energy. It was in 1971, and I was at Indiana State University interviewing for my first postdoctoral position. I had met several faculty members and administrators, all of whom had been gentle and polite, engaging in the usual social amenities before moving into other issues related to employment. When I was ushered into Merle's office, he immediately asked if I wanted coffee. When I answered affirmatively, he whisked off in a pace that would shame many an athlete and returned almost immediately, steaming coffee in hand. "Tell me about your dissertation," he began, avoiding the ice-breaking amenities. As I began describing the work, Merle moved me quickly ahead. He already knew the literature, quickly grasped the design, and so moved ahead with: "Tell me what is unique about your study; it sounds like Gordon Paul's." Then, when I had explained the differences, he said: "Explain your results." The 45 minutes were as rigorous as my committee had ever put me through, with very little time to pause because Merle was already on the next step. When I finished answering his final point, Merle jumped up and said, "Good study. Let's have lunch." During lunch, the same energy was evident as the talk moved from professional to social and back again, ranging from ethical dilemmas to fall football prospects, family ties, and his travel club.

Fifteen years have since passed. The Merle Ohlsen that I encountered on that interview showed me clearly the Merle that I would experience again and again as years went by. He is a man with an enormous energy level, characterized by moving both physically and verbally as his needs and interests dictate. He also has an ability to move quickly past the cover of a subject and into its content, defining the issue to be studied and examined, whether the topic be of an academic, professional, social, or political nature. All the while, the evident caring, interest, and warmth showed through. As Merle has indicated about himself, he can show caring and regard through directness and honesty.

I have come to know Merle well and, in the process, to know his family. Helen has complemented him through their years of marriage, and to appreciate Merle is to appreciate Helen, for her participation and contributions are in all ways evident. She, like Merle, is a very powerful, forthright person, and the two together are ominous bridge players. Helen shows her interest and caring through her involvement with people. Her support for Merle, both personally and professionally, is evident, and it is clear that for both of them, family ties are of prime importance.

Merle and Helen have four children. Marilyn works for the University of Illinois Extension Service. Linda was an elementary school teacher who later earned a PhD and works as a marriage and family therapist in Indianapolis. Barbara is an elementary school counselor in Eugene, Oregon. Ron is an assistant attorney general in the Virgin Islands. Several themes were consistent among the family members during the interview.

There is a strong sense of love in their family; this was expressed uniformly by all the children. Achievement is highly prized, along with doing well whatever needs to be done. At the same time, respect for individuals and people is emphasized, and this is clearly derived from their parents' commitment to social equality and reflected in the children's life-styles and occupational choices. And, above all, "family" is the centering core of their lives, whether it be the one in which they grew up, the ones in which they now live, or the general concept of family as being important for everyone.

Each of the children described how supported and appreciated they felt when growing up. They indicated that there was an expectation of doing well in what they did, but that there was considerable freedom in making choices. There is a sense of pride for both parents and genuine respect for their accomplishments and for their contributions to family and community.

EARLY WORK HISTORY

A.H.: *I would like to begin by having you talk about your background in terms of employment and work experiences.*

M.O.: I began teaching in elementary school, moved up to the junior high and senior high school level, and eventually became a principal. When I finished my PhD at Iowa, I had 7½ years of public school experience and 1 year of teaching in the Math Department at the University of Iowa. Originally I was expecting to do my graduate work in mathematics. I was a fairly good mathematics student and only accidentally got into educational psychology through some learning experiments with an undergraduate professor.

A.H.: *How did you get started in teaching?*

M.O.: When I graduated from Winona State in 1938, I got my first teaching job in Winona, Minnesota. It was really a chance event: While I was practice teaching, my cooperating teacher took leave in the middle of my senior year to finish PhD work at Columbia, and the principal invited me to take over for the rest of the year. After a year and a half of teaching in Winona, I began looking for a place to do graduate work. Since I didn't have any money, I applied for public teaching jobs in a number of university communities. Early that summer I contracted for a math teaching position in the Champaign public school system. I was still undecided whether to do graduate work in mathematical statistics or in tests and measurement in education. I engaged in graduate work at the University of Illinois while teaching in the community schools. When I finished my master's degree, I went to Iowa for my PhD.

A.H.: *From Iowa you went to Washington State, and then to Illinois in 1950.*

M.O.: Yes. When I first came to Illinois, I was a department head for 7 years. I learned a lot from that experience, but I am really glad I decided to devote full time to teaching rather than staying in administration. I loved the staff development part of administration, but I didn't enjoy the tough "up or out" tenure decisions and routine administrative work, such as budget building.

A.H.: *How did you happen to come to Indiana State?*

M.O.: The university had established two distinguished chairs in the School of Education—the Coffman and the Holmstedt. They were designed to bring in faculty who had experienced national leadership roles, and the purpose of each position was to provide leadership for the faculty. William Van Til held the Coffman Distinguished Chair, and Ed Roeber had been the Holmstedt Distinguished Professor until his death.

> *". . . I didn't enjoy the tough 'up or out' tenure decisions and routine administrative work, such as budget building."*

When Dave Turney, dean of the School of Education at Indiana State, asked me to consider the Holmstedt professorship, I didn't really think I'd take it. Then I remembered how happy Ed Roeber was there. And I was very favorably impressed with Dave Turney and the promising young counseling staff. I had no intention, even when I went for the second interview, of taking the job, but by the time I'd had a long talk with Alan Rankin (the president) and Dave Turney (the dean), I accepted their offer. My young colleagues' enthusiasm and good ideas challenged me—gave me a chance to begin a new professional life in a challenging new setting. It was a fortunate move in that a year or two after I left Illinois the new dean, who was appointed for the College of Education, didn't support the counseling program. Fred Proff left the same year I did and Patterson retired early. What a loss to that program!

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

A.H.: *You have published a lot and have been involved in shaping the profession of counseling. How did that evolve?*

M.O.: When I completed my degree, I had several opportunities open to me: a small college deanship, a high school principalship, and an assistant professorship at Washington State University. My career would probably have been very different if I'd taken a senior high school principalship; I'd have made a lot more money!

In any case, I accepted the job at Washington State. I met Murray Lee and Lee Cronbach in a critical period in my life. They believed in me, encouraged me, and really stressed publishing. And they were people with whom I could communicate. If you have to be in an institution that doesn't value publication, you probably aren't going to do it. I came out when there was a terrific shortage of personnel, so I had a lot of advantage over young people today.

> *"If you have to be in an institution that doesn't value publication, you probably aren't going to do it."*

I think the most critical thing in my career was that I decided I would do research and publish. I published because I wanted to get my ideas before the public and change practice. I felt writing was the simplest way to do that, and I wanted to be somebody in the profession.

The other side of that coin was that I never wanted to be stuck in an institution. I've met a lot of people over the years who did not publish and could not move because they were stuck in that institution. They didn't have a choice as to whether to move or not to move, and I did not want to have that happen to me. I felt it was worth the price to work my butt off to get grants and to publish so that I would not be trapped.

A.H.: *Then your encouragement to people today would be to find a place that would allow them to do scholarly work, to share their ideas, so that there could be mobility?*

M.O.: Yes, and most of the time your research and publication is going to come out of your hide. Occasionally you'll get a reduced course load but research grants are hard to come by. Sometimes I had money to hire somebody to teach my classes. I always taught at least one class even when I had grants to hire people. I used my sabbaticals judiciously. I went somewhere for every sabbatical or got a research grant. I got a research grant approved before I got my sabbatical so that I could devote extra time to initiating the project. For years I've read papers at conventions of the American Psychological Association (APA), the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA, now AACD), and sometimes the American Educational Research Association (AERA). In fact, I have attended every APGA convention and most APA conventions since 1950. Usually, I had to pay my own expenses. But with my research grants, I had money to go to all three.

> *"I published because I wanted to get my ideas before the public and change practice. . . . I've met a lot of people over the years who did not publish and could not move . . ."*

A.H.: *Then you think it is still possible today for the people just coming up to get involved, to do all these activities?*

M.O.: It's more difficult than it was for me; if a person is really willing to do the work, the opportunity is there. Today we hear so much about burnout. Perhaps the three most important elements in preventing burnout are (a) getting deserved recognition for doing a good job, (b) being given an opportunity to help define one's own professional responsibilities, and (c) being given the opportunity and encouragement to grow in the job. My colleagues and graduate students provided these elements.

A.H.: *How did you get involved with APGA?*

M.O.: Well, I got a real break. Four groups that later became four divisions (the American College Personnel Association [ACPA], the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision [ACES], the National Vocational Guidance Association [NVGA], and the Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education [SPATE]) in APGA met in Atlantic City in 1950. Instead of bringing in a big name outside speaker, someone got the idea of inviting three young professionals to give the opening speeches at the convention: Carol Miller from Howard, Gordon Anderson from Texas, and myself from Washington State. Obviously, we all worked hard on those speeches. The next spring (1951) I was appointed program chairperson for ACPA. The following year I was appointed nominations chairperson for NVGA. In 1955 I published my first book, *Guidance: An Introduction* (Ohlsen, 1955). Those four events in such a short time really introduced me to a lot of people in our profession.

A.H.: *And over the years you just kept active in the profession, contributing. . . .*

M.O.: Yes, I've always been very interested in the AACD-APGA organization. In 1960 I ran for and lost the APGA presidential election to Denny Dunsmoor and lost to Ed Williamson in 1967, but I was elected president of APGA for the 1969–70 term.

A.H.: *You were also involved in getting the Association for Specialists in Group Work (ASGW) started in the 1970s.*

M.O.: The real credit for getting ASGW started goes to George Gazda and several of his students at Georgia. However, I was elected ASGW president for the 1977–78 term.

A.H.: What was it like for you to be involved early in the counseling pioneering work as APGA was developing? Those must have been some exciting times.

M.O.: Perhaps the most exciting times were from 1945 to 1958. New and improved practices were being developed. Leaders were beginning to talk about selective admission-retention and standards for counselor education. New courses in psychology were being developed for counselor education students. Division 17 was started in APA, and APGA was begun. Many promising young persons in their 30s, including Arbuckle, Callis, Dugan, Walt Johnson, Froehlich, and Pepinsky, were given major responsibility for developing programs and writing standards. There also were slightly older leaders, such as Roeber, Super, and Wrenn, who encouraged the development of these young leaders.

From my early years of participation in APGA, there were those who were primarily guidance people and others who perceived themselves primarily as psychologists. In general, ACES tended to include both the counseling people and the guidance people. On the other hand, those who started Division 17 of APA tended, as one would expect, to be those who perceived themselves as psychologists. However, even many of the Division 17 members completed their graduate work in colleges of education.

A.H.: The model of training then was not as clearly delineated as psychology or education.

M.O.: No, it wasn't designed to protect jobs like it is today. Now one of the strong points stressed by Division 17 leaders is to emphasize careful selection of graduate students and the development of quality graduate education.

PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

A.H.: Do you see the move toward licensure and certification in the country as a good direction to be going?

M.O.: Originally I was very enthusiastic about both, but now I'm not certain. Programs should be evaluated for the quality of preparation rather than on the department in which the degree is given.

A.H.: You are certified as a psychologist, but you worked in a department of counseling in a school of education.

M.O.: I am a registered psychologist, but I prefer to label myself a counselor. I think we had a very good combined program when I was at Illinois. We had a big educational psychology department with four divisions: school psychology; counseling; tests, measurement, and statistics; and learning, mental health, and developmental psychology. This arrangement allowed me to advise both counseling and school psychology students.

A.H.: When Bob Callis (University of Missouri) did a site visit at Indiana State, he questioned why student personnel was separate from counseling psychology.

M.O.: I agree with Bob, but a lot of employers prefer student personnel workers with more preparation in administration and management.

A.H.: Higher education administration?

M.O.: Yes, but I prefer, as Bob does, student personnel people with good generic backgrounds in counseling. The University of Missouri has always had that emphasis. I think trainees can pick up later on the management courses easier than they can pick up the basic counseling skills.

A.H.: What are some of the trends you've seen over the last few years? We've seen a lot of work with women, minority concerns, community mental health. . . .

M.O.: I think we will continue to see a lot of short-term programs in personal growth groups. Community colleges and mental health centers are offering lots of short-term groups, such as weight management. I think we will also continue to stress special preparation for those who work with minority populations. I hope we will continue to see more effective, selective admission-retention procedures and improved accreditation standards, including improved practicum supervision.

A.H.: Where do you see us going now in the field of counseling? What thoughts do you have about where we are headed as a profession?

M.O.: I'm very excited about the mental health counselors. I'm not active in that division, but I think they are raising a lot of important issues, experiencing success in licensure, and helping to improve services for the public. I also see ACES and ASGW raising important issues. I see these divisions and the parent organization, AACD, increasingly improving programs. Members of AACD must continue to improve the quality of services that they provide so that licensure ensures quality of services to the public rather than merely protecting jobs.

I think there must be generic preparation of counselors, with all counselors having a common core curriculum, followed by specialty training in the specific area one wishes to practice, such as marriage and family, vocational counseling, or substance abuse counseling. In addition, each should be required to complete practicums and at least one internship in his or her own area of specialization.

TRAINING

A.H.: What has been an area of disappointment for you about our profession?

M.O.: I become very irritated when I discover poor practicums.

A.H.: The lack of quality supervision?

M.O.: Yes. I found a lot of people teaching practicums who lacked the professional competencies to help their supervisees counsel their clients.

A.H.: We now have a move toward certification and the defining of training programs nationwide as to what's to be required and what's to be expected. There is discussion about the movement taking away the autonomy, freedom, and creativity of the training program, the individuality that has been there over the years.

M.O.: It's a balancing act. I don't want to do away with all the diversity, but we also need clear standards. We must select bright students but also consider other factors.

A.H.: So the test scores, the intellectual ability, may be a necessary but not sufficient condition for admission?

M.O.: Yes, not sufficient.

A.H.: We need the practice, the skill, the supervision, and the real life experiences.

M.O.: Yes. When I first came to the University of Illinois, there was just Frank Finch, Walt Lifton, and myself, and we were soon joined by C. H. Patterson and Fred Proff. Every time we would select new doctoral students, we would sit down and go through all the candidates, staff every individual case, and rate them "looks like a star," "okay," or "turn down." But then, before we accepted anybody, somebody had to agree to take each as an advisee. Very early, I did one thing that was really smart. I started having intensive intake interviews before I accepted my advisees. I found, especially among rural kids or inner-city kids, very bright, very savvy people who didn't make very good test scores. I also discovered some very bright people who weren't very sensitive. Though they might make good researchers, they were not ever going to be competent counselors. I wanted good practitioners as well as scholars. So I began this intake interview, which first started to be an hour but ended up being 2 hours.

Sometimes I'd have a couple of interviews before I'd decide whether I'd accept a person as my advisee. I began to work more and more to refine the intake interview, and many of my colleagues came to use it too.

A.H.: *That's a very time-consuming process. If you require an interview with each person, what about a low income minority person in California who can't make it to the Midwest? How would you handle that?*

M.O.: Well, in the heyday, when there was a lot of money for travel, I got around a lot. We also had former students screen for us. On one occasion we asked prospective students to respond to questions on a tape recording.

A.H.: *I remember you did that when you led the group counseling workshops at Indiana State. You required people to submit tapes, talking about themselves and their counseling skills, before you accepted them for the workshop.*

M.O.: Obviously, the intake interview is not a perfect device, but I feel it's really important to take a look at their personal qualities as well as their intellectual competence. If I am going to invest a lot in an advisee, I have a right to select that student.

A.H.: *Given the involvement you've had for a number of years, are there any areas about AACD or APA or various organizations of the profession in general that have been particularly disappointing to you or that you wish had been different?*

M.O.: I wish all the organizations, all the training institutions had applied more seriously selective admission-retention criteria. It's very time consuming, but I think it's worth it for society and the profession. People who are not making progress must be confronted and helped.

Frank Finch (Illinois) taught me to select each student with great care and then see him or her through. He thought it was indecent to take more people than you can teach, then flunk out many enroute.

A.H.: *Sometimes it would be a better service to the profession if we just took an assertive stand and got people out.*

M.O.: Yes, considerately. You know you just don't dump them but rather tell them that "We are not prepared to let you go any further. We are also prepared to help you find what else you can do to make a living and find satisfaction."

MENTORING

A.H.: *You have written about mentoring and the importance of the process for professional development. What is the mentoring relationship?*

M.O.: A mentor encourages, reinforces successful behaviors, and even sometimes confronts. However, the protégé knows it's safe to ignore the mentor's suggestions. I can say, "Andy, you know you're not really ready to publish this paper or this book. You need to do some specific work in this area. It's shallow here." If I am a good mentor, I will say that to you. At the same time, unlike with your major professor or your father, you know you can go ahead and publish it. I care deeply about you and I want to facilitate your professional development, but you are a free agent. You do not have to accept my suggestions. I'd also like to make it possible for protégés to seek out mentors. Moreover, the mentor should gradually become a colleague. Though they may never be complete equals, they should increasingly become equals.

> *"A mentor encourages, reinforces successful behaviors, and even sometimes confronts."*

A.H.: *Who were your mentors?*

M.O.: Early in my high school and college experience, I was influenced by three great mentors: Charles Stewart, superintendent; Joe Molumby, high school prinicpal and math teacher; and Roy Tozier, an undergraduate professor. They believed in me and they encouraged, challenged, and even questioned some decisions, but they still allowed me to decide what was best for me. Early in my own teaching career I used them as models, at first unconsciously as a high school teacher of mathematics and chemistry, and later as a teacher of graduate students in counseling. I was searching for my own talent as a teacher and developing it.

A.H.: *Were there any mentors during your graduate training?*

M.O.: A math professor, Vernon Price, was primary. However, I had even more influential mentors at Washington State, where I went when I completed my PhD in 1945. There I had several very good mentors. First, there were Lee Cronbach and J. Murray Lee. Both encouraged me to do research and professional writing. Besides being supportive and encouraging, my wife, Helen, helped me improve my writing skills. Another important person for me at Washington State was Harold Pepinsky ("Pep"). Pep's greatest help was in peer supervision. He, and later Fred Proff, played a critical role in helping me to develop my counseling skills and to continue my professional growth. Moreover, these experiences have led me to stress the importance of peer supervision, both during graduate education and on the job subsequent to it. Both Fred and Pep were excellent therapists and very helpful supervisors. Then my peer supervision was continued at Illinois with Proff and Henry Kaczkowski. My graduate students also provided very helpful feedback, both at Illinois and Indiana State. I continued peer supervision, especially with you, Laurie Passmore, and Forest Tate, when I went to Indiana State.

> *"I always carried some clients so that my doctoral students could watch me struggling and trying to demonstrate what I had taught them."*

INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP COUNSELING

A.H.: *How did you get interested in group work?*

M.O.: When I introduced a group counseling course in 1950, the people really looked askance at it. Even in 1970 there were a lot of people very critical of group work. I wrote my first article on group counseling, "Group Counseling: Ways and Meaning" (DeWitt & Ohlsen, 1950), with a graduate student at Washington State, Abe DeWitt. The model I use today was essentially described in that article.

I went after research money, particularly with groups, because it was the practical thing to do and I enjoyed doing some research, but I was always primarily interested in the application of research. I stressed: "How can I use my own and others' findings to improve counseling, not for myself alone, but for other people too?" I always carried some clients so that my doctoral students could watch me struggling and trying to demonstrate what I had taught them.

A.H.: *You were also trying out your own ideas with clients?*

M.O. Yes. This gave me a variety of contacts within the university, especially when I did marriage counseling. I did a lot of marriage counseling with couples whose marriages were okay, but they sought professional counseling in groups to enrich their marriage and family life. As I helped them mature, it enriched my own marriage and gave me valuable feedback for helping others.

A.H.: *The topic that was popular in the 1960s was not group counseling as much as it was T groups, sensitivity groups, and the encounter group movement, and yet your writing did not go in that direction.*

M.O.: I felt that practitioners wanted and needed group counseling competencies. Moreover, many who were practicing these other group approaches were good at tearing away clients' defenses but not very good at helping them learn needed new behaviors. My colleagues and my students at Illinois reinforced these positive ways of helping and taught me to be a good, client-centered behavioral counselor.

A.H.: *Isn't that a way of showing respect for clients, to help them learn?*

M.O.: Yes. In fact, I got the idea of client-centered behavioral counseling from John Krumboltz and Gordon Paul. The way they helped their clients define behavioral goals shows genuine respect for clients and enhances their self-esteem. Behavioral counselors have stated the case well that the counselor has not helped his or her clients unless the clients have learned new behaviors.

A.H.: *You've identified a way of categorizing people's problems; you've defined about five categories.*

M.O.: I now have six categories in *Introduction to Counseling* (Ohlsen, 1983): (a) learning to manage developmental tasks, (b) learning to manage passages, (c) learning to manage crises, (d) completing unfinished business with significant others, (e) replacing self-defeating behaviors with productive ones, and (f) obtaining more adequate or accurate perceptions of self or one's situation. Though these categories are not mutually exclusive or all inclusive, they can be used by counselors to help their clients define the precise new behavior to be learned (goals) and to define criteria for appraising their own progress. Through the use of such simple, nonthreatening terms, clients tend to develop more hope for successful results.

An adult who has not learned a developmental task during the process of growing up must learn it. For example, a man who has learned only to be a conquestor must learn to express positive feelings, touch considerately, and enjoy close, loving relationships.

A.H.: *A person who, because of life circumstances, hasn't developed a realistic perception of self or the work environment can be helped to have a more accurate view?*

M.O.: Yes. I am working with a client who wanted to apply for a job, but she thought that most of the people who worked there were from well-to-do families and that she wouldn't fit in socially. I prepared her to interview several people who worked there. She discovered that most workers were like herself, and she could accept the job and feel comfortable. In this case she developed a more accurate perception of a potential work situation. The preparation and interviewing also enhanced her relationship skills and self-confidence.

A.H.: *I see how this approach could be applied in various models of counseling. You've done a lot of writing over the years, including 119 professional articles and chapters and 12 books. You mentioned to me once that when you were writing a book, you'd think of specific students in your classes and address the material to these students.*

M.O.: As though I were sitting, visiting with them, supervising them. Perhaps that is why some reviewers have said that I have oversimplified material. I don't really want to impress my audience. I want to communicate with them. I want to help practitioners improve their helping skills.

A.H.: *To what do you attribute the wide readership of your books?*

M.O.: I have tried to help practitioners improve the quality of their services.

A.H.: *That was a strong quality of your book on group counseling.*

ENRICHMENT BETWEEN WORK AND FAMILY LIFE

A.H.: *It seems that, many times, people's theories reflect their own personal lives. You seem to be quite interested in group theory and process. How has your life mirrored your work?*

M.O.: First, my work with Don Nylen in NTL (National Training Laboratory) groups caused me to examine the problems with which I had to learn to cope and to learn essential, new behaviors. Later my work with marriage and family groups motivated me to learn to be a better marriage partner and father and also to cope with my own failures. Fortunately, I have a great marriage partner, Helen, who is also committed to helping our marriage grow and develop. I think, even in the last 10 years, we've become more open in facing conflict and sitting right down and resolving it rather than ignoring it. I think it helps to recognize conflict early rather than waiting until one or the other blows up. I don't let conflicts and issues build up until the stack is too big and then say something that I might regret.

A.H.: *We hear much today about midlife crises and the midlife dilemmas that people experience, the difficulties of assessing what life is all about, and what people are to do with their careers. It sounds like some of that was taking place with you on the administration versus teaching issue and the research versus application issue. Did you find some midlife issues that were important to you?*

M.O.: Yes. Periodically I review my time priorities—time for family, recreation, community service and church work, teaching, research, writing, consulting, and counseling. As I look back on times when I was sad and disappointed with myself, I found that I had often failed to make decisions on priorities. I tried to do everything better than I was able. Perhaps, more than any other area, I was able to maintain a good relationship with Helen, and I feel that here I succeeded. Though we have a very good relationship with our adult children, there were times when I was disappointed with my parenting. I really wanted to be a perfect father and I wasn't.

A.H.: *Do you have other writing plans?*

M.O.: Yes, I'm working on a revision of my 1977 *Group Counseling* book.

A.H.: *And? I know you well enough to know that isn't all.*

M.O.: [*With obvious delight and glee*] Right! Helen and I are enjoying the richness of our lives. We've traveled to the South Pacific, Europe, the Caribbean. We're going to the West Coast soon, then on up to Alaska and Canada. We intend to engage in lots of travel. And dancing. And, of course, work. I'm still consulting with mental health programs, conducting workshops, and I'm consulting with the Veterans Administration hospital. And with my church group. No, I'm not through enjoying life, that's for certain.

> *"I really wanted to be a perfect father and I wasn't."*

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Merle M. Ohlsen

Merle M. Ohlsen is Professor Emeritus of Educational Psychology, University of Illinois, and Holmstedt Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Guidance and Psychological Services, Indiana State University. He has been an elementary and secondary school teacher, a senior high school principal, and an instructor in mathematics at the University of Iowa, and he served at Washington State University as a counselor educator and college counselor from 1945 to 1950. From 1950 to 1969, he was at the University of Illinois and from 1969 to 1980 was Holmstedt Distinguished Professor at Indiana State University. During the 1967–68 academic year, he was Roy Roberts Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of Missouri, Kansas City.

Ohlsen received his BE (and a Distinguished Alumni Award) from Winona State College, his master's degree from the University of Illinois, and his PhD from the University of Iowa.

Ohlsen has been very involved in professional organizations. During 1969–70, he was president of APGA. He was a member of the APGA Commission on Guidance in American Schools, chairperson of the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES) Subcommittee on Preparation of Elementary School Counselors, program chairperson of the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), and Nominations Committee chairperson of the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA). Also, he served on the editorial boards of the Personnel and Guidance Journal, Elementary School Guidance & Counseling, *and the* Journal of Individual Psychology. *He was president of the Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education (SPATE) and president of the Association for Specialists in Group Work (ASGW). He received the first C. A. Michelman Award for his professional contributions to guidance in Illinois, the APGA Professional Development Award in 1978, and the Indiana Personnel and Guidance Association Irene Cutter Award in 1980.*

Ohlsen's professional ability and leadership are demonstrated by his being a fellow of Divisions 2, 15, and 17 of APA, his listing in the National Register of Health Service Providers in Psychology, and his membership in the North American Society of Adlerian Psychology.

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John Watson Murray Rothney: Eminent Practitioner, Educator, and Researcher

DENNIS W. ENGELS

Preeminent is a term that immediately comes to mind to describe the professional contributions and career of John Rothney, one of the seminal pioneer thinkers, researchers, and practitioners in counseling and development. His contributions to the field cover five decades, from the early 1930s to the early 1980s.

One day in early fall 1971, without notice, I and my fellow students in an introductory counseling class at the University of Wisconsin—Madison found our instructor to be an elderly, slightly built, soft-spoken man who, at the same time, was highly intelligent, acerbic, and lucid. John Rothney was not scheduled to teach in that class. In fact, he had already retired. But for 2 weeks, Rothney worked daily to challenge, to guide, to inform, and to critique the class.

He was demanding, continually using questions and logical extensions of responses to push students to new insights and help them consider implications of the discussions. As he would push and work to keep students involved and thinking aloud, an electric contagion emerged and endured, resulting in an intellectual encounter such as I have experienced only rarely. Students came away from those sessions digesting, carrying on, and expanding the challenging dialogue Rothney had so masterfully helped create. His sparkle of excitement, enthusiasm, and active inquiry carried over to our studies and professional growth. It was immediately clear to me that Rothney loved healthy skepticism, scholarship, disagreement, and collaborative discovery as primary forces for growth and professional maturation and that students grew intellectually from the exchanges.

Because of these perceptions and his reputation for excellence, I chose for my dissertation (Engels, 1975) to study the development over time of all of Rothney's published thought. No one has taught me more about the profession of counseling and development. Hence, with great joy and considerable anxiety, I accepted the privilege and responsibility of this assignment.

To prepare for the interview, I consulted counselors, counseling supervisors, and counselor educators throughout the United States for their impressions of John Rothney. In the more than 50 letters from professionals who knew him and others who have been influenced by him, the following descriptors were used most frequently: thinker, researcher, teacher, counselor, mentor, scientist, pioneer, skeptic, pragmatist, idealist, brilliant, challenging, stimulating, dedicated, gifted, caring, influential, and loving. Below are some of the comments made about Rothney.

Individual development. Rothney has long been known as a champion of individuals as unique beings. He has a longstanding reputation for paying close attention to interpersonal and intrapersonal differences and was the first prominent scholar to advocate guidance for all, strongly emphasizing the developmental needs of the nonproblem student. His prowess in the individual case study was truly of vanguard status in the field. "He reminded us that what may be significant statistically may be of little real importance in the life of an individual" (P. J. Rockwell, personal communication, Nov. 1, 1983). Although he was a master of research design, statistics, and analysis, he "had little patience for studies that only reported averages and obscured the individual" (R. A. Heimann, personal communication, November 9, 1984).

Researcher. His longitudinal research has been acknowledged through many awards for outstanding research from prominent professional organizations such as (a) the Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, a forerunner of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA), in 1951; (b) APGA in 1959; and (c) Division 17 (Counseling Psychology) of the American Psychological Association (APA) in 1966. He also has been singled out as an eminent scholar in publications. In 1970, he was one of 22 prominent leaders in counseling and guidance selected by an APGA committee to publish his views about the profession (Van Hoose & Pietrofesa, 1970). He was also cited as one of the four professionals who, together, had contributed 50% of all "classics" in the counseling and guidance literature (Walsh, 1975). Attention to longitudinal evaluation characterized his entire career. Moreover, he pursued it with a diligence and tenacity that yielded an unprecedented series of consecutive 100% response rates in repeated measures during a 20-year follow-up study.

Virtually all correspondents cited research as a major contribution of Rothney. "I think that perhaps one of his major contributions was his insistence over the years that the ultimate growth and strength of the field lies in research. He did not just talk about the need for research, he did it. Virtually all of his writings have a research base" (P. J. Danielson, December 12, 1983). His work "was not only a pioneer effort, it was well conducted and crossed decades in scope and direction. Even today, when evidence of counseling effectiveness is questioned, the work of John Rothney is clear evidence and cited by all who do their homework" (R. F. Aubrey, personal communication, November 11, 1983).

Counselor in schools. In addition to his accomplishments in research and publication, Rothney was well known and respected for his eminence as a counselor. Throughout his career, he worked closely with high school students from all over Massachusetts and Wisconsin, respectively, spending many hours in counseling with them in their schools and in his beloved "lab." John's clients were never merely research subjects but people whom "he followed up and assisted in many personal and financial ways" (R. M. Fredrickson, personal communication, November 16, 1983). "It was his work and deep commitment to school counseling that stimulated me toward a similar career. It is from John . . . that I developed my deep sense of the importance of, and appreciation for, high standards, ethical practices and research in the preparation and work of counselors" (W. J. Erpenbach, personal communication, December 12, 1984). Although he did "state-of-the-art" research, his first love was working on the firing line with students and their parents, teachers, and counselors. "Never can I forget seeing the small frame of a man bent over with his head down, a droll smile on his face, counseling with a high school student in a hallway with hundreds of students milling around and yet recognizing that they were not aware of the time and place. That is counseling!" (D. G. Hays, personal communication, November 21, 1983).

Expert in measurement for guidance. Rothney's work and reputation in measurement are well documented, from his dissertation in 1934 to his writing 50 years later. It is clear that this has been an area of massive impact by Rothney on counseling and development, with special attention to abuses of measurement and limitations of measurement instruments, especially interest inventories. "Many of his works were provocative and highly critical of unverified and unsupported ideas and instruments. I will always remember his constant question, 'Have you got the evidence or are you operating on faith?' " (G. F. Farwell, personal communication, November 8, 1983). He remains the consummate "loving critic" (E. L. Herr, personal communication, December 19, 1983) of the profession—the "conscience of our field" (P. J. Danielson, personal communication, October 31, 1984).

Mentor and educator. "John has made a difference in my life and in the lives of thousands of others who have been touched by him" (R. R. Roth, personal communication, December 15, 1983). "For me, Dr. Rothney was and is a model professor" (R. W. Bradley, personal communication, November 15, 1983). "The decision I made to study with Dr. Rothney at the University of Wisconsin was one I have never regretted. He proved to be the consummate professional model. His dedication to research and the counseling profession was unfailing and inspiring. He stimulated his students to think, ask critical questions and leave class motivated to study" (R. J. Nelson, personal communication, November 13, 1984). "He was, most of all, a teacher [who] served as a model" (D. A. Jepsen, personal communication, October 24, 1984). "John has devoted his life to the improvement of . . . guidance practices. Even in retirement he has read and kept up-to-date, and I have received letters from him commenting on my writings and publications. I am sure he has done this for others as well" (R. M. Fredrickson, personal communication, November 16, 1983). "In my 30 years in education I never met anyone whom I learned to respect as I did John Rothney. John is a superb teacher and learner, and he does not really differentiate between these two activities. One can hardly coexist with him in a teaching-learning situation and remain just a learner or just a teacher. No one can achieve this climate better than John. To me, it is his finest professional and personal quality. He can come to wherever his learner is, and at least some of the time he can bring his learner to wherever he is. People change as a result of contact with John Rothney" (M. P. Sanborn, personal communication, November 14, 1983). "John Watson Murray Rothney carved a path that no one has attempted to follow. His mark will remain indelible upon the field of guidance and counseling" (J. J. Cody, personal communication, November 15, 1983).

John Rothney was born April 10, 1906, to James Scott Rothney and Christian Ann Rothney in Aberdeen, Scotland. His sisters, Flora, Ina, Joanna, and Jean, and his brother, James, were all born before John. John married Ruth Griswold on February 10, 1945, in Roanoke, Virginia, and they have two sons, James Donald Steven, born in 1947, and David Scott Murray, born in 1949, and two grandchildren, Joshua and Megan Rothney.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

D.E.: *Dr. Rothney, when you recall your childhood and your early development, who are the people and what are the values, events, and ideas that come to mind?*

J.R.: I was born in Scotland and came to Canada when I was about 5 years old. At that time we didn't have television, automobiles, radio—so life was spent largely around the family. Music, books, and religion were all very prominent. My father, at times, was a lay preacher, so we had a good deal of religious instruction in the home. I can't recall anything unusual about those years—seems just like a normal growing up within a family, in a small town, going to school, going to church, and spending a good deal of time with the family. School was always interesting to me, except during a period in high school when I wanted to quit and see the world. Fortunately, the principal of the school was a good counselor, although he wasn't called that at the time. He talked me into staying in school and finishing. That is about all I can recall of those childhood and adolescent years.

D.E.: *Did you have any guidance other than the principal urging you to stay on in school?*

J.R.: No, at that time, the word *counselor* was unheard of. Teachers sometimes talked about the future, the principal certainly did, but not what you might call counseling or guidance in the common sense of those words. I liked school; I liked to study; I liked to learn. I particularly liked subjects such as Latin, French, physics, mathematics, and poetry. Putting on a Shakespearean play, for example, was a great event that I liked very much. I like to write, and I get great pleasure out of language. I suppose that is why I liked Latin and French so much. There are times when I try to fix something around the house, and I wish I would have taken shop courses (not offered in those days) instead of Latin, but really the verbal development was very important to me.

D.E.: *What or who encouraged you to continue your education beyond high school?*

J.R.: Let me draw from some critical incidents. The day after I graduated from high school, Mike, a fellow student, and I took off to the hoboes—rode the freights for several months. We wanted to see the world. We were going along all right until one night in British Columbia. We were in an open freight car, and a freezing rain developed. It was the most miserable night I ever spent in my life. I had had enough of that kind of life. In the morning, around the campfire, I said to Mike, "I'm going home and go to college." I went home; Mike went on.

I went to the University of Alberta. I liked to play pool; I became pretty good at it and made money gambling illegally. We often played well into the night and, as you can guess, my studies suffered. Before long, the dean wrote me a letter, indicating that if I didn't "shape up" he would have to send me home, I shaped up. That was an important incident, to really decide to go on.

I also thought at that time I might be a professional baseball player. After one tryout in semiprofessional baseball, I got some good guidance from the coach in just a few words: "Good glove—no hit—you better go home." I returned to the university, where I went out for football. It was too rough a game for me; I was too small. Then I substituted on the hockey team and liked that very much. Socially and academically, school became a very pleasant life, with interesting studies and some very inspiring professors.

During my undergraduate days I had no idea what profession I would enter—engineering, teaching, medicine (my mother would have liked me to become a doctor but the smells of the medical school drove me away from that). The decision to go on to some kind of graduate work just sort of came automatically. I simply wanted to study more. I thought then of the University of Toronto or McGill (Canadian universities), but our family moved to Massachusetts to live with relatives there, and Harvard then seemed a better choice.

GRADUATE SCHOOL, RESEARCH, AND MENTORS

D.E.: *What was it like going to Harvard University in 1930?*

J.R.: That was the first year of the Great Depression. I don't know if they were short of students or if they accepted Alberta students automatically, but there was no question about admission. I just wrote, signed up, and that was it. By that time I knew I wanted to do something with people and education. The School of Education had written me about their program, and I decided to try that college. I was lucky. In the first year I got a part-time clerical job (because I needed the money), at 35 cents an hour, working on the Harvard Growth Study. Not many people know about it these days, but is was a longitudinal study of about 2,000 schoolchildren from the time they entered first grade until the year after they graduated from high school. It was a study of mental and physical growth. We measured, weighed, X-rayed, and gave them a couple of intelligence tests each year for 12 years. That experience taught me the value of longitudinal research and was a most critical incident in my development. Of course, the study also involved extensive evaluation, and those two words—*longitudinal* and *evaluation*—have meant more to me professionally than anything else.

> *". . . those two words—*longitudinal *and* evaluation*—have meant more to me professionally than anything else."*

D.E.: *Go on further about your attention to longitudinal evaluation throughout your career.*

J.R.: When Dr. W. F. Dearborn started the Growth Study, he was looking for the extent of mental and physical correlation. He had the idea that a person's body and brain growth would be highly correlated. They weren't. I began to wonder whether this was all worth doing. Sure, there were many data about the physical sizes of these children, all of which was very useful for children's clothing manufacturers, but what did it do for schools? What would it do for a parent? So that raised concern and intellectual curiosity about the value of evaluation early in my career, and it carried over into everything I did. I wanted to see how well something worked, what good it did, what it accomplished.

D.E.: *And in all your work in evaluation, you seemed to pay so much attention to product or outcome rather than process.*

J.R.: Yes, I think process evaluation is a joke. I can assess your process all you like, but until I find out whether the process produced anything, it's a waste of time. It's an excuse for some people to avoid the longer problem, the harder problem of evaluation. There are several well-known persons who suggest that counseling should be done a certain way. If the students do what they are told to do, that's said to be good counseling. But is it good? What happens to the people who are counseled? Does what happens to clients make any difference to these counselors who are good in carrying out the process? Do they produce any results? Are they effective? Without outcome evaluation, it doesn't make any sense to me. You can do process evaluation all you like, but all that tells you is that this person does what someone thinks he or she ought to do. It does not tell whether of not counseling accomplishes anything. The best way to do that is to find out what clients do after counseling.

> *". . . John Brewer. . . . There was a tremendous man. . . . He made us feel that . . . what he wanted us to do was the most important work in the world."*

D.E.: *Talk further about your professors at Harvard.*

J.R.: I signed up for a course with Dr. John Brewer. There was a tremendous man, a man with insightful opinions, strength, and a wonderful nature, convinced of the value of what he was doing. He just made us feel that what he was doing and what he wanted us to do was the most important work in the world. Brewer was a tremendous influence, a great leader, a man who was fearless in expressing his points of view, even to the point where it worked against him crucially in promotion and that sort of thing. He never did become a full professor. He told administrators what he thought. He came out during the Arlington Study and spent half a day with me; I always remember him saying as he was leaving, "You are saving souls." He was a very interesting, very colorful, and very good looking man. He was my introduction to guidance and counseling.

At that time, too, Henry Murray, who wrote *Explorations in Personality* (1963), and Gordon Allport influenced me. Murray headed the Psychological clinic at Harvard. They were developing the Thematic Aperception Test (TAT), and as a subject of their study you would get paid 35 cents an hour (a substantial fee then) to look at these pictures and describe what you saw. So we talked a long time. Gordon Allport, what a wonderful man! He took time to sit down with me, talk, and listen to my ideas, as well as give me ideas. He was an inspiration. I was very fortunate to have that connection with him and with Murray in the Psychological Clinic. I took courses in the clinic in addition to working there part-time. I have never forgotten the respect and encouragement these men showed me and all their students.

> *"Gordon Allport, what a wonderful man! . . . He was an inspiration."*

At the same time, Truman Kelley, a pioneer in statistics, encouraged me. I once took over his advanced course in statistics when he was sick one semester. This not only got me interested in statistics, but I also developed a skepticism of the whole business of manipulating numbers. Then there was a Dr. Philip Rulon (deceased), the smartest man I think I have ever met—a tremendous statistician and mathematician. He was my adviser. It was a strange kind of stimulation he gave me, partly because he would challenge me and make me wonder if I could do something. All those early experiences got me started in what you might call counseling, although I must admit at that time the counseling was secondary. Child development was my primary field of interest.

PIONEERING IN COUNSELING AND GUIDANCE

D.E.: *Elaborate on your early professional involvement in counseling.*

J.R.: Another critical event took place. Harvard received a grant to examine the effects of putting guidance into the public schools. Fortunately, based on my background and interest, I was selected to do the study. I went out to Arlington, a suburb of Cambridge. We took about 200 eighth graders, matched them with 200 others, and counseled the first group as well as we knew how until they finished high school. We then followed them until 11 years after high school. That resulted in the book, *Guidance of American Youth,* published in 1950 by the Harvard University Press. Sometimes I wish people would read that book again. They would realize that some concepts and practices, such as developmental and holistic guidance and attention to multipotentiality, individual differences, and nonproblem cases, which they propose as new, are not. They were being done way back in the 1930s.

That was a great experience. It reinforced my growing interest in a longitudinal approach to evaluation. One part of our approach was unusual. We did the counseling and guidance for 5 years. Then we turned over the evaluation of it to people who had nothing to do with the counseling, so there couldn't be any bias in the evaluation. We gave them the names of the students and said, "You go out and interview them, and you tell us how things turned out." That was a very good methodology. I wish more people would use it because when you evaluate, there is a tendency for bias, and this was a way to avoid bias.

D.E.: *When did you participate in the Dartmouth study, Motivation and Visual Factors?*

J.R.: That was another interesting effort from about 1936 to 1940. There again was a longitudinal evaluation project. We took the freshmen and followed them through their Dartmouth careers for 4 years. We were interested in the relationship of vision to achievement and personal development. It was both a statistical and a case study. As a matter of fact, the subtitle was Individual Studies of College Students. We used the usual procedures—obtained autobiographies, used the Rorschach (I wouldn't use it again, but we did it then), the TAT, all sorts of instruments, and then interviews. The interesting finding was (and it's what I still believe) that health factors are imbedded in your personality, and your reaction to those factors is what is important. For example, some of the fellows had eye difficulties and used them as excuses for not doing very much. Others said, "It's a challenge, because I'm handicapped." That came out very strongly.

MARRIAGE AND MILITARY SERVICE

D.E.: *When did you meet Ruth?*

J.R.: During the war; she was in the WACs, the Women's Army Corps, and I was training to be an education officer in the morale division of the Air Corps. We met in Roanoke, Virginia, in 1943. Then I was sent to the South Pacific, and we corresponded for a year. I came back and went into training to become a civil affairs officer and then was sent to Japan. We corresponded all the time. When I came back from Japan in 1945, we were married. But I didn't get out of the service until 1946. They were 4 interesting years, but I could have done without them. But marriage with Ruth was the greatest decision in my life. She's just wonderful, just a perfect wife; I can't think of good enough words to say about her. She's just a remarkable person. She's still full of energy, just vivacious, and that is clear in seeing her. Marriage was a turning point certainly because Ruth is such a strong and wonderful person.

D.E.: *What was your military experience like?*

J.R.: John Flanagan (head of the American Research Institute and a Harvard classmate) recruited about 40 of us to classify aviation cadets. That was interesting, challenging, and intensive work in appraisal for a short time. After that project, my time in the service became very boring. We were stationed on the Russell Islands near Guadalcanal, just a chunk of coral out there in the middle of the ocean. Then I was assigned to MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo for 7 months. We were among the first outfits to go in after MacArthur. We got off the ship with loaded carbines, thinking we might run into trouble. It was just the opposite of what we had expected. The people welcomed us with open arms, and they were so nice that I couldn't think of them as an enemy. In terms of my work, though, I didn't have anything to do. They just kept people on to keep their numbers up. I had only an hour's busy work a week, and I hated it. I liked the country but the job was terrible, and in a big general's headquarters you had to be immaculate.

Japan was a delightful place, though. Except for actual hours on the job, I had considerable freedom. I could hop on a train, go anywhere, and stay overnight in those nice little Japanese hotels. The people were so friendly. I enjoyed that part of my Japanese experience. But the rest of it was time sitting in an office with nothing to do, doing crossword puzzles and writing poetry. I really hadn't wanted to go there in the first place. I thought, the war was over, why should I go?

D.E.: *Have you ever returned to Japan?*

J.R.: Yes, Ruth and I went back for 2 weeks 6 or 7 years ago on a freighter out of Seattle. That was an interesting experience, but what a change! The places I knew that were little fishing villages during the war now had high rise buildings. When I was there right after the war, there were signs of bombing everywhere around Tokyo. We burned to death about 70,000 people in that area. There was destruction for miles, it seemed. It was just desolate. When we went back, it had changed. It was a very pleasant return.

RESEARCH, COUNSELING, AND TEACHING

D.E.: *After the service you returned to Wisconsin and continued your work there. Let's return to the time just prior to your being hired at Wisconsin in 1939. Talk about your decision to leave Harvard and move to Madison.*

J.R.: I was a lecturer at Harvard, taught the Stanford-Binet course, a much bigger phenomenon in those days, and continued with the Growth Study. I could see there was no future for me at Harvard because of a policy that no recent graduate would be appointed to a staff position. Fortunately, two universities came along with offers of positions in 1939. One was a big eastern university and the other was Wisconsin. They both offered me jobs, and the challenge seemed better at Wisconsin, so that's where I went. At Wisconsin the staff members were friendly, interested, and had a new joint program with teacher education and guidance in which the first course was to be child development. That was appealing to me. Dr. Alonzo Edgerton (he was one of the guidance pioneers) was all alone in the counseling area, and the demand for some help in that area was there. At Wisconsin, I could combine child development with counseling and guidance. I also liked the countryside and the people. Those were the factors that made the decision. I could have stayed at Harvard for a long time, but I could see no progress. I took the Wisconsin job, and I have never regretted it.

D.E.: *Dr. Alonzo Edgerton was an early guidance pioneer?*

J.R.: Yes, everybody called him Lon, which was unusual in those more formal days. When he was with a student, time meant nothing. Every time I had an appointment to have lunch with him, I'd make another appointment because if he was talking to a student they'd just keep talking. That was the way he was. He was a real friend of students and a person who gave of himself unconditionally. We all wrote a piece when he died, a little memorial, and I said, "Long before the phrase unconditional positive regard was heard, he practiced it."

D.E.: *You obviously enjoyed Wisconsin.*

J.R.: Yes, the people at Wisconsin encouraged me. I even had very good relations with liberal arts people. When I arrived at Wisconsin, there was no program in which any of the professors contacted kids or schools, so I started what I called the Psycho-Educational Clinic (it's still going strong). I had just started the clinic when I was called into military service.

When I came back in 1946, I started what was called the Wisconsin Counseling Study (Rothney, 1958). We took high school youngsters and counseled them as well as we knew how during the rest of their high school careers. We then followed them and a control group until 20 years after high school.

D.E.: *John, briefly discuss the findings of your Wisconsin Counseling Study and your unprecedented 100% response rate, with replies from every participant still living 20 years after high school graduation.*

J.R.: Conducting that study was inspiring, rewarding, and humbling. Five years after counseling, we learned conclusively that counseling made a substantial positive difference in the lives of clients. By 10 years after graduation, however, the gains were greatly diminished, and by 20 years after graduation there was little difference between counseled and noncounseled students. It was impressive to obtain 100% response over the years, and I never lost sight of the differences we would have obtained if we had stopped at a 60%, 70%, or 85% return rate. It was also humbling to realize that when we speak of the effectiveness of counseling, it is imperative that we speak in terms of shorter limits rather than such general terms as "for life," because our data simply did not warrant an inference that counseling is effective for long periods of years. Given variables such as wars, changing values, and international economics, it would certainly be presumptuous to speak of counseling for life.

> *"One reason I didn't succeed as much as I wanted to . . . is that I spent too much time with individual kids. . . . I just liked to be with those kids."*

D.E.: *Let's return to other highlights of your career. Talk about founding the Research and Guidance Laboratory in 1957.*

J.R.: Just before Sputnik, the president of the university called a group of us together and wanted to know if Wisconsin could facilitate the development of bright students in any way. I proposed what I called the Research and Guidance Laboratory for Superior Students. I received support from professors and deans in agriculture, engineering, medicine, law, liberal arts, commerce, and many others who joined in to finance this Laboratory for Superior Students. That was great because of the interdepartmental cooperation. And so it started.

It was a little different pioneering at the very beginning, because first I had to get people thinking about bright students. My idea, and now I realize it was really too big an idea, was just to spread a net throughout the whole state and get people talking about students, with emphasis on bright students (because the grant money was coming for them). My overall goal was to get teachers and administrators talking about individual students.

D.E.: *Your smile shows the joy you take in having been involved with it and the fact that it was so ambitious.*

J.R.: Yes, I really enjoyed it. One reason I didn't succeed as much as I wanted to in developing a statewide program is that I spent too much time with individual kids. If I had spent less time doing that and more time politicking, publishing, and speaking, I think it would have worked better than it did. But that was a weakness of mine; I just liked to be with those kids.

D.E.: *Talk about that a little more, the impact of interacting with a youngster individually. What did it do for you? How did if affect you?*

J.R.: It's hard to say, other than that I enjoyed it. It brought out real problems and the whole business of growing up. It made me feel humble at times. I also liked their wit. Once I asked a girl, "What would you like to be doing 5 years from now?" She said, "I would like to be a wealthy widow!" I also liked helping those kids. One boy had taken the Kuder (not at our lab, because you know my feelings about that thing). He scored high on outdoors and music; so what was he going to do? He said he would have to join the Salvation Army! There were many such interactions. It was a nice feeling to have youngsters coming to me and saying, "Well now, if you don't advise me, somebody less qualified than you will, somebody who doesn't know about occupations, doesn't know about opportunities." That happened so often that it made me feel like I was doing something worthwhile.

> *"It was a nice feeling to have youngsters coming to me and saying, 'Well now, if you don't advise me, somebody less qualified than you will, somebody who doesn't know about occupations, doesn't know about opportunities.' That . . . made me feel like I was doing something worthwhile."*

D.E.: *How did your graduate research assistants complement your work and the goals of the Research and Guidance Laboratory program?*

J.R.: I thought maybe I could have some lasting effect, but not many of the graduate students who were in that lab (and in some years there were as many as 20 of them) went on to do anything significant for superior students. Now why? Maybe I didn't stimulate them enough. Maybe I paid too much attention to the kids and not enough to the graduate students. Maybe they didn't see what I saw as a great need. But it is a little disappointing that so few of them have continued working with superior students. Another disappointment is that so few of the graduate students that I have had (not only my own but other people's advisees) have become researchers. I thought that by doing so much research in longitudinal evaluation, it would catch on, and they would do it when they graduated. It hasn't happened. So many of them graduate, get a job, become administrators, become involved in local politics, or get into group work. Some are authors and editors. These are all important jobs, but that wasn't what I was hoping—that they would carry on as researchers.

D.E.: *Talk about your experience working with and teaching graduate students in counselor education.*

J.R.: I never met a graduate student or graduate assistant I didn't like. I cared deeply for them, real genuine concern—"Here I am at your disposal," so to speak, "I'm with you," "Let's work together," that sort of relationship. It's just natural for me. I always thought of students and clients as growing persons—whether children or adults—growing, changing persons. Continuous conceptualization of a person was an important part of my work right from the beginning. I think that probably can be traced back to Allport.

D.E.: *You were very much a Socratic teacher. Often you would push and not provide answers as much as seek answers with students and force students to think. Your students brag about that now, about that challenging, forceful style of stimulation. Would you talk about that briefly?*

J.R.: I was just me. I know what you mean; students would get excited about some big idea, and I would say "So what"? And that would set them back for a minute. Part of it is, I think, a willingness to laugh, a willingness to be with them, so to speak, rather than above them. Jack Cody (1961) did a thesis on reasoning; he set up some problems and had bright students try to solve them out loud with the tape recorder on. What came out of that was the fact that so many of these students had been taught that certain matters were so, and they were awfully good at remembering that. But when they had to figure out something for themselves, that was a different story. I think there was much of that in my teaching: "Let's see if we can find this out" rather than "This is so."

I built an analogies test in which the students didn't have to just recognize analogies, as in most tests. They had to *make* some. I found real differences among students on this test. Only some could produce, and that was what I was getting at. How well could these students produce, not just reproduce? So that was part of my teaching—to see what *they* could come up with—more thinking for oneself rather than memorizing what somebody said. That was always interesting.

D.E.: *Would you speak about what you call* adaptive counseling *(Rothney, 1972)?*

J.R.: It is a counseling approach for working with high school students. The approach was, "I'm here to work with you, your parents, and your teachers to see if we can help you to know yourself better than you otherwise might, so that when the time comes to make important decisions, you will be better prepared to do it. By important, I don't mean whether you go to the movies tonight, but important decisions such as where you are going to go to school, whom you are going to spend much of your time with, what kind of occupation you plan to enter. Counseling is going to be a cooperative effort, working with you, your parents, and your teachers." That is the way I like to think of the job of a counselor in a high school.

D.E.: *So you are working toward a goal of maturity, with objectives of self-understanding and decision making.*

J.R.: Not maturity, but continuing to mature. There is quite a difference. The work of some people who talk about adjustment suggests that one can come to a state in which one would be adjusted. I don't feel that way. I think about *adjustability* as we make progress. Humans are moving and changing. You can see it everywhere. Even 80-year-olds change. So we are working not for adjustment but adjustability, not stability but flexibility.

D.E.: *In your books on case studies,* Counseling the Individual Student *(1949) and* Methods of Studying the Individual Child *(1968), you paid special attention to intrapersonal differences and nonproblem cases.*

J.R.: Yes. Within the same person there are such tremendous differences. That was very noticeable with our Dartmouth students. They were all in one category. They were smart enough to be at Dartmouth. But other than that, there were retiring people, outgoing people, drinkers, nondrinkers, religious people, and nonreligious people. They ran the whole gamut of human experience. When you think of Dartmouth, you think of a homogeneous population, but it just isn't so.

D.E.: *Could you talk about the value of the case study?*

J.R.: Case study involves employing many methods in your work—testing, inventories, or anything else. Putting them together is called making a case study. I believe a case study is just *the* way to put together the materials you obtain from other sources, putting them together meaningfully, sometimes with interpretation. I think doing a case study calls attention to many facets that you might not ordinarily note. It also brings together the combination of data in a way to bring out relationships that you might not otherwise see.

D.E.: *From your earliest years, your work has involved measurement issues. At Harvard, in your dissertation (1934), you studied interest inventories. All the way through your work there is, simultaneously, a hard, critical look at instruments of measurement and extensive use of instruments as well.*

J.R.: There are perfectly good reasons for giving reading tests to all students; that's fine. But I don't know any guidance instrument that should be given to all students. My feeling is that a counselor should know this student by interviewing, by talking to the parents and teachers, and by working on all available materials; then, if measurement seems appropriate, do it.

> *"I don't think they thought of . . . [me] as a conscience, more just a nasty old man. . . . I think I did get a point across; the instruments had not been validated."*

D.E.: *Many people remember your spirited, sometimes abrasive critiques of measurement instruments, especially interest inventories. For example, you used labels such as the "yellow peril," "purple menace," and "blue plague," based on the respective colors of specific instrument forms, to convey your contempt for certain instruments. I recall one very pointed reaction (Campbell, 1967) to one of your reviews (Rothney, 1967). Although some disliked that criticism, others saw you as something of the conscience of the field. Discuss that element of skepticism and questioning in your work.*

J.R.: In some ways I think people thought of me as a gadfly, a guy who was against everything. Several who were very prominent in the late 1950s and early 1960s were getting considerable attention, and I would come along with an argument or a speech and question them. I don't think they thought of it as a conscience, more just a nasty old man. They never accused me of not knowing what I was talking about. They attacked the person rather than what I said. For instance, I am known for attacks on interest inventories. First, I used to say they're not tests; they are merely inventories. I spoke about the Strong Vocational Interest Blank: "*Blank* is right," I used to say. I gave 21 reasons why I wouldn't use them. Twenty were theoretical; the 21st was, "They don't work." I think I did get a point across; the instruments had not been validated.

D.E.: *Would you advocate more skepticism?*

J.R.: Oh, I think so. We really need it. There's too much back-patting. That's one thing about a person who develops what he or she calls a theory or a best method of doing something. Without skepticism, young people get attached to that person, and then they do, of course, what they are told to do. For instance, with one well-known instrument that I criticized extensively, you can look at the bibliographies that are put out by proponents and never once do you find a reference that is critical of that instrument.

REFLECTIONS

D.E.: *How have your personal values and your philosophy of life influenced your professional identity?*

J.R.: Well, one factor is scrupulous honesty. For example, there were many opportunities to "cook" things (to prove a point rather than to investigate) that I avoided. Vigor, honesty, pursuit of truth, concern for people, liking people—these are all values and philosophies that affected my professional life.

> *"I would like to think I stimulated people to think about individuals . . ."*

D.E.: *What do you sense as your greatest contributions?*

J.R.: I never thought about it. I don't know. I would like to think I stimulated people to think about individuals, and maybe that's the sum and substance. As far as books are concerned, well, we were pioneering in those days. When we did the Harvard-Arlington study (*Guidance of American Youth*, 1950), it was impressive that a university of Harvard's status would publish a book like that with an emphasis on guidance for *all* students, not merely those with major problems. That was a real accomplishment. Also, when I did the book with Dearborn, *Predicting the Child's Development* (1941), that was an accomplishment because Dearborn had planned the study so well and the implications were so clear. If individuals were so unique in their anthropometric growth, it seemed to follow logically that we must pay strict attention to interpersonal and intrapersonal differences in social, emotional, psychological, and intellectual development.

D.E.: *You established the Research and Guidance Laboratory for Superior Students in 1957, before Sputnik. You went on to chair many dissertations and to work with many students over the years, and you completed the 20-year follow-up study of the Wisconsin Counseling Study. Then, in 1971, you retired. Was there a dimension of fruition for you as well as a desire not to hang on too long?*

J.R.: Kind of—I had set 65 (that was the voluntary retirement age at Wisconsin), so I hurried to try to get that follow-up completed. I was active and healthy; I really have been healthy until lately. But I could see signs that I was slipping, and there was no kidding myself about it. So I decided it was time.

D.E.: *And New Mexico came pretty closely after 1971, didn't it?*

J.R.: Right away. We sold the house and gave away everything that we couldn't get into our station wagon. We started down the road, didn't have the slightest idea where we'd wind up. We were just going to drive until we found a place to stop. We happened to stop in Roswell, New Mexico, and liked it—three golf courses, good library, nice-sized town, not too much traffic, a little university (if I wanted one), and the climate was just what we wanted. We wanted a home where we'd have room, a view of the mountains, and a fireplace. We found this place with four acres, a fireplace, and a wonderful view.

D.E.: *Ruth says she prefers that this be exclusively your interview. What do you think she would say about your prominence in the field?*

J.R.: That's a tough question. I don't know; it's just something taken for granted. I don't think she was terribly impressed with the publications, that sort of thing. The articles, she would glance through them and stack them up, and she agreed with me about the idea of quitting at 65. That was agreed upon—there was no argument, no pro and con about that. We agreed that we now would be free to do what we wanted to do, and we have traveled frequently since then—the Danube, through the Panama Canal, Alaska, Mexico, many places. I think she'd just say, "I agree."

D.E.: *What do you see as some of the greatest strengths in our profession?*

J.R.: Well, I suppose the fact is that there are many who are doing their very best to know individuals and to help them make important decisions. I think there must be a very large number who do that.

D.E.: *What are your personal hopes for the profession?*

J.R.: Sometimes I feel rather gloomy because of the lack of evaluation. I really think if you get down to it, and it bothers people when I say this, I don't see how counseling has any justification for existing. We really don't have anything that says counselors can do an effective job. We just don't have the data. So, sometimes I get gloomy and then I think, well, there are many good young folks, vigorous, interested, concerned, willing to work at it, willing to learn. They'll carry it on and it may turn out to be a very good field. After all, it's a young field. It's only 70 years old. By the time your children have grandchildren, it might amount to something. Those are pretty harsh words, I know, but after all, look at the literature and see if you can find evidence of accomplishment.

D.E.: *Well, it's a long and full way since 1911 when you came over from Scotland. Did you ever stop to think about how far you have come?*

J.R.: That kind of thing never entered my mind; I just did things. I never had the feeling that some have of climbing up and being great or anything like that; it was just my job. It's a strange feeling. Some people just can't understand it. I can't think of anything I did just to get ahead. I did it because I felt it was worth doing and because I wanted to do it.

D.E.: *How do you feel right now? What's in your heart and your head?*

J.R.: I know that the time is coming pretty soon now when I won't be around, but that is just a part of life. It's just like being born. Dying is part of life, so you just take it in stride. It's inevitable. You know that the world will get along well without you and always has.

J. W. M. Rothney: Major Events and Census Data

1906	*Born April 10, Aberdeen, Scotland*
1911	*Moved to Canada*
1930	*BA, University of Alberta*
1930	*Entered Harvard University Graduate School*
1930–34	*Research Associate and Lecturer at Harvard University and Wellesley College; Research Assistant with Harvard Growth Study and the Psychological Clinic*
1934	*PhD dissertation,* Interests in Relation to School Success at the High School Level
1934	*Began longitudinal research project, The Arlington Study*

1936	*Began longitudinal research project, Motivation and Visual Factors, Dartmouth College*
1939	*Moved to Wisconsin, founded the Psycho-Educational Clinic*
1941–45	*Military service*
1943–Present	*Marriage with Ruth; two sons, two grandchildren*
1946–71	*The Wisconsin Counseling Study, unprecedented 100% response rate for 20 years*
1951	*Outstanding Research Award, Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, a forerunner of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA, now the American Association for Counseling and Development [AACD])*
1957	*Started Research and Guidance Laboratory for Superior Students, University of Wisconsin*
1959	*Outstanding Research Award, APGA*
1966	*Commendation for Outstanding Research from Division 17, Counseling Psychology, of the APA; Diplomate in Counseling Psychology, American Board of Professional Examiners in Psychology, and Fellow, APA*
1970	*Identified as 1 of 22 most significant leaders by APGA committee*
1975	*Cited as 1 of 4 professionals who contributed 50% of classics in counseling and guidance literature*
1985	*Eminent Career Award from the National Vocational Guidance Association (now the National Career Development Association)*

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Jerome Frank:
Persuader and Exemplar

CHRISTINE E. MEINECKE

Jerome Frank was first pointed out to me on a sidewalk outside Johns Hopkins Hospital. He walked alone, with a brisk and choppy step, his shoulders bent forward. His brown suit hung loosely on his slight frame. His short, wavy, gray hair was ruffled. He seemed oblivious to his surroundings, apparently absorbed in thought.

Subsequent interactions with Frank revealed an unpretentious man, genuinely humble about his achievements. Among his most salient characteristics are his ready smile, his kindness, and his seemingly insatiable desire to learn. During our 3-hour interview, he spoke softly and candidly, thinking aloud rather than carefully choosing or editing his words.

OVERVIEW

Jerome David Frank, born May 30, 1909, grew up on New York's Upper West Side in a "solid middle class, totally unreligious," German-Jewish family. Although Frank was "puny, anxious, and awkward as a child," his intellectual gifts were recognized and nurtured. His parents and large group of aunts and uncles instilled in him a concern about the world, a love of learning, an interest in politics and ethics, and an appreciation for nature and classical music.

Frank's father was "a frustrated scientist, a businessman who prided himself on being the Nestor of chemistry in the varnish business." Lovable and thoughtful but lacking in ambition, Frank's father was often reproached by his older brother, a prominent attorney, for "not asking for as much money as he deserved to get." Frank was greatly influenced by both his father and his uncle, inheriting, he believes, his father's sense of humor and his uncle's rigorous mind. Frank's mother, 15 years younger than her husband, was a homemaker and an amateur singer. She attempted to nurture in Jerome, her firstborn, some musical accomplishment, but he could neither carry a tune nor learn to play an instrument.

It was Frank's younger brother, John, who was musically gifted. He was also closest to their mother, and he received much affection from her. John frequently teased his older, yet physically weaker, brother. "I think John had very complicated feelings toward me," Frank said. "He was admiring and affectionate on the one hand, and yet, although it never really came out directly, he must also have resented me, I feel. I wanted to get closer to him, but I always felt he showed a certain guardedness toward me." Frank believes that John, who also became a psychiatrist, was extremely bright and had not lived up to his full intellectual potential when he died suddenly in 1971.

Frank named three men, in addition to his father and uncle, who served as primary role models. The first was a college student, Algernon Black, who was hired by Frank's family as a tutor the summer Frank was 12. Black was athletic, intelligent, and ingenious, and Frank developed a "real crush on him." Black, now 84, became a leader in the New York Society for Ethical Culture and has been a life-long influence on Frank.

Frank entered premedical studies at Harvard in 1926. He majored in psychology and graduated *summa cum laude.* There he met another major influence, his undergraduate tutor, John Gilbert Beebe-Center, a psychologist. "He was an extraordinary man, and still is to me," Frank said. "He was a Boston Brahmin who had all the money and status he wanted, and he didn't give a damn about advancement. Although he was offered higher positions elsewhere, he stayed an instructor, or tutor, or something. He loved to teach, person-to-person teaching. He steered me into Kurt Lewin's work."

The work of Kurt Lewin, German gestalt psychologist, profoundly affected Frank, inspiring him to postpone medical school and go to Berlin in 1930 to study psychology with Lewin. Frank appreciated the departure of Lewin from psychology's study of sensation and perception and its atomistic approach to the person. He embraced Lewin's view of the person as a unit interacting with the environment. During his year in Berlin, Frank also witnessed Hitler's influence "spreading like wildfire" and engaged in many "exciting political discussions."

In 1931, Frank returned to Harvard, completing his doctorate in psychology in 1934. Next he accepted a postdoctoral fellowship at Cornell. Here he was reunited with his mentor, Kurt Lewin, who had left Germany to live in the United States.

Frank then entered Harvard Medical School and "loved every minute of it." He graduated *cum laude* and spent a year as a medical intern at the New York State Hospital. His first association with Johns Hopkins in Baltimore was a 3-year residency at Johns Hopkins Phipps Clinic. This led to 2½ years of service in Australia and the Southwest Pacific at a U.S. Army hospital staffed by Hopkins medical personnel.

After returning to the United States in 1946, he conducted research on group psychotherapy for the Veterans Administration in Washington, D.C. While in Washington, Frank met Elizabeth (Liza) Kleeman, an art historian and docent at the National Gallery. They married in January 1948.

In 1949, Frank returned to Johns Hopkins. His titles during his 35-year career at Hopkins have included director of the Phipps Psychotherapy Unit, psychiatrist-in-chief of the Phipps Outpatient Department, and, currently, professor emeritus of psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.

Frank's writings over the years have covered a wide range of topics. In his doctoral thesis, published in 1935, he investigated individual differences in certain aspects of level of aspiration (an interest of Lewin's). A sampling of later writings includes articles on group psychotherapy with chronic hospitalized schizophrenics (1952), guilt associated with parenting (1957), the psychology of nonviolence (1965), the psychology of violence (1971), treatment of homosexuality (1972), mind-body relationships in illness and healing (1975, 1976), and humanism and transcendental religion (1977).

Frank's primary areas of writing and research, however, have been psychotherapy, group psychotherapy, and nuclear disarmament. In the realm of psychotherapy, he proposed that "beneath the babble of conflicting claims all schools of psychotherapy share certain features." He originally labeled the shared and conflicting features of the psychotherapies *nonspecific and specific factors* (Frank, Stone, & Imber, 1966) but now prefers a new terminology, *common and unique factors*. He has proposed that, ultimately, the efficacy of all forms of psychotherapy rests on the personal influence of the therapist upon the patient.

He also advanced the concept that all psychotherapies combat a state of mind in clients that he called demoralization (Frank, 1978). He defined demoralization as a sense of powerlessness to affect oneself and one's environment.

> All schools of psychotherapy combat demoralization through a confiding, emotionally-charged relationship with a trusted help-giver, occurring within a therapeutic setting, within which patient and therapist together perform certain rituals based on a particular rationale. Therapies are differentiated by the contents of the rituals and rationales, but regardless of these differences all have the same morale-raising functions. These include strengthening the therapeutic relationship, restoring the patient's self-confidence, inspiring hope for the future, and increasing the patient's sense of mastery. (Frank, 1978)

In 1956, Frank's thinking and writing entered the realm of human survival in a nuclear world. In an article titled, "Mental Health in a Fragmented Society: The Shattered Crystal Ball" (1979), Frank wrote that:

> From a psychological perspective, the chief reason national leaders have been unable to cope with modern weapons is that emotionally they are still back in the days of spears and clubs, when, indeed, the more weapons your group had, the more secure and powerful it was. Although this is strikingly untrue of strategic nuclear weapons, nations still strive for nuclear superiority. The psychological need to do one's utmost to prevail creates strong pressures toward escalation of conflict and makes it highly unlikely that a civilization-destroying nuclear war can be indefinitely prevented. (p. 399)

Among Frank's many honors and awards are the Blanche Ittleson Award of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, the Kurt Lewin Memorial Award of the Society for Psychological Study of Social Issues, the first Oskar Pfister Award of the American Psychiatric Association, and the 1985 American Psychological Association Award for Distinguished Contribution to Psychology in the Public Interest.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

***C.M.:** What are your most positive personal characteristics and your most troublesome?*

J.F.: Now, this, of course, is very difficult. My most positive personal characteristics, I think, are my intelligence and my good humor. And, apparently, a capacity for eliciting affection and respect from people. As for troublesome characteristics, there's my tendency to be anxious. Also, I can't stand hostility in people. I'm an expert at avoiding it, and, I believe, this has kept me from being an effective leader.

***C.M.:** How has this kept you from being an effective leader?*

J.F.: Because the leader has to incur hostility and has to make decisions that will disappoint somebody. It's very, very difficult for me to do that. I want to make everybody happy all the time. I keep wondering how I can make more people happier or create less anger. Also, in leadership jobs you have to manage budgets, and I've never been able to handle arithmetic. I've always made mistakes. So, these areas are really very strenuous for me and have been handicaps.

"I want to make everybody happy all the time."

***C.M.:** But surely you have functioned in leadership roles during your many years at Johns Hopkins.*

J.F.: Oh, I find myself in leadership roles once in a while, inevitably, and it's always a painful thing. People overestimate my ability to handle power jobs. They try to make me take big ones, and they're disappointed when I indicate that I can't really handle it and decline the offer. This has happened to me several times. That's the one area in which I think I could have had more impact, if I could have, for example, accepted a department chairmanship. But I know I'd have an awful time, if I tried. No, I've planned a career where I can escape hostility and competiveness almost entirely.

***C.M.:** Don't you feel that your career achievements have involved competition?*

J.F.: Not really. Intellectually, perhaps, but not competitiveness in the realm of power. You see, one of the main reasons that people like me is they never feel threatened by me, because I'm never after their jobs or trying to push them aside so I can climb up. That side of me is just pathologically low. My self-esteem is not attached to that realm at all. It's gone to the channel of teaching and playing with ideas. I suppose that's a kind of power, too—power of ideas.

***C.M.:** Are there ways that you see yourself differently now than you have seen yourself in the past?*

J.F.: Yes, I realize now that I am quite an effective person, much more than I used to think I was. I recognize that I have more influence than I thought, that what I say matters to people. It took me a while to learn that. I feel, too, that I've achieved more than I expected to achieve. That's a defect I have. It doesn't sound like one, but it is. I'm overmodest. You can overdo being modest. You don't appreciate what you can do. So, I'm quite surprised that I've achieved as much as I have. I'm fortunate in that way, too.

". . . I've planned a career where I can escape hostility and competitiveness almost entirely."

***C.M.:** Is there anything major you would do differently, if you had it to do over again?*

J.F.: No, there's nothing I'd do differently. I'm a born academician, I think.

***C.M.:** Any secret ambitions?*

J.F.: Well, I always wished I was a good athlete, but it was hardly an ambition. I was always chosen last on teams in school, and so I avoided competitive athletics. I like to walk, camp, canoe, and sail, that kind of thing, but no competition.

***C.M.:** I read that you described yourself as "flatfooted, puny, unathletic" (Kanigel, 1983, p. 36) as a child and that this youthful frailty played a part in your wish to go to medical school.*

J.F.: I had a lot of minor illnesses, too, mainly upper respiratory, so I was interested in the workings of my body. Every now and then it would get bad enough that I would get a small fever, and then they would put me to bed, which I always enjoyed. I don't know what it was, but that was always pleasant for me. That has something to do, I think, with my going to medical school.

C.M.: Are there specific events or self-perceptions that contributed to your interest in psychology and psychiatry?

J.F.: Later on I began to think that those childhood illnesses were probably psychosomatic, which got me interested in the mind-body problem. Also there is a family history of numerous suicides that interested me. Then, too, my mother was very emotional and in a sanatorium from time to time. She and my brother both had bouts of depression and also bouts of being somewhat hypomanic. All of these things must have gotten me interested in psychology and psychiatry.

C.M.: Have you ever been aware of mood swings in yourself?

J.F.: No, I have just the anxiety. I have a good disposition. I never get really depressed.

C.M.: What aspects of your life provide the most joy and satisfaction, and has that changed over your life?

J.F.: There is no question that the most joy and satisfaction come from my family, my wife and children. And next, my work, I'd say. That's only changed in the sense that, of course, I didn't have a wife and children for a large part of my life. Before that I can't remember what my main joys and satisfactions were, particularly. I've always had a few very good friends. I've always gotten a kind of kick out of a new idea, even today. That has always been very sustaining for me.

C.M.: What are your plans for the future?

J.F.: My future is behind me. I'm just coasting until the end now. My family relationships are all very good. I'm watching my children finally have children. I would like to be traveling more, if my wife weren't still working full time. I'd like to take a nice, long cruise around the world, for example. I love to be on the water. Maybe that. Not much else. The pattern of my life is the kind that just runs along.

C.M.: Sounds like you have an attitude of acceptance.

J.F.: I do, very strongly.

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS

C.M.: I've noticed that all the significant influences you mentioned are men.

J.F.: I guess so. That's right. There was one aunt who educated me about politics, and there was my mother in the realm of music, but I don't know of any strong female influences with me.

C.M.: I understand that you have been married to Liza for more than 35 years. What factors have accounted for the stability of your marriage?

J.F.: What can one say about something like that? There was never a thought of breaking it up. We're congenial and she has the same interests I do. We were both older when we got married, too. She was 29 and I was 38.

C.M.: How have you balanced career and family demands?

J.F.: There hasn't really been any problem balancing career and family. It all ran smoothly. Liza has been very good about putting up with me and my work. I think the peak of that was when I was at the Center of Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, a 1-year fellowship in 1958. It was a terrific year for me, and for her it was mainly chauffering the children around all year long. She accepted it, and she did, of course, benefit from the interesting people around; but it was a frustrating year for her, I'd say.

C.M.: How else has your family been affected?

J.F.: Perhaps it didn't run as smoothly for them as it did for me. Another thing I should mention is something that goes with my fear of anger. That is, I don't see anger often. I don't see hostility in other people. In that sense, I would be somewhat Pollyannish about saying everything was running smoothly, but there was never any overt friction.

C.M.: What have you learned about parenting?

J.F.: I picked up one clue very early. When you have more than one child, you let each one know they can have you all to themselves for a certain amount of time every day. It reduces sibling rivalry a great deal. That worked very nicely in our family. Our children's good characters, though, are really very much due to Liza. She enjoyed raising the children, and did that very conscientiously. None of them has gone off the track. They all have been enjoying what they've been doing and moving up.

C.M.: What are your children doing?

J.F.: My oldest daughter is a pediatrician at Boston University. She's the brightest member of the family. She's pulled down three research grants. She also has a super conscience, worse than mine. She's up to her ears in the hunger problem, on the mayor's committee and that kind of thing. My second daughter is a psychiatrist at Yale. Her real interest is in writing—historical writing—and she has a very good knack for light verse. My son is the maverick of the family. He's the second child, and he is surrounded by all these powerful women. He teaches English and drama at a Boston private school. His heart is really in the theatre. He's very musical, too. My youngest daughter is the dean of student affairs at the Johns Hopkins Peabody Institute. She's totally unmusical, though. She told them when they hired her that she knew a lot about being a dean, but not much about music.

C.M.: How did your wife, Liza, come to be working at Johns Hopkins, too?

J.F.: Originally, she was educated in art history but gave that up when she married me and we had our babies. When the children were all grown, she got very restless. She has a hyperconscience, too, and feels she has got to be doing good in the world, contributing somehow. Then this 3-year training program for mental health counselors opened up at Hopkins. She just barely got in—50 was the senior age limit. She's been working in outpatient psychiatry for the past 15 years. She's very dedicated. I would probably be spending less time in my office here if she weren't continuing to work full time. We come to work together every day, you know.

PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

C.M.: Since 1931, you have produced well over 200 publications. What has motivated you to write so prolifically?

J.F.: First of all, there were always things to be written about, as I was doing research from the very beginning. And I enjoyed research and writing very much. It's hard to be more insightful about why I've written a lot. I think that's where my power drive goes. Now, of course, I'm just rehashing stuff. I'm living off my intellectual capital, in a way. For the last few years, I see myself as mainly responding to requests, a lecture somewhere or an article for a book. There's always something brewing this way.

C.M.: Did you ever feel the "publish or perish" pressure?

J.F.: Never, because I was always publishing. But, also, I was lucky in that when I was starting out, the pressure to publish was not nearly so intense as it has become over the years. I never believed I could write a book, though. I never thought somehow that I could get that much stuff together. I was quite surprised when that happened.

C.M.: What do you feel are your most important contributions to the field of psychology?

J.F.: My most important contribution is, clearly, this notion of demoralization as the aspect of our patients that is responsive to psychotherapy (see Frank, 1978). I'm limited to that; that's really the big one, but I'm quite satisfied.

C.M.: I think that other people might list a few more.

J.F.: Maybe I'm being overly modest again. Now, that does remind me of that first book on group psychotherapy (Powdermaker & Frank, 1953). It was, I think, an important contribution at that moment. It was the first big research effort that got published on group psychotherapy. But I wasn't the primary author of that. A fascinating woman named Florence Powdermaker was the moving spirit for that. I give credit for that to her.

C.M.: Tell me more about the importance of this contribution.

J.F.: Well [chuckles], I suppose you could say our book pointed the way to a more dispassionate study of group psychotherapy. Up until our research, there had been two primary forces in group psychotherapy, Dr. S. R. Slavson, who was psychoanalytically oriented, and Dr. Jacob Moreno, who introduced psychodrama. They were involved in a very heated, emotionally charged professional debate. Ours was the first unbiased, systematic, clinical group psychotherapy research with both inpatients and outpatients.

C.M.: Would you summarize your findings?

J.F.: My goodness, it's been more than 40 years, now. I'll have to give this some thought. [pause] Well, we identified several recurrent patterns in individual patients and group interactions. Three of the individual patterns we identified were the "help-rejecting complainer," the "doctor's assistant," and the "self-righteous moralist." These three have received the most subsequent research attention. We also documented that simply introducing a research team onto a ward raised morale among the patients. For example, incontinence improved and other overt symptomatology decreased. Our treatment outcome data showed that 60% of the patients were somewhat improved, a few were very much improved, some showed no change, and only a very few seemed to have been harmed in some way.

C.M.: Has group psychotherapy been a part of your work at Johns Hopkins?

J.F.: Not too much. Psychotherapy groups have waxed and waned over the years here at Hopkins. Largely due to DRGs (diagnosis-related groups), I believe, inpatient treatment is rarely long enough for group treatment to be highly effective. Outpatient groups are coming back again strongly, though. For example, we offer ongoing groups for patients with eating disorders and for sex offenders.

C.M.: What, if any, has been the most annoying distortion of your writings?

J.F.: There is something that's annoying to me. I'm constantly accused of being a psychotherapeutic nihilist, as if I don't believe in psychotherapy. What I'm saying is that there is no evidence that one kind of therapy is more effective than another, and believers in each type of therapy read it that I'm saying therapy doesn't work. It must be in the way I present it, because this comes up over and over again. It's the furthest thing from what I believe. I wouldn't devote my life to something I didn't believe was worth doing. I'm just trying to figure out what about it makes it worthwhile, what the ingredients are. So, that is annoying to me.

C.M.: You have written that no school of psychotherapy has secured your full allegiance (see Frank, 1978).

J.F.: Yes. I believe that one should be able to choose one's particular approach based on the needs of a particular patient. Basically, I think that's eclecticism, but not randomness. There should be a choice of therapies, not in terms of theories but in terms of what clicks between therapist and patient.

C.M.: I read that you do not consider yourself to be a particularly good therapist (Kanigel, 1983).

J.F.: Maybe I overstated that a little bit. I think I'm an adequate therapist, but there are a couple of things I wish I could do that I can't. I feel I lack the ability to be flexible, to do whatever the patient seems to need, whether it's hypnosis, or primal scream, or behavior therapy. Arnold Lazarus seems to be able to do that. I'm just too inhibited, I guess. Probably that generalized anxiety of mine or something. I don't break out and do something innovative with patients. I would say that is my primary limitation.

C.M.: You have written that therapists-healers are born, not made (see Frank, 1978). Would you elaborate on this?

J.F.: Most of us have some healing ability, but the born healers are people like Milton Erickson who have an uncanny ability to see what people need and give it to them. Maybe it's healing energy. Carl Rogers is another one. When I met him, I felt there was something coming out of this guy that's healing. He had an audience of 500 people here at Hopkins eating out of his hand in 5 minutes without doing anything special that I could see.

C.M.: Do you think intuition plays a part in this?

J.F.: Yes, I do. It has to do with that upper level of consciousness, I think. Those of us who are earthbound can do an awful lot just by listening carefully and watching, but there's something beyond that in some people. It's the ability to sense what the person needs without being able to define precisely how it is done. It may all be in the realm of great sensitivity to nonverbal communications.

C.M.: I read, too, that you consider yourself a very good teacher (Kanigel, 1983).

J.F.: I'm a natural-born teacher, I think. I love teaching. That would take precedence over research for me. I think what makes me a good teacher is that information fascinates me, and I have a real desire to convey information and ideas to people. Also, I'm quite articulate. But I'm not a spellbinder. I'm not dramatic. I think I would be a better teacher if I could do more Socratic teaching. I do mostly lecturing, but I admire people who can think of the right question to bring out a group. I'm eager to bring out the group. I love discussions, but I haven't developed that as well.

C.M.: I think a student could feel very comfortable and safe about expressing ideas in a class of yours.

J.F.: I think that is true. I never put anybody down. I try to respond seriously to what they're saying. I guess they get that feeling very quickly. I think preserving self-esteem is very central in both teaching and psychotherapy. I think that encourages the person to take the initiative more if they feel they're being respected. I guess the best phrase is taken seriously. Even if you can't respect everybody, you don't have to demean anyone.

C.M.: So, preserving self-esteem is key in your work with students in the classroom. How about in clinical supervision?

J.F.: I think that's the main thing I contribute in supervision, both with the young therapists themselves and as a major emphasis for their work with patients. It goes back to the concept of demoralization. Young therapists don't realize how often their remarks can be taken as derogatory by the patient. Someone exaggerated this by talking about psychiatric diagnosis being a degradation ceremonial. All the terms are derogatory ... by implication, at least.

C.M.: Are you saying that therapists should be trained to show respect for their patients?

J.F.: Yes, and it begins with my own attitude toward the trainee, in my case, the resident. I show respect for the resident. Then, in detail, we go over the tapes, or I sit in on an interview, and I point out how to raise the patient's hopes and self-esteem rather than diminish them. That certainly doesn't mean being false or giving empty reassurance or flattery. It's that serious, serious understanding, and reframing things in a way that's hopeful rather than discouraging.

C.M.: *Do you feel there are some therapists and helping professionals who lack basic respect for their patients?*

J.F.: I think those who lack respect have so many failures that they gradually weed themselves out of doing therapy. They wouldn't be getting any pleasure out of it if they couldn't respect their patients . . . unless they're sadistic. In our field, there's always room for administrators, organizers, and strict scientists, so they find niches for themselves.

C.M.: *Have you encountered demoralized therapists?*

J.F.: Oh, certainly. I think the main occupational hazard in doing psychotherapy is that we often cannot convince ourselves that we are doing anything worthwhile for our patients, or that we are doing anything that can't be done by anybody. I keep quoting one young resident who was a psychoanalyst in training. She said that even if her patient didn't get better, at least she knew she was doing the right thing. Sometimes I wonder if the true believers are better therapists, because they believe so wholeheartedly in what they are doing. That's not me, though. Part of my mind is always thinking there's something better I could be doing.

"Even if you can't respect everybody, you don't have to demean anyone."

C.M.: *Are there other things you feel are important in the training of therapists?*

J.F.: I think they should be exposed to as many theoretical frameworks and the methods attached to those theories as possible. The more methods that are available to a therapist, it seems to me, the more people you can treat. And, of course, lots of supervised work with patients.

C.M.: *Would you describe the Residents' Reading Seminar you're currently conducting on psychotherapy and the paranormal?*

J.F.: It's a very modest, just-for-fun kind of activity. We talk about things like therapeutic touch, telepathy, reincarnation. It opens up their horizons a little bit. Once in a while someone will "fess up" that they really believe in all this; others are very skeptical. I think they enjoy being exposed to it.

C.M.: *What is your opinion regarding the paranormal?*

J.F.: Well, I'm still a benevolent agnostic, but it seems that there's something there. I spent a day with Honorton at Princeton participating in some experiments he's doing with telepathy. I was the receiver, relaxing in a dimly lit room with white noise in the background. I simply free associated into a microphone, while the sender looked at one of four pictures at intervals and attempted to send an image to me. Then the sender showed me the four pictures, and I was supposed to pick out the one he'd been sending. I reacted very strongly to one of the pictures. It was a golden Aztec mask, a very grim, angry thing, and I said I was certain that that wasn't the picture he had been sending. But it was the one. So, strictly speaking, the experiment failed. But the sender noticed that twice while he was sending the picture, I started talking about how much I hate Detroit. And another time when he was looking at the picture, and this really bothers me, I was talking about seeing the light in the room change from orange to yellow, that is, the color of the mask. Now what do you do with something like that?

COMMITMENT TO NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

C.M.: *Much of your professional writing since the late 1950s has focused on the issue of human survival in a nuclear world (Frank, 1967, 1984). What events initiated and maintain your special sensitivity to the nuclear arms problem?*

J.F.: This is a story I've told so often I don't know what the real story is anymore, you know. But as far as I can tell, it started when I was in the Philippines in the medical corps and the bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. I wasn't in any range of it, of course, but it was very, very salient to me. I've always thought violence is a horrible way of settling anything. This fits with my being somewhat of a physical coward and all the rest of it. Anyway, I got "infected," you might say, in the Philippines, and then there was a long latent period before the "disease" broke out in 1956. I attended a meeting of the Baltimore Ethical Culture Society at which a proponent of world federalism was speaking. I was listening in a very dreamy, half-conscious way. I came to with a start when I heard him say that until we have world government, we must have nuclear weapons, because when you're in the jungle you have to carry a club. Well now, if Joe McCarthy had said that, I wouldn't have reacted. But here was this intelligent guy who believed in world federalism, like me, and he thought that nuclear weapons are like clubs. That really shook me up! I remember I stood up and questioned him there. I was asked to speak at the next meeting of the society. From there on, it was a series of serendipitous reinforcements, and it's been going on ever since.

C.M.: *Tell me about your involvement with the Advisory Board of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.*

J.F.: First of all, the board was entirely dominated by economists, and I never got a chance to present psychological aspects. Second, the board had no clout at all inside the system. Of course, I had been enthusiastic about participating in the beginning, but it proved to be very disappointing, and the board was finally abolished.

C.M.: *Are you optimistic about eventual worldwide nuclear disarmament?*

J.F.: I'm really very pessimistic. Unfortunately, we who favor this are limited to methods of persuasion and example. Also, we (people all over the world) seem to be more afraid of losing our world view than we are of dying. Ideologies are so powerful, because they give meaning to life. Psychologically, if we don't have a meaning to our lives, we're dead in a way. So, there's plenty of room to be pessimistic.

". . . we . . . seem to be more afraid of losing our world view than we are of dying."

C.M.: *Since you're feeling pessimistic about disarmament, how do you maintain your energy and your commitment toward promoting it?*

J.F.: Well, I feel very optimistic about the nuclear disarmament movement. We have become very respectable recently—moved from the lunatic fringe to the mainstream, I believe. For example, the Carnegie Foundation awarded $10 million to a branch of the National Academy of Science to advance the cause of nuclear disarmament. Also, Physicians for Social Responsibility has influenced the American Medical Association (AMA) to adopt the official stance that there is no medical response to nuclear war. The AMA has moved from a position of supporting the government to one of educating leaders and the public about the medical consequences of nuclear war.

C.M.: *Are there other hopeful indications?*

J.F.: Well, my belief is that even though I know we'll never eliminate violence, I think we can control these destructive impulses through developing a stronger sense of community in the world. We have models, societies working together, and the people in these cooperative societies are no less violent by nature than are people in other countries. For example, there's been a hopeful change in our relations with the Chinese. They are by every criterion just as nasty as the Russians. They've killed just as many people, they're just as despotic, they're just as atheistic, but somehow we've found we can get along with them. It's in that direction, it seems to me, that we can have hope. There may be other hopeful things I'm overlooking. I must admit I thought we would have had a nuclear catastrophe by now. "I may be wrong in my pessimism" is always my final statement on that.

C.M.: *Have you conducted research in this realm?*

J.F.: Yes. During the 1960s I investigated what mobilized people to get active in the peace movement and found that the so-called shelter scare had a significant impact. I currently have an article in press in which I interviewed 12 retired U.S. Marine and Navy officers (eight of them generals or admirals). All eight of the generals and admirals opposed nuclear weapons. Three of the others, all of whom retired early, had gone even further to become anti-military. All participants had many ideas on the topic of nuclear disarmament.

THE PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC PROFESSIONS

C.M.: *Carl Rogers has said that "one of the greatest drawbacks of academic psychology is that they think we are a hard science" (Heppner, Rogers, & Lee, 1984, p. 20). Please comment.*

J.F.: Now, Carl Rogers is perfectly right with respect to psychotherapy, at any rate. Psychotherapy is not a hard science. It's an art. I've used the analogy of music and others have, too. To be a good musician, you have to know something about theory, and you have to have some kind of expertise. Then on top of that you have to have a gift. It's an art that's grounded in knowledge and experience, as music is, rather than a hard science.

C.M.: *What about those in psychology who believe it is a hard science?*

J.F.: Well, they're wrong. [laughs] It's that old business of looking where the light is better. They pick problems that lend themselves to hard science, but 9 times out of 10, they're trivial. It's pseudoscientific, so much trivial research, just a pile of trivial facts that don't really illuminate anything. [laughs]

C.M.: *Since you have degrees in and professional ties to both psychology and psychiatry, please comment about the professional antagonism or friction that sometimes exists between these two disciplines.*

J.F.: I remember this got very acute when I was on the advisory board for the Department of Psychiatry at another Baltimore hospital. Psychologists wanted admitting privileges, and there was a big turmoil there with psychiatrists wanting to exclude psychologists. People attempt to disguise the rivalry sometimes in all kinds of theoretical ways, but it's not in the theoretical realm at all. I think it's a fight about resources, money, prestige, and those things. I don't bother with it.

C.M.: *You have written that an individual-centered value system may be incompatible with survival in today's overcrowded America, faced with shrinking resources and progressive destruction of the biosphere. Is the goal of self-realization no longer an appropriate goal of psychotherapy?*

J.F.: It's a dangerous goal, I think, in our society. It's too self-centered a notion. If all that matters is fulfilling oneself, that's very disruptive to society. Of course, people like Maslow have gotten around this by saying that genuine self-realization includes concern about others. But I think there's a need for more discipline, more concern about the group, less of the "I'm all right, Jack" attitude. The point has been made that psychotherapy is a political act that implicitly supports society or attacks it. I'm more on the supportive side, I think. I'm still for social reform, but part of being a healthy person is to be able to live in the society you're in and adjust to it. It is grandiose of psychotherapists to assume that we can relieve human suffering. But then, the acceptance of one's lot in life is anti-American, in a way.

C.M.: *Accepting one's lot in life is not a popular notion among minorities and oppressed groups, for example, women.*

J.F.: I know, and I'm all for anything that reduces injustices against any groups throughout society. I'm very much for women's liberation, but part of it is delusionary. I'm convinced, you see, that biological differences are extremely important. You can't get away from the fact that the male sex hormones and chromosomes are related to aggressiveness, and to assume that women can get their share of the same kinds of the world's goods that men are fighting for all the time, I think, is a delusion. Take the fight for equal pay for equal work. I'll bet there are always going to be differentials.

"It is grandiose of psychotherapists to assume that we can relieve human suffering."

"I'm very much for women's liberation, but part of it is delusionary."

C.M.: *What do you predict for the future in psychotherapy and psychology?*

J.F.: I think there is going to be more and more research that crosses the mind-body barrier. We are obviously mind-body units, and the mind and body are always interrelated. And, of course, the influence of computers and new statistical approaches is going to be very exciting for both clinical practice and research. As computers make it possible for us to be more sophisticated and refined about classifying patients and describing psychotherapy techniques, our outcome research will become more definitive. I believe there will be a shift in emphasis both in treatment and training from the young to the elderly, including considerable and sustained attention to Alzheimer's victims and their families. There will probably be an increased interest in outpatient rather than inpatient service delivery, and a renewed interest in group therapy. I'm convinced that the group approach is the way to go. We are social animals, and, therefore, groups are much more powerful than individuals.

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E. Joseph Shoben, Jr.:
Synthesizer in an Age of Specialization

MARTIN HEESACKER and BARBARA J. GILBERT

Edward Joseph Shoben, Jr., has contributed to the field of psychology for nearly 40 years. His publications have dealt with many areas of substantive concern, and his professional involvements have entailed many organizational roles. In the context of the pressure for specialization in psychology, such variety tends to be unfashionable. In the case of Shoben, however, it represents an awareness of the complexities of the real world, a sense that no single area of study adequately reflects this complexity, and a determination to try to integrate and synthesize the complex parts into a whole that can be understood. He has brought a similar concern to his personal life, as well, struggling to weave the personal and professional into a whole with which he can be satisfied. He is a synthesizer in an age of specialization.

EARLY YEARS

Although Shoben only briefly discussed his childhood and adolescence, he did talk about a few aspects of those years that seem particularly important to his development. As a child, he had back problems that resulted in a year in a body cast and another year in a wheelchair, and he had to slowly learn to walk again. Thinking about this now, Shoben believes being disabled for those 2 years represented a threat to his masculine identity. In reaction, his attentions turned almost exclusively to athletics and to "chasing girls." Then, as a freshman in college, after an injury had ended his football career, he was exposed to a course in modern drama:

> That course resulted in the revelation that books were windows on a huge, fascinating, compelling world that I'd never known anything at all about before. The impact of that discovery was that by the time I was graduated, I wanted to be a professor, though I had no idea what I wanted to profess. I suspect that that was the first indication of that diffuseness of outlook, the easiness with which I could become interested in almost anything.

After this intellectual awakening, he went on to complete his bachelor's degree in English in 1939 at the University of Southern California. He did not become involved in social sciences until after his experiences in the navy during World War II resulted in an interest in the field of mental health. This interest led him to complete a master's degree in sociology (1946) and to take his doctorate in clinical psychology (1948), both from the University of Southern California.

IOWA YEARS

By 1947, married and with a 5-month-old son, Shoben took his first academic position at the University of Iowa. The years at Iowa were important professionally and personally. In 1949, he published an article on the application of learning theory to psychotherapy. In a field dominated by psychoanalytic thinking, this article represented a novel approach. In it he proposed that:

> Psychotherapy occurs through three interrelated processes: first, the lifting of repression and development of insight through the symbolic reinstating of the stimuli for anxiety; second, the diminution of anxiety by counter-conditioning through the attachment of the stimuli for anxiety to the comfort reaction made to the therapeutic relationship; and third, the process of reeducation through the therapist's helping the patient to formulate rational goals and behavioral methods for attaining them. (Shoben, 1949, p. 390)

About the article and the beginning of an important relationship with Hobart Mowrer, he said:

> Mowrer had published a piece on two-factor learning, capitalizing on Skinner's much neglected distinction between operant and respondent response classes. I wrote this paper and sent it to him, whom I had never met, with an indication that I would be awfully grateful for his reaction. About 2 weeks later, I got back nine single-spaced pages of criticism. I felt terribly moved by the attention of this very illustrious man to somebody he didn't know from Adam and by the thoughtfulness he had invested. From there on out, I held Hobart in great affection as well as considerable admiration. I learned lots from him and from his effort always to bridge that gap, to make some kind of sense out of the gulf that lay between scientific psychology on the one hand and speculative, humanistic thought about conduct and experience on the other.

Shoben also described the influences of the academic atmosphere at Iowa at the time:

> It was there, far more than in graduate school, that I lived in that atmosphere of science and rigor. Kenneth Spence, Isadore Farber, and Judd Brown all were terribly important to me as people who had a kind of inside track on the way psychology operated. While my interests remained the same, the concern for method and for this way of thinking derived essentially from them.

COLUMBIA YEARS

In 1950, Shoben was recruited to Teachers College at Columbia University, where he spent 15 years as scholar, teacher, practitioner, and administrator. The move to New York led to associations with several people who were very influential:

> I was enthralled by New York. The psychological wealth that was there, in the form of the people, was terribly exciting. I met Frieda Fromm-Reichmann by accident at Kings County Hospital on one occasion and was terribly impressed by her. I asked if I could work with her. In the course of doing so, I

> learned a lot from her about the intimacies of psychotherapeutic processes, as well as about psychoanalytic theory. I also sought out Theodore Reik as a supervisor and again found one of those exciting kinds of vistas into a mind and a therapeutic style that were in a tradition and yet always at variance with it. That was exemplified, for me, by him more than anyone else in a personal and most intimate kind of way as we worked over cases together.

Shoben had been recruited to Columbia by Laurence Shaffer, who proved to be the most important role model in Shoben's life:

> One of the people who, for me, was most influential, put the highest claim on my affection, as well as my admiration, and represented the older brother that I never had, was Laurence Shaffer. Unfailing decency was the overwhelming thing about him. He also was a strong man and had a remarkably subtle kind of mind. He was a genuine role model. Professionally, he represented that kind of link between the scientific, objective point of view and the clinical, speculative point of view. I can't say I've emulated him because I've never felt I was quite successful either in making myself into the kind of person that closely resembled him or in becoming someone that he would fully approve of. His death represented a major loss.

Another important role model he met at Columbia was Lionel Trilling:

> One of the nonpsychologists, in fact the nonpsychologist par excellence, who was a role model was Lionel Trilling, about whom I did the book a couple of years ago (*Lionel Trilling: Mind and Character*, 1982). In his writing and in the contact I had with him over 15 years at Columbia, he represented both the kind of man and the kind of mind that I admire most. Like Laurie Shaffer, he could be called a good man, and as a mind, he represented the kind of range and the kind of synthetic power that I admire the most, even more than analytic talent. And again, Lionel, like Laurie, represents somebody whom, as a role model, I have never felt able to live up to.

In addition to learning about the impact on Shoben of some of the people he met at Columbia, we also asked a colleague at the time, Donald Super, to comment on his impressions. According to Super:

> He was really welcomed by a lot of us because New York, as you know, is a hot bed of psychoanalysis and we always made a point at Columbia of thriving on controversy. We thought it a real good idea to bring in someone like Joe, who would bring in an emphasis on learning theory. Joe is a good teacher, a very inspiring person, and we really valued him in that role. When he left, we missed him.

Shoben's interest in counseling took root while he was at Columbia. This interest led to his involvement in the inception of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. We asked him to comment about his experiences in that enterprise:

> It was a very exciting thing to participate in. Harold Seashore used to talk about something like 25 guys who decided to invest the price of about 15 shirts each. Shirts then were around $5, so it was not a large investment. It amounted to the formation of a corporation. As the treasurer of that corporation, it fell to me to do the work of taking out the appropriate papers and dealing with the legal and the business end of the journal's original development. The board functioned primarily as a cheerleading group for Gil Wrenn and the people who worked with him in the actual editorship of the journal. Oddly, the early history of the journal was essentially a kind of untroubled one. It established itself very rapidly. At that point it operated on only a shoestring; there were primarily paper and printing to pay for and almost nothing else. All the creative work was contributed by Gil and his editorial staff. It always worked with a margin, which is an indication that it had met a genuine need and served a very special purpose. But it was Gil's devotion and genius that really made that thing go.

During the years at Columbia, Shoben continued his work on the application of learning theory to counseling, both in publications (e.g., Shoben, 1953) and in training his students from this perspective. Zev Wanderer, a former student and now friend of Shoben's, commented on his experiences with Shoben at Columbia and their impact:

> I recall being awed by his steel trap, logical mind and by his unyielding insistence on our delivery of excellence. He was firm, fair, and predictable. There were no short cuts under Shaffer and Shoben. By emulation later, when I taught, I found the strength to resist the pressure to be the "understanding" sort of professor, who often allowed his or her students to slip through the educational system and end up as middling practitioners. The content of his teaching was consistent with his style as a teacher. I vividly recall his asking us to stop the audiotape recordings of our sessions with our clients, asking us to reformulate the psychotherapy sessions in terms of "hypotheses," "evidence," and the "independent variable of intervention" and to make predictions about the expected "direction of change in the dependent variable" of the patient's behavior. This experimental analysis of psychotherapy interactions was the greatest impetus to launching my own career. It led to the founding of the Center for Behavior Therapy in Beverly Hills, which has become the specialty clinic for that focus.

In addition to his work with learning theory and psychotherapy, Shoben began to address a number of other issues in his published works. These included sin and guilt in psychotherapy (Shoben, 1960), the normal personality (Shoben, 1957), training (Shoben & Schonbar, 1957), and the interaction of culture and the individual (Shoben, 1961). These works again reflected the concern with synthesis that characterizes so much of his writing, and they also were very timely. With the growing counterculture movement and its policy of anticonformity, cultural impact on the individual was being scrutinized and traditional concepts of morality and deviance were being challenged.

Shoben's interest in the interplay between culture and the individual is partly personal. Because of his diffuse focus, as compared to most of his colleagues, he has often felt at odds with the culture of psychology even while feeling grateful for its generosity to him. In any case, the interest in person and culture has continued to be expressed in his thinking and writing over the years. He commented:

> There is that notion that the insistent claim on personhood, on uniqueness, on the distinctiveness of the self, is in constant clash with the nay-saying culture that says, "No, you have to do things this way"; if you don't, you lose membership, you become an outcast. This seems to me to show up in all the patients I've ever seen; it seems to me to be reflected in all the friends I've ever had; and it sure as hell seems to be reflected in me.

In summary, although he sometimes felt at odds with the psychological community, Shoben's professional life at Columbia was quite rewarding. The struggle between his personal life and professional life, however, had become particularly trying during those years:

> An issue I feel troubled by is that much of the success of my early years in psychology came from the support of my first wife, who put up with my being very much on the make and helped a great deal with the work that I did through the years at Iowa and Columbia. During the course of it, although I think I was a very good father, I became a very poor husband. I

> allowed myself to become neglectful and insensitive. In the end, the professional attainments came at the unwitting and inappropriate expense of my marriage. At the same time, the inherent joy in Edward [Shoben's son] for me was always a spur to my professional work. Looking back on it, at the time that I left Columbia, I'm aware that I was experiencing a quite sharp midlife crisis. I didn't know it then.

ADMINISTRATIVE YEARS

This midlife crisis contributed to a major career shift. Although Shoben had served in administrative roles at both Iowa (director of student counseling services) and the Teachers College at Columbia (director of clinical training and of college relations), he turned his attentions to more generalized functions in 1965.

By 1965, when he left Columbia, Shoben had been editor of the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* and the *Teachers College Record*. Since that time, Shoben has served in editorial positions for the *Psychological Record*, the *Educational Record*, and *Arts in Society*. Also, he has served on the editorial boards of the *British Journal of Clinical and Social Psychology*, *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, the *Journal of Social Work Education*, the *Educational Research Quarterly*, the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, and *Change Magazine*. Furthermore, his contributions to professional leadership have been extensive. He has been president of four divisions of the American Psychological Association (APA), has served two terms on its Council of Representatives, and was involved in starting the Divisions of Philosophical Psychology and Humanistic Psychology. He has also held a number of positions in state and local psychological associations.

Shoben's 13-year career in administration began in 1965, when he was appointed director of the Commission on Academic Affairs, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C. (1965–1968). He then became director of academic planning and director of higher education studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo. Next, he moved to Olympia, Washington, where he served as founding executive vice president of a new school, Evergreen State College (1969–1973). His most recent administrative position was as associate provost for graduate education and research at the University of Pittsburgh (1973–1976). He commented about the nature of some of his administrative experiences:

> In central administration, there were 13 years during which I had a license to be interested in all kinds of things outside psychology. The license was valuable. The style I find most congenial is really that of a dilettante. The only problem with it is that I can never find anybody to support a dilettante in a world of specialists. The real joy of those years in administration tended to come from getting involved with a variety of people and university departments that were doing interesting things. The same sort of pleasure came from earlier taking on the *Teachers College Record*. I had 5 years of running a publication that had no restrictions on it; no intellectual concern, no disciplinary specialty, lay outside its legitimate access. In many ways, that was the most rewarding job I ever had. It was also during these years that my early intellectual angle of regard, the literary outlook, reasserted itself.

Shoben's published works during his administrative years continued to address such issues as the cultural changes of the decade (e.g., Shoben, 1970) and morality (Shoben, 1968b), as well as higher education and professional training issues, especially in the context of the cultural changes of the time (e.g., Shoben, 1967, 1968a, 1971).

By 1976, the economy had shifted, leaving fewer funds for higher education. Diminished funding changed the administrative role into an untenable one for Shoben:

> If there was a chance to build something, I was pretty good at administration, but if it entailed processes of retrenchment, of financial management under very tense, taut monetary conditions, requiring reductions in programs and the cutting of people, I disliked it. I hated it. I have a profound respect for people who can do that well, and there's no argument with the necessity of doing it. But it isn't me.

BACK TO CALIFORNIA

After resigning from the University of Pittsburgh, Shoben decided to move back to California. There he started a private consulting and clinical practice, which he still operates. Shoben said he was a little leery of being a full-time private practitioner:

> The temptation to play God is almost irresistible when you work in that kind of isolation. I've been kept decently humble, and that temptation to play God, which is part of my rescuer's syndrome, has been controlled effectively by seeking out people with whom I want to go through supervision. It seems to me the master counselor who no longer needs supervision is probably a master counselor who is about to die professionally. I think the most important thing that I've learned from being in private practice for about 9 years now, is that clinical effectiveness depends in large measure on subjecting oneself to that perpetual student's role. I must confess that I don't find it odious because I like that business of learning new things.

Shoben expressed thoughts on several other aspects of psychotherapy as well. He commented on the rewarding aspects:

> The greatest reward of the clinical enterprise is the personal response. So long as the controls are appropriate, there's no point in apologizing for it. Actually, the controls seem to me to be a source of salvation. They allow me to do something that is humanly significant while also keeping my pride intact.

About the contribution of his literary background to his thinking about psychotherapy, he said:

> The greatest contributions to my own self-respect as a clinician have tended to come from literary sources. When I'm concerned about a patient, I usually find *King Lear* or *Othello* more instructive than I can the *Interpretation of Dreams*.

He made the following statements about the role of guilt in psychotherapy:

> When you deal in a clinical context with people, the process of violating norms, the things that people feel guilty about, comes into a very sharp focus that cannot be ignored. The emphasis at least perceived in classical psychoanalytic theory on freeing people from guilt strikes me as largely misguided and wrongheaded. Guilt, by and large, tends to be functional. It's an indication that you are violating a norm that you believe is an important one. I think the ignoring of the moral dimension has come out of the inability of psychology to deal with such concepts in a philosophic mode. I don't quite see how any psychotherapist can avoid dealing with values. The moral congeniality of therapists and patients is important in forming a therapeutic alliance. Also, that opposition between selfhood and cultural membership always entails a moral dimension: when to assert oneself, to fly in the face of culture. I've always been troubled by the motto of the State University of New York: "Let

"When I'm concerned about a patient, I usually find King Lear *or* Othello *more instructive than I can the* Interpretation of Dreams."

> each person become all that he can." That would be a dreadful thing to have happen because anyone can become a creature of his appetites, a thief, a murderer, a manipulator. The decisions entailed by self-development inevitably have a moral dimension, and although guilt may be painful, it is characteristically friendly.

"The emphasis . . . in classical psychoanalytic theory on freeing people from guilt strikes me as largely misguided and wrong-headed."

We also asked Shoben to discuss the mixture of the scientist and practitioner roles in his own professional life. He believed that the term *scholar* was more appropriate than *scientist*, and he replied:

> Psychology as science has been a primary shaper of who and what I am. The commitment to publication, to writing, to having something to say, grows out of the conviction that those people who have nothing to say to colleagues probably have nothing to say to students and nothing to say to patients after a certain point in their careers. Subjecting one's experiences to reflection and getting those reflections out to where they can be reacted to by other members of the profession seem to me to be one of the hallmarks of professionalism.

Certainly, Shoben has continued to have something to say to his colleagues. He is still true to that conviction, as well as to the conviction to strive for synthesis. In his publications during his years in California, he has diversified even further to include such issues as tragedy (Shoben, 1979), imagination (Shoben, 1980a), and current professional issues (e.g., PsyD versus PhD, Shoben, 1980b). In addition, he has synthesized at an even broader level, bringing literature and psychology together (e.g., Shoben, 1982–1983). He has also published the above-mentioned book on Lionel Trilling.

". . . those people who have nothing to say to colleagues probably have nothing to say to students and nothing to say to patients after a certain point in their careers."

IMPRESSIONS OF OTHERS

In addition to Zev Wanderer and Donald Super, we asked several people who are closely acquainted with Shoben to comment on their impressions of him. Included were his second wife, Ann Shoben; Harvey Goldstein, a friend; and Melanie Moran, a colleague. Ann commented:

> Joe never believed that his work was more important than my growth and development. When I decided that I wanted to go back and pick up the threads of a career I'd dropped 9 years before, he supported me. I know he felt some ambivalence about it, but he never let that get in the way of his usefulness to me. I really don't think I could have done it without his help. He's wonderful and he's got a wonderful sense of humor—he feels he can't start the day without reading Doonesbury.

Harvey Goldstein is a professor of English at the University of Southern California and a good friend of Shoben's. He said:

> I first met him about 7 or 8 years ago at a Piaget conference, where he spoke on tragedy and I was his respondent. I was struck by his bibliography in the humanities and by the literary breadth of his knowledge. We became good friends after that, and what comes to my mind when I think of Joe is an intensely humane and wise man. My daughter referred to him as one of the sweetest human beings she's ever met, warm and gentle, and I think that's quite accurate. I find him an extraordinarily well-read, diverse human being with none of the narrow professionalism that I sometimes dislike in social scientists. Joe represents the overcoming of professional solipsism.

Melanie Moran is a psychotherapist in Southern California. She has worked with Shoben as a co-therapist in recent years. When asked what came to mind when she thought of Joe Shoben, she responded:

> I see him as a very complicated person who has a remarkable range of talents and knowledge and an incredible number of enthusiasms. He's also remarkably loyal and personally and professionally honest. I am impressed, and always have been, by his degree of thorough devotion to values. I think most people hold their values and ideals at a poorly integrated and inadequately developed level, but Joe does not. I have a great deal of respect for that.

Zev Wanderer, whose impressions as a student of Shoben's have already been mentioned, also said that:

> When I inscribed a book to him, I remember dedicating it "First, to Professor Edward Joseph Shoben, Jr, a demanding mentor . . ." and on the same flyleaf, "And to Joe, my friend. . . ." I feel rich because Joe has been one of the two or three great models in the molding of Zev Wanderer and because of the many years of our friendship.

"Counseling seemed to be freer [than clinical psychology] of that kind of tendency to ape and envy psychiatry."

REFLECTIONS ON COUNSELING

We asked Shoben to discuss counseling and the directions he sees, or wishes to see, the field taking in the future:

> Truth to tell, I've always had the devil's own time distinguishing counseling from clinical psychology. The one possible exception to that kind of confusion in my own mind has been that early clinical psychology tended to cast itself in the psychiatric mode and has only gradually been breaking out of it. Counseling seemed to be freer of that kind of tendency to ape and envy psychiatry. There are several domains I'd like to see counseling address. One has to do with the whole adaptation of the psychology of careers to the rate of technological change, which has had such a large impact on the whole domain of work. Also, I hope counseling could look at the issue of the way in which successful work so frequently mitigates against successful intimate relationships. Love and work, Freud's hallmarks of mental health, often compete and conflict with each other.
>
> I also hope that counseling will pay more attention to the personal implications of particular kinds of social movements. Race relations remains, if anything, a more moving kind of issue than it was in the 1960s, when it became blatant and had a good deal of support. The human costs of dealing with the anxieties, hostilities, and real differences that affect relationships among ethnic groups seem to me to be extremely high, and they've rarely been examined in all their complexity.

> Another question that seems extremely important is that of negotiation in intraorganizational and interorganizational conflicts. I'd love to see counseling play a more important role in dealing with the personal issues of stress in organizational life and with the processes of conflict resolution.
>
> I also keep hoping for a closer liaison between the processes of psychological thought or psychological research and the kinds of insights that are generated by literature or the kinds of ideas that derive from philosophy. For example, the Yeats thing, "Perfection of the life or of the work, the mind of man must choose," seems to be an undealt-with issue that belongs in counseling. And it derives from that kind of insight via poetic articulateness, of one person's speaking for many, rather than from anything that burrows organically out of psychological theory itself. It is in literary reflections on the human condition that personal, interpersonal, even social problems become articulate and dramatized in a way that makes their significance more apparent. It's at that point that psychology can step in and say, "Do we know enough to add anything to that kind of insightfulness?"

REFLECTIONS ON SELF

To complete the picture, we asked Shoben to tell us about himself, what he is most proud of, and what he wants to be remembered for. About his intellectual style, he commented that he sees himself as a dilettante. We asked him to describe what that term means to him:

> It represents an ambivalence and a conflict. Specialization, narrowness of focus, is the attribute that is regarded as paying off most effectively, given the culture, generally, and the culture of psychology, specifically. That has never been comfortable for me. I found a way of enjoying the benefits of that wide-range, diffused kind of focus, but I've paid the price. For one thing, I am beset by twinges of guilt about an inability to become a specialist. Dilettante does have the negative overtones for me that it usually has for all of us, but it also represents a kind of assertive, and I suspect sometimes deliberately provocative, way of announcing who I am. My concern these days is, as in reality it always has been, with the complexities of human experience and human conduct. In that area, I'm not alone in finding my nose hard pressed against the grindstone of ignorance.

About his personality, he commented:

> The positive aspects of my personality are generosity and a capacity for industry. Working hard, meeting obligations, doing things for people, are quite authentic elements in who and what I am. The negative side of that is that I'm a rescuer. I get myself into repeated trouble because rescuers are awful handy when they achieve the rescue, but it's very important then for rescuers to go away, and I'm slow to do that. I'm still learning, I'm afraid, to inhibit and to regulate a desire for rewards that I was not aware of when the rescue mission was launched. I'm not proud of it, but I can't deny it as an important personal issue.
>
> A direct outgrowth of that 2-year period of boyhood illness is that I have an achiever's orientation and an overcoming-of-odds sense of self. Then there's that breadth of interests. I don't think I've ever been bored; I have never really found anything or anybody genuinely dull. I dislike a lot of things, but that's a different kind of matter. I don't understand it very well, except for the fact that the focuses in my intellectual life came so very late.

When asked what he was pleased about or proud of in his career and his life, Shoben replied:

> That effort at synthesis. The ability to take back what I've learned from psychology to other fields, bringing the discipline to bear on larger and humanly significant problems, is something that I'm really quite proud of. A paper that I retain a good deal of affection for and take a good deal of pride in is that article that was published in 1949 in the *Psychological Bulletin* ("Psychotherapy as a Problem in Learning Theory"). It reflects some of that synthetic quality that I value highly, it was reasonably novel, and there are still items in it that are worth looking at. The book on Trilling is also one that I'm proud of, partly as an illustration of what psychology can contribute to the critical clarification of ideas developed in a field like literary criticism. It also, I think, illustrates some of the ways by which psychological insights are enriched by merging them with reflections that arise from different sources. I believe the same can be said about my recent discussion of self-respect (Shoben, 1983).
>
> Another thing I'm terribly proud of is 76 PhDs. That seems a sizable output, and there are only two in the whole crowd that I feel at all regretful about. I'm also pleased by what I've learned from that fairly large crowd of younger psychologists, and what, on the whole, is a nice set of friendships and a particularly rewarding kind of acknowledgment of having been helpful to some very creative people.

Finally, we asked Shoben what he wants to be remembered for. He responded:

> It's odd; I suppose my longings for immortality are no weaker than those of most people, but I rarely think about that except in a personal context. I'd like to be remembered by particular people as having been helpful or decent or loving. The bruises attached to those wishes are pretty large ones. Intellectually, what I'd like most to be remembered for is the kind of thing that psychology pays little honor to, which is that capacity for synthesis and the raising of issues or conceptual possibilities with respect to what are not ordinarily central or even fashionably relevant problems. The book on mental health and the examined life represents that kind of thing.

". . . what I'd like most to be remembered for is the kind of thing that psychology pays little honor to, which is that capacity for synthesis . . ."

Joseph Shoben currently resides in Los Angeles, California, continuing to practice and to write. He also remains active in professional organizations and periodically teaches at local universities.

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PART V

Women and Minority Pioneers

Minority Voices in Counseling: Themes and Counterthemes

HOPE I. HILLS and PATRICIA A. FRAZIER

Several individuals interviewed in the Life Lines series were women and minority group members.[1] The lives of these persons are connected by similar themes, themes that blend easily with other voices in counseling. Counterthemes also define this group as different from other voices in the field. In this introduction, we discuss the themes and counterthemes revealed in the lives of these individuals. First we describe how the major themes of counseling are evident in their lives. Then we note the counterthemes that are also clearly heard, counterthemes that reflect the unique experiences of these minority group members.

The themes that define our field were recently outlined at the Third National Conference for Counseling Psychology held in Atlanta (Kagan & Associates, 1988). Although many such themes were discussed, we will focus on those that seem to us to be most important as well as those that are most clearly seen in the work of these individuals. These themes include our links to education and vocational guidance, a focus on empowerment, a dual emphasis on theory and application, and a focus on the importance of viewing individuals within their total life context.

One unique characteristic of counseling is that its historical roots are in education and guidance (Kagan & Associates, 1988; Whitely, 1980). The growth and development of the field of counseling have been nurtured in schools of education, where the majority of programs continue to be housed today (Kagan & Associates). The educational roots of counseling are also strongly evident in the early leaders discussed. Five of these pioneers were teachers in the public schools before returning to complete their graduate work. In fact, when Leona Tyler began her master's work at the University of Minnesota, she "had no intention of giving up junior high school teaching; I only wanted to equip myself to teach more effectively" (Gilmore, Nichols, & Chernoff, 1977, p. 453). For some of these pioneers, this background formed the basis for their later research in educational and vocational guidance. For example, Tyler's master's and PhD theses involved building an interest test for high school girls. Other examples include Kate Mueller's influential writings in the college personnel area and Anne Roe's work on the psychology of occupations.

Each of these individuals also found it exciting to share their knowledge with students, whether in a university setting, in workshops, or in alternative training institutes. Their attitudes toward their students are exemplified by Kate Mueller, who stated that: "The good teacher [is] one who helps students to use knowledge for the expansion of the whole personality and eventually of life itself" (Coomes, Whitt, & Kuh, 1987, p. 414).

The second theme outlined by Kagan and Associates (1988) and reflected in these interviews is a focus on empowerment and building on the strengths of individuals. This is perhaps best exemplified in the work of Beatrice Wright. In her writing she sought to promote a positive and constructive view of life for individuals with disabilities, and to combat the "negative spread effect," which she defined as the tendency of a single negative characteristic to color others' perceptions of the entire individual (Hollingsworth, Johnson, & Cook, 1989). This focus on empowerment and growth is also reflected in Esther Lloyd-Jones's thoughts about training counselors. As she stated:

> Far better that we help persons learn how to develop [a] . . . milieu in schools, colleges, and businesses in which we can all grow and learn than that we supply a myriad of counseling offices in which to try to repair damage done by a . . . rabid environment. (Smith, 1976, p. 479)

A third clearly heard theme in the lives of these pioneers is an emphasis both on theory development and the application of theory to important real-world problems. The research interests of these individuals were grounded in the belief that research must be guided by whether it is useful in the real world. "Giving psychology away," a refrain heard as counselors discuss the field (Kagan & Associates, 1988), epitomized their lives. In the words of Beatrice Wright: "I would like to be remembered as someone who tried to direct her scholarly work toward the application of scientific understanding to problems that matter in the lives of people in the real world" (Hollingsworth, Johnson, & Cook, 1989, p. 387). Similarly, in discussing the current training of psychologists, Leona Tyler stressed the need for a balance between the role of the "investigator" and the role of the "interpreter." As she stated:

> We have produced more research knowledge than we have managed to make available to those who could use it if they were aware of its existence. . . . There should also be a respected place in our profession for persons who lack talent for original research but are very good at casting the products of research into usable forms. . . . (Gilmore et al., 1977, p. 458)

A final theme concerns the necessity of viewing persons within their total life context. This is especially evident in the work of Carolyn Attneave and Art Ruiz. For example, Attneave's Network Therapy contrasts with individual therapy in that it involves working with many aspects of clients' lives, especially by bringing in large groups of people who may be related to a client by blood, friendship, need, or physical proximity. This commitment clearly extended beyond her professional office; she felt that to understand fully the context of her clients' problems in urban Philadelphia, she needed:

> . . . to live in the middle of the neighborhood to learn what was sensible, what was dangerous, what kinds of community structures could be tapped for healthy growth. This, it seemed to me, was as important as testing or other traditional ways of learning what disturbed individuals. (LaFromboise & Fleming, 1990, p. 544)

Thus, in many ways, the work of the individuals interviewed in this section reflects the general themes of counseling, and all these pioneers became major voices in the field despite their minority status. Although they do not focus on the difficulties of being a woman or minority in a world of White men, they are not silent on this issue, which is heard as one of the clear, yet subtle, counterthemes in their stories. For example, Elizabeth Greenleaf "having experienced first hand the myriad challenges and frustrations . . . was . . . particularly sensitive to the obstacles and frustrations that lay in the path of her ambitious female students. She was keenly aware of her influence and responsibilities as a role model" (Hunter & Kuh, 1989, p. 325). Laura Perls spoke in harmony with Greenleaf: ". . . if women are to achieve anything in the professions now, they must be smarter and more persistent than many men who make it . . ." (Bernard, 1986, p. 372). The authors of Ruiz's memorial make a similar point:

> His lack of recognition in the profession, despite a productive career, parallels the obscurity of many Hispanic counseling professionals who are largely invisible, with their cultural worldview ignored or misunderstood in the professional literature, and their contributions to the profession only faintly perceived. (Romero, Silva & Romero, 1989, p. 498)

Although several of these individuals mentioned ways in which they felt discriminated against, they all triumphed despite the odds, maintaining a positive worldview and a hope that circumstances would be different for future professionals.

A similar countertheme heard in the married women's stories is one dealing with the effects of family commitments on their careers. Contrary to their male colleagues, many women in this group followed their spouses in their career moves, often giving up personal opportunities. For those with children, career decisions often seemed to be based on the demands of childbearing and child care. Despite these seeming difficulties, they focused on the positive, rather than the negative, aspects of their situations. This is evident in Beatrice Wright's response to a question about following her husband in his career move: "It allowed other things to happen—call them opportunities" (Hollingsworth et al., 1989, p. 385).

In contrast, there was a sadness in a number of the men's responses about the reality that they did not spend enough time with their families. Leo Goldman spoke directly of this issue: "My professional life has been terrific. I regret that my personal life was not richer" (Anderson, 1985, p. 480). Few of the women voiced this regret although Tyler, who never married, spoke of the difficulty for women of combining work and family roles.

A third countertheme is reflected in the collaborative spirit evident in the lives and work of these individuals. In discussing the development of her occupational classification system, Anne Roe described the efforts she made to collaborate with others who were developing similar classification schemes. She described writing to John Holland, offering to work together because "it would be better, more useful for the field if we could present one classification from the two of us" (Wrenn, 1985, p. 272). Although this collaboration did not come about, the message that we can make more progress by working together is clear.

Others made this point by focusing on some of the negative aspects of competition in the field. As Carolyn Attneave stated:

> There are times in the academic world when the idea of working together and learning from one another is a vision. There are times like now when academic competition is so cutthroat that the vision is distorted. When that happens, too much energy is spent on who's going to get the credit for what, who has the most power, the most grant money, or the most space. (LaFromboise & Fleming, 1990, p. 546)

This cooperative voice is heard again and again, presenting a much-needed countertheme to the pressures of today's academic environment.

In addition to valuing collaboration and cooperation, these pioneers valued breadth. Thus, one final countertheme is their emphasis on the need for a broadly based education. In Tyler's words, breadth of education and professional interests allows for the "diversified experience . . . required . . . to reevaluate one's ideas and concepts and to combine them in new ways" (Gilmore et al., 1977, p. 456). Tyler went on to state that:

> What I enjoyed then (and still enjoy) is picking up ideas from diverse sources and combining them in my own way. The absence of a dominant ideology and the attitude of tolerant skepticism, the essence of "dustbowl empiricism" encouraged this kind of activity. Each narrowing down that I have had to accept during the years since I left Minnesota has left me with a feeling of regret. Specialization is necessary for present day psychologists, but we have lost something in the process. (Gilmore et al., p. 456)

The career paths and professional interests of these pioneers were often divergent from the typical academic tenure track that seems to press its adherents to a narrower focus of interests and experiences. Although agreeing that this narrowing may be necessary, it seems that these individuals would also warn us to consider what we lose in the process.

Through examining the lives and careers of these early pioneers one can see the traditional themes of the field of counseling, as well as the counterthemes that make these individuals unique. One can see that their paths were marked by experiences that often took them out of the mainstream of our profession. They seemed to value these diverse and sometimes difficult experiences, seeing them as important in shaping their life's work. As you will see, their experiences have also added depth and richness to the collective voice of our field.

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[1] Laura Perls is included among this group although her interview is located in section III on theorists.

Year of Article: 1977

Mountain Iron Woman: A Case of Androgyny— Leona Elizabeth Tyler

SUSAN K. GILMORE, MARGARET EWELL NICHOLS, and SANDRA P. CHERNOFF

The material for this article was gathered during a six-hour tape-recorded interview conducted by ***Susan K. Gilmore,*** *PhD, the writer;* ***Margaret Ewell Nichols,*** *Director of Educational Services for the Eugene, Oregon Public Schools; and* ***Sandra P. Chernoff,*** *PhD, psychologist at the Leona Tyler Center. Before our meeting, Leona had completed an autobiography for Volume 3 of* The Psychologist, *edited by T. S. Krawiec, Oxford University Press, 1977. What seemed best was to use Leona's own words to tell her story; anecdotes, elaborations, and interpretations by Gilmore were set off in italics. The rest of the text is in Tyler's own words.*

In order to focus clearly and fully on her story, let me sketch my connection to her in order to more easily set it aside. Leona Tyler wrote a text I used in a beginning counseling course at Whitworth College; the year was 1959 and the text was the first edition of The Work of the Counselor. *By fall of 1960 I was sitting in her office having the first term of my graduate program approved. I did not tell Dr. Tyler until two years later that I had come to Oregon to study with her. When I finally revealed my intention, she simply agreed to become my doctoral advisor. I left for a V. A. internship at American Lake, and Dr. Tyler left for a sabbatical year in Holland.*

During the early years, I worshipped the paper she wrote on—which was not something I was eager to acknowledge and yet I very much wanted to be close. Leona is two years younger than my mother with whom I then had a very stormy relationship. I had just gone through junior high, high school, and college in the 1950's and I was no cheerleader or prom queen. During that era being vice-president of the student body, page in the State House of Representatives, an honor student, president of Tri-State Girls' League, and captain of the girls' basketball team did not do much to secure one's identity as a woman. I had enough sense to fight against wanting to become Dr. Tyler's client, as well as her student. On the one occasion when I went to her, following a horribly painful visit with my parents, she very warmly and sympathetically (with tears in her eyes) said, after hearing me pour out my feelings, "I don't think I can really help you. I had the same kind of excruciating exchanges with my own mother—violent disapproval, ugly accusations of my not caring—that just were not true! I never did figure out what to do about it . . . time seemed to heal most of it." Dr. Tyler was never rejecting, but she did nothing to foster dependency.

Having learned to "encounter" and "confront" and "process" everything in sight during my internship, I seriously considered forcing a process discussion of "our relationship" with Dr. Tyler when I returned to Eugene in the fall of 1963. Fortunately, I had already learned enough from her about acceptance and celebrating diversity, that I decided that even though the intensity and excitement of talking about our relationship would be very rewarding to me, it was not the only way *to have a close and meaningful relationship. Rather than confront her with what I then interpreted as "her fears of dealing with real feelings in the here and now," I would accept this rather Victorian image of working along side one another with an unspoken regard that grows deeper and stronger over time.*

During the subsequent twelve years, I finished my PhD, began teaching and became tenured at Oregon, married, had two children, and wrote a book dedicated to Leona. With my husband and another colleague, I established a private counseling center named the Leona Tyler Center. We have shared many family meals and celebrations together. But it was not until I began preparing this article that we talked about "our relationship." I was surprised, but not embarrassed, to learn that Leona's decision not to discuss our relationship was not merely a personal preference; it was more than unreflected intuition. She consciously chose not to "process our relationship" at that stage of my development. My relationship with my mother is beautifully resolved; in fact she now lives with us, following my father's death. Being a woman has become exciting, challenging, and completely fulfilling for me.

My professional identity on campus and throughout Oregon is entirely independent of Leona today. In 1963, however, we might have become Mother/Child, but Leona chose a route that allowed us to function as Senior/Junior partners. There is no doubt in my mind that her choice was the most growth facilitating and caring action she could have taken.

*We get together about once a month—sometimes more, sometimes less. Together with the Norman Sundberg family, we are committed to seeing her through to the end.—****S. K. Gilmore***

EARLY YEARS

The family in which I grew up would, I suppose, in today's terminology be categorized as "lower middle class." While there was on both sides some pride in our ancestry, which could be traced back to early colonial days, there was no strong intellectual tradition. My parents did not go to college, and neither did most of my aunts, uncles, and cousins. Some of the women of the family had been school teachers; the majority of the men had been farmers or proprietors of small businesses, ready to take advantage of any opportunity that offered itself for more lucrative employment, hopeful of some day "striking it rich." In our family there was considerable respect for intelligence, however. Books and magazines were read and discussed, and I knew from my earliest years that I was expected to do well in school and that I would eventually go to college. My mother, who had taught herself to play the piano, saw to it that I began taking piano lessons at a very young age and thus initiated one of the fundamental controlling factors in my life. Music, both making it and listening to it, has been of preeminent importance to me whatever else I have been doing.

The fundamentalist Protestant religious orientation of my family created difficulties for me in some respects—the prohibition against dancing, for example, interfered with my social development during high school—but in other ways, it provided benefits that persisted long after I had given up the dogmatic system of theology. I grew up believing that life has a purpose, that it is required that one cultivate and use his or her talents to help others, that integrity is far more important than popularity or personal happiness. These basic convictions have lasted through the years.

Before moving on from childhood and youth, I should say something about my community environment during that period. While I spent my first six years on a Wisconsin farm, during my school years the family lived in the Mesabi Iron Range country of northern Minnesota, first in Hibbing, then in Virginia. For a backwoods location, primitive in many ways, it was an extraordinarily cosmopolitan setting, with people drawn from many areas of Europe. Furthermore, the tax yield in those days, when iron mining in the region was at a peak, was so great that excellent schools, libraries, and miscellaneous cultural events such as concerts and lectures were commonplace.

Having learned to read at home during my first few years, I made rapid progress through elementary school, beginning in the second grade and completing the first six grades in three years. The fact that I was three years younger than my classmates from then on may have contributed to my very real social unease during adolescence, but on the whole I see the acceleration as an advantage.

In trying to clarify the "adolescent unease" Leona described herself as "always introverted, not a good mixer, thoughtful, contented, serene, a person unto herself, has a good disposition, things do not bother her, not melancholy, but not necessarily happy either . . . my inner life was fairly satisfactory . . . books were always very important—teachers, as persons, were not as important as books." An enduring concept emerged early: "There are very few people in the world like me . . . it's like being a different species . . . I like other people and get along with them well . . . but when I find someone of my own species that is a real special occasion."

While it was taken for granted that I would go to college, it was also expected that I would do it in the cheapest way possible. I spent the first two years at the newly organized junior college in my home town and the last two at the University of Minnesota, working part-time to defray some of my expenses. The expectation—other people's and my own—was that I would be a teacher after I obtained my degree.

As I look at it now, my choice of a major was a somewhat haphazard, trial-and-error process. Psychology was something I never considered at all, mainly because my first course in the subject at junior college was poorly taught and seemed very dull. At that time what really excited me was chemistry. I experienced an overpowering aesthetic response to the cosmic orderliness represented by the periodic table and the structure of organic compounds. But I lacked sufficient grounding in mathematics and physics to go on to the advanced levels, and my lack of funds made it unfeasible for me to devote even an extra year to building up such a structure. Thus I settled on English as a major, partly because it would allow me to read all of the things I was eager to read anyway, partly because I had an ideal from early childhood to become a writer, and partly because English was a good teaching major. I continued to take mathematics courses, because I might later wish to continue some sort of scientific study.

As I think of my college and university years, the dominant impression of earlier educational levels is one of omnivorous reading and following trails of my own making. I had no difficulty in maintaining a respectable honor-level average in my course assignments, and I had no complaints about course content or instructors, but my real objective each day was to finish my assigned work as quickly as I could so that I would be free to continue my relationship with books of my own choosing. The Arthur Upson room at the University of Minnesota Library, a beautifully furnished, richly supplied library for pleasure reading, was my real spiritual home.

Thus in 1925, at the age of 19, I was ready to leave the university with a BA and a teaching certificate, and to enter the next phase of my life. Although I did not know it then, my career as a junior high school teacher was to last 13 years. I did not at the time consider graduate work. I knew that I had been privileged to obtain more education than anyone else in our family. I now considered it a perfectly reasonable expectation that I would put this education to some practical use and that I would become self-supporting and contribute to the family resources needed to give my brothers their opportunity for college education.

In response to the question, What about marriage? Leona said, "I never decided not *to get married . . . I would have liked to be married . . . I would have liked to and always intended to have children . . . but you couldn't combine roles then . . . in fact, there was an ugly scandal in Mt. Iron when a teacher, who had been secretly married for a year, became obviously pregnant. She was fired in disgrace. I would have had to marry a man who would take care of my family, encourage my work, and overlook my lack of social skills . . . the process of dating this one and that one, working your way up, looking for the right man was repugnant to me . . . it seemed so dishonest . . . If I had been given a choice, I wouldn't have chosen to be unmarried."*

"At most of the periods of my life, not just early, but all the way through, I've been very close *to some particular man . . . they have been very intimate friendships . . . someone of the same species . . . someone with whom I could communicate but for one reason or another, couldn't marry. In two cases they were already married . . . but these relationships made it so I didn't want any other kind. The first one was when I was about 20, early in my teaching career. I have had very good women friends, but the intimate relationships were always with men. It never occurred to me to find a female companion . . . my identity is as a person . . . it has been natural for me, all my life, to be accepted as a human being. I expected it and that's what has happened."*

PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHING

What did the 13 years as a junior high school teacher of English and mathematics contribute to my later career as a psychologist? Perhaps the most influential aspect of the experience was the difficulty I encountered with discipline. When I began to teach, it was almost immediately apparent that I was not the sort of person who "commands respect." In fact, it was useless for me to "command" anything. I was not then and am not still a person whom it is natural for others to obey without question. After some trying experiences during the first few months, I began to develop ways of keeping a group of obstreperous boys and girls in order by anticipating trouble and heading it off. A very practical interest in behavior and motivation was thus stimulated.

Those years also marked the beginning of the focus on individual differences that has characterized my later work. One of my principle aims as an English teacher was to produce improvements in writing skills. I think that I was good at this. The themes the boys and girls, even the less articulate ones, produced were to me moving personal documents. Reading them was never a distasteful chore. I became aware of the struggles, the aspirations, and the anxieties that individuals were living with. This awareness made for an interest in psychology.

There was one kind of nonteaching experience during those years that also pointed me toward psychology. In my early twenties I became involved with the peace movement, an involvement that has continued throughout my life. Repeated disappointments with these efforts raised psychological questions that are still unanswered. To me war has always seemed a totally unnatural human activity, yet rational human beings engage in it over and over. Why? As things turned out, I never carried out any research on this question, but the question was one of the things that made me a psychologist.

The decision to become a psychologist was not made at any one time. It grew gradually. At first it was only a decision to major in psychology in a program leading toward a master's degree, a program to be pursued during summer sessions. In 1936 I began this program at the University of Minnesota. I had no intention of giving up junior high school teaching; I only wanted to equip myself to teach more effectively.

Bessie Tyler, Leona's mother, was a strong-willed woman who believed that the 14th Amendment settled, once and for all, any questions about women being inferior. She provided a strength and self-confidence to her young children that was unshakable. But in each case, as the youngsters began to think their own thoughts, she had difficulties with them. Her father Leon, in contrast, was less sure of himself, less self-righteous, and more forgiving. Leona vividly recalls an episode involving being sent to the store with a quarter for an item that was not in stock; she lost the coin on the way home. Too terrified to face Mother empty-handed, she stopped by her father's office—he was then a bookkeeper—and confessed to her carelessness. Without reproach, he reached in his pocket and gave her a quarter. Although it was never mentioned again, Leona is reasonably certain her father did not tell her mother of the incident.

Leona coped with her mother's rigid, demanding, and critical ways by conforming externally. "I would not dance and I would not smoke and I would maintain religious practices, but I would think as I pleased," she recalls.

To save money, Leona returned home during the summers after she finished teaching. Each time she would think "this time it will be better," but the situation with her mother would deteriorate rapidly as the summer wore on. Taking a second job during the summer and robbing some man of a chance to support a family was unthinkable for a teacher in the early 1930s. So even though she was the only family member providing regular financial support and was 30 years old, she went to St. Paul, by then the family home, to attend summer school. The angry exchanges with her mother raged on. Leona's solution was to "just hang on, somehow . . . if I hadn't loved my mother, I could have written her off . . . but I did love her . . . she was a good woman." Resolution did not come during Bessie's life time; Leona believes she worked it out primarily through her dreams years later.

Leon could not have altered the pattern and would not have chosen any route that would have undermined Leona's mother. But his tender-hearted compassionate ways provided a quiet strength, especially during the 15 months Leona lived at home and completed her doctoral studies and dissertation.

GRADUATE SCHOOL INFLUENCES

The change from a master's to a PhD objective, and from summer to full-time study, was the result of prodding and encouragement from Donald G. Paterson, my adviser. It had been simply financial considerations that had determined my choice of graduate school in the first place. If I attended the University of Minnesota, I could stay at home with the family in St. Paul. But Minnesota turned out to be exactly the right place for me.

I could go on at length about the excitement characterizing psychology at Minnesota in the late 1930s—new ideas, new applications, new opportunities. As I attempt to sort out the influences most important to me during the graduate school period, several salient aspects come to mind. First of all, Minnesota integrated basic and applied psychology. New agencies and institutions for putting ideas into practice had recently been organized—the Employment Stabilization Research Institute, the University Testing Bureau, high school counseling programs. It was natural that I, with my background, should elect the combination of psychology and counseling. But professional training programs were not then so separate from one another as they later became. I was able to take courses representing all the basic areas of psychology and to concentrate on statistics as well.

My research interests fit beautifully into the pattern of activities in which Paterson and his students were engaged. Because what I wanted most to find out about were the directions in which different individuals are motivated, it was exciting for me to find out about the work that was being done in interest measurement. I undertook the task of building an interest test for high school girls and analyzing some results I obtained using this instrument. It was to constitute the substance of my master's and my PhD theses. Because of my interest in individual differences I was attracted to the Institute of Child Development, and came under the influence of Florence Goodenough, one of psychology's great women.

An even more important component of the generally stimulating atmosphere of Minnesota in the late 1930s was the breadth of view and attention to fundamental issues one found there. The head of the department, Richard M. Elliott, was primarily responsible for this. His course called Human Behavior was a searching examination of biological and philosophical foundations upon which psychology rests. The Elliott influence was lasting, and Mike Elliott himself became a longtime friend.

As it had been when I was an undergraduate, again in graduate school, the most valuable aspect of the total experience for me was the freedom to read. I appreciated it more than ever after the years in which the best part of every day had been tied up in a junior high school classroom. At the time I was a graduate student it was still possible to set oneself the task of reading and digesting all of psychology's "great books" and becoming familiar with most of the current journal output. I attempted to do this, and came close to achieving the objective. What I enjoyed then (and still enjoy) is picking up ideas from diverse sources and combining them in my own way. The absence of a dominant ideology and the attitude of tolerant skepticism, the essence of "dustbowl empiricism," encouraged this kind of activity. Each narrowing down that I have had to accept during the years since I left Minnesota has left me with a feeling of regret. Specialization is necessary for present day psychologists, but we have lost something in the process.

By the summer of 1940 I had completed my dissertation. Although the final oral examination was not to come until December, and the degree was to be dated 1941, I was now ready to take on a professional position. Openings were scarce in those days, but I was fortunate enough to be invited to join the faculty of the University of Oregon, and the prospect of moving to the Far West appealed to me. Thus began a new period of my life.

This new period begins with feeling fortunate to have been hired in 1940 and culminates in receiving a 1976 University of Oregon Distinguished Service Award, which testifies that "for her many contributions to the vitality of education on this and other campuses, she merits the *enduring regard of all who prize the quality of our legacy to the future." This new period includes a 1942 resignation from her newly elected position as president of the Eugene chapter of the American Association of University Women because she was overwhelmed with the tasks involved in conducting the business of what seemed like a very complex organization. Thirty years later, however, as president of the American Psychological Association, Leona guided the APA Council of Representatives and the Association, as a whole, through an extremely stormy time. This new period ranges from having sought graduate study at the University of Minnesota because that was where she could afford to attend to receiving a University of Minnesota's Outstanding Achievement Award as a scholar, writer, teacher, researcher, and recognized authority in the area of interest development. This new period incorporates being highly identified with the land and the people of rural Minnesota and rural Oregon, as well as becoming a citizen of the world. The inscription on the National Vocational Guidance Association Eminent Career Award presented in 1976 honors "Leona Elizabeth Tyler whose many contributions as renowned author, distinguished professor, graduate school dean, and preeminent psychologist have contributed to the advancement of the counseling profession in the United States and throughout the world."*

TEACHING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

Because such a large fraction of my life has been spent in Oregon, and because there have been so many people and events that have influenced me, it is difficult to summarize in any brief fashion what I have found so satisfying about this particular environment. The great natural beauty of the place plays a large part in my feeling about it—the sea, the mountains, and the incredibly green valley between them. The fact that the University of Oregon in 1940 and for many years thereafter was a small institution meant that I obtained a much greater variety of experience than would have come my way in a larger institution. In addition to the courses in individual differences, testing, and counseling that were my natural domain, I taught, on occasion, general psychology and psychology laboratory, abnormal, child, adolescent, educational, and social psychology. I initiated the counseling service, and continued to spend from a fourth to a third of my time in counseling activities. During the last six years before retirement I turned to administration, serving as Dean of the Graduate School. And besides the research I myself carried on throughout these years, I participated in many other research activities in different parts of the university. The value of such diversified experience is that it requires one constantly to reevaluate one's ideas and concepts and to combine them in new ways.

RESEARCH ON INTERESTS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

I turn now to a more detailed consideration of the ideas themselves, as they have taken shape through the research and writing I have done. I would characterize the first phase of my research activities as an increasingly focused analysis of interest development through which I might get clues about the general development of individuality. I realized that what I wanted most to study were individual developmental directions. . . . It became necessary to restructure the plan for analyzing the data from the longitudinal study. The thinking I did about this contributed to my own thinking about personality and individual differences far more than the results of the study finally contributed to general knowledge. It seems to me now that this is an aspect of research that has not been sufficiently stressed in psychology. The person who tries to carry out research on a problem in which he or she is vitally interested learns some things from the attempt that could not have been learned in any other way, regardless of how significant the research results turn out to be.

What transformed my thinking about the development process at that time was my reading of a number of Piaget's books and of Erikson's *Childhood and Society*. Up to this time Piaget had not been taken very seriously by American psychology—or by me. What I picked up from Piaget and Erikson was the concept of successive cognitive stages, *qualitatively* rather than quantitatively distinct from one another. This is quite different from the concept of continuously increasing ability on which intelligence testing is based. I began to postulate some sort of cognitive organizations controlling choices rather than measurable traits such as mechanical interests, interest in people, and interest in science.

There was still another line of influence that helped to shift my attention from measurable traits to cognitive structures. In 1952, in the course of a sabbatical year in London, I encountered existentialism. The impact came from a superb production of Sartre's play, *The Flies*, but within a few months I became familiar with most of the major existentialist writers and found that the ideas of Karl Jaspers were more meaningful to me than those of Sartre, Heidegger, or Kierkegaard. Existentialism, of course, has many facets, so that readers pick up different sides of it. For me the central thought was that the *choices* an individual makes are supremely important, in whatever kind of situation life places him or her. This has been a central assumption I have made since this time. I had already begun to transform my concept of measured interests into a concept of organized choices. The two thinking processes, one arising from my research, the other from existentialist philosophy, coalesced.

I became increasingly dissatisfied with the psychometric system we had been using. We seemed to be assuming that an individual person could be adequately characterized as simply a possessor of specified amounts of specified traits or, by those who were more mathematically sophisticated, a point in n-dimensional space. To understand what made individuals unique, one measured their intelligence, their mechanical, musical, athletic abilities, various other special kinds of aptitude and skill, their general adjustment level, their interests in several directions, and perhaps some of their values and attitudes. It was this conception of individuality that I increasingly found myself questioning, and I wondered about the utility of the vast technology of mental testing and personality assessment based upon this conception. It seemed to me that this way of defining individual differences had brought us to a dead end, and that we were now just spinning our wheels. We were no longer making significant advances in our understanding of individuals and our incorporation of human diversity into the structure of human society.

I can place an exact date on the beginning of the reorientation of my research and writing, away from the generally accepted structure and toward something new. It was in the spring of 1958 that I presented to the Western Psychological Association my presidential address titled "Toward a Workable Psychology of Individuality," a paper published the following year in the *American Psychologist*. What I proposed in this essay was that we try a new approach based on differences in *choices* and mental *organizations*. I started with the assumption that what makes one person different psychologically from everybody else is what he or she chooses from the offerings life presents and the kinds of constructs used to organize his or her experience. These twin concepts, choice and organization, have been prominent in my thinking ever since 1958, although I have shifted from time to time with regard to the relative importance I attached to each of them and the ways in which I combined them.

CHOICE PATTERNS AND POSSIBILITY THEORY

What a developing individual (and some kind of development continues from birth to death) is repeatedly faced with is a set of imperatives. He or she must do something but cannot do everything. He or she must choose a course of action, or allow the selection to be controlled by chance determiners in his or her circumstances and motivation. This is the central insight that has constituted the foundation for my most constructive thinking about individual differences, about mental measurement, and about counseling. With regard to individual differences, it implies that besides the inequalities of aptitudes, knowledge, and skills that are measured by well-established ways, there is another sort of difference of which we should be aware, namely, differences in the *possibility structures* controlling the choices individuals make. *Possibility structures* is a broad term, including what we have investigated separately as interests, values, problem-solving strategies and cognitive styles, as well as ways of thinking we have not as yet investigated at all. The implication for psychological measurement or assessment is that we should design techniques to answer questions about *how* a person processes his or her experience rather than questions about *how much* of some hypothetical ability the person possesses. The implications for counseling are self-evident. Counseling *is* the process of examining possibility structures and choosing with awareness what one will do with his or her own life.

INFLUENCE OF TEXTBOOK WRITING

In discussing the ideas and concepts that have emerged in my experience, I would emphasize what a large part the writing of textbooks, and especially the preparation of revised editions of these books, has played in the origin and elaboration of my ideas. Textbook writing, original research, and counseling have been in constant interaction. Something a client mentions gives me a clue as to how some puzzling research findings should be interpreted. Achieving a coherent organization of a chapter I have been struggling to write produces some change in the purposes and behavior I manifest in counseling interviews. I have found that a combination of input from raw experience, raw research data, and organized presentations from books and journals somehow produces output different from that that any one of these sources would have produced by itself.

Spending time in the writing of textbooks has another advantage. It makes for receptiveness and interest in what other people in and out of psychology are doing. Research activity by itself can have an over-narrowing effect. One tends to specialize more and more. This specialization can make much of what one reads and hears irrelevant to one's central purpose. Competition may lead to some negative feelings toward researchers working in areas that are closely related to one's own. In contrast, the writing of a comprehensive textbook requires that one take into consideration, as much as possible, previously published material. The more there is of it, the sounder one's generalizations are likely to be. One goes to a psychological convention with a very open attitude, hoping to pick up some pieces that have been lacking in the picture one is trying to put together. One is struck by minor aspects of research reports or by incidental observations a researcher makes. Everything is grist for one's mill.

Writing for a general or a specialized public is not a substitute for research activity. The benefits obtained from the two varieties of experience are only partially similar. I have come to think, however, that in the training of young psychologists we have perhaps emphasized too much the role of the investigator and too little the role of the organizer and interpreter. We have produced more research knowledge than we have managed to make available to those who could use it if they were aware of its existence. I should like to see a better balance. Individuals should be encouraged to function as both investigators and interpreters, if they can. There should also be a respected place in our profession for persons who lack talent for original research but are very good at casting the products of research into usable forms, such as books, television presentations, or programs for computer-assisted instruction.

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

An account of my life and work would not be complete without some mention of the ways in which participation in professional organizations has influenced me. I find that it is harder to trace the origins of this involvement than to think back over the beginnings of the other kinds of experience I have discussed. I seem never to have set out to obtain a position of influence in an organization of psychologists, and had anyone predicted at the beginning of my career that I would one day be president of the American Psychological Association, I would have viewed such a prediction as sheer fantasy.

Although it is not possible for me to explain how I got into these activities, it is much easier to analyze what I got *out* of them. They have been a very rewarding part of my life. Group problem solving, when successful, is an exhilarating experience. The search for psychological structures that I have described in connection with my research and writing, occurs here in another form. At first, the discussion appears aimless, undirected. The confusion, the conflicting opinions, and the diverse views so unrelated to one another that even conflicts cannot be pinpointed, frustrating as they are, begin to give way to a conceptual organization of some sort. A structure begins to emerge. Some member of the group tries to delineate this, in words or perhaps in a blackboard diagram. Other members modify and refine the model. Alternative discussions, actions, or recommendations are suggested. The merits and flaws in each of these are thoroughly discussed. By the time some of the participants must leave to catch an early plane, the plan for the written report has been roughed out.

Participation in committee activity also brings one up against a continuing organizational problem. The people who read the reports, and the decision makers who act on the issues to which they are directed, do not experience the exhilaration that accompanies this transformation of confusion into clarity. They may ignore the recommendations entirely, change them into a completely different form, adopt only those the committee saw as trivial or peripheral, or fail to act on those they saw as central. I am convinced that much excellent group thinking about important professional issues has been wasted. Many excellent reports are gathering dust behind seldom opened closet doors. Thus one conclusion my participation in professional organizations has left me with is that we must find better ways of communicating the insights groups achieve and incorporating these insights into the total action pattern of organizations.

The other major reward one obtains from organizational participation is in the realm of personal relationships. Typically, an APA board or committee brings together people who would not otherwise be brought into close contact, people representing different regions, areas of specialization, and backgrounds. Working with them in the way described above leads to a special kind of friendship, solid and lasting. It is good to feel a part of such a widespread network of personal relationships based on mutual respect.

Oddly enough, Where is my career going? What am I achieving? How can I get ahead? are not questions Leona ever asked herself.

Competition, even with a previous level of her own performance is totally alien to Leona Tyler. What has carried her forward is best understood in terms of several "personal metaphors" or "organizing structures."

In addition to Leona's sense of separation and of "being of a different species," another early construct or organizing structure concerned highly focussed concentration as a way to cope with performance anxiety. As a school girl and until she was teaching at Oregon, Leona systematically avoided being in the limelight. "It makes me nervous to have someone watch me do anything—even park a car." Leona, however, also felt a responsibility not to disappoint her piano teacher and her parents by an obviously anxiety-ridden piano recital. She began to develop a degree of concentration on her playing that blocked others from her awareness. "I knew if I could concentrate my whole attention on playing, I could do it regardless of who was out there."

A related metaphor, which helps us further understand Leona is what she calls "looking out through a clean, clear window with no obstacles between you and what you are doing." Not only is there movement toward an intense focussing of attention, but there is a systematic effort to assure that her perceptual-cognitive processes are free of dullness and distortion, in order to see things as clearly as possible. The focus is outward on one's work and on other folks: "You look out through your own persona, not into it." Encounter groups and other types of group process exchanges are not particularly fitting and rather unattractive for Leona because of their inward, rather than outward focus.

When she first began to describe the next metaphor, it sounded as if Leona were talking about the passage of time in seasons and particularly the renewal of spring, but as she talked, it became clear that she had something else in mind. "The snow would come each year in Minnesota, and cover everything with a blanket of white . . . it was over everything and with it came an awareness that there were ways to smooth over, cover the unfinished things—the things that haven't worked out and that haven't been done—you don't have to do everything." The "blanket of white" metaphor provides an anticompulsive component that eliminates neurotic guilt and perfectionism from this highly focussed, responsible, even self-denying oldest daughter.

The last metaphor Leona identified as helping her organize her experience involves ocean travel. "With land travel someone has already smoothed the way with roads or rails, but on the sea, no one has cleared a path. If you are sensitive to it, however, rather than try to get rid of it, you can live right on it. There is a kinesthetic sense of living on life and it will support you—all that depth under you—all those complex forces—by being able to stay balanced, adapting and reacting, but not trying to analyze or do anything to it."

At different stages in Leona's development, a particular musical composition has captured the heart of her identity and experience, crystallized it and integrated it so that everything fits exactly. The musical work literally shapes an area of experience—certain works have certain meanings for Leona. One such crystallizing experience came in the year she wrote the Work of the Counselor, *after Leona had been to England. Leona heard Kathleen Ferrier accompanied at the piano by Bruno Walter, sing Mahler's setting of Ruckert's poem "Um Mitternacht." Although it is impossible to convey with written words the full impact of the Mahler composition, it became crystal clear from this experience that no matter how bleak and impossible things may appear, she believed, "It is not foolish to be hopeful—it is, instead, glorious. So you may as well pull the weeds and pick up the sticks. You are part of something larger."*

AT MIDNIGHT

> *At the midnight hour I have waked and turned my eyes to heaven; no star among the host of stars has smiled on me at the midnight hour. At the midnight hour I have brooded upon the dark confines yonder. At the midnight hour. There has been no glimmer of light to console my thoughts at the midnight hour. At the midnight hour I have taken thought upon the beating of my heart. A single throb of pain has taken fire at the midnight hour.*
>
> *At the midnight hour I have fought the battle, humanity, of your suffering, nor could I bring it to an end with my own strength at the midnight hour. At the midnight hour I have entrusted the power into Thy hand, Lord! Lord over life and death. Thou standest guard at the midnight hour!*

As I reach the end of this account and as, with retirement, I enter the final period of my life, I am very much aware of unfinished business. What psychology has meant to me from the beginning is a *search* for objectives not clearly defined at the outset. This search still goes on. I have data in my files (literal and figurative) that have not been analyzed, and the possibility of new kinds of data has become apparent to me. The system of theoretical concepts I have carved out for myself has rough edges on all sides and needs to be honed down through the use of philosophical and mathematical tools. The challenge of making professional organization more valuable to members of the profession remains. There is much to be studied, written, and accomplished.

It seems to me now that this is the way life should be in one's retirement years. Earlier one lacks time for any systematic attempt to tie loose ends together, and it takes a considerable fraction of one's life to accumulate an awareness of just what one's particular loose ends are. To me retirement constitutes opportunity for a special kind of thinking. I welcome this opportunity wholeheartedly.

Two of Leona's brothers earned PhD's in history and taught in universities. Glen is now retired from his position at Idaho State and Larry continues to teach at Southern Connecticut. Max, the middle brother, has a national reputation as a philatelist. Leona serves as the connecting link from one brother to another. With her writing, which is progressing very well, walking her two golden retrievers, returning regularly to the sea, seeing an individual client now and then, consulting with younger colleagues from varied areas of psychology, and being a very special friend to a niece and two nephews, Leona Elizabeth Tyler is continuing to live life in the same rich, full way she always has. She contributes far more than she consumes. Her impact on others is consistently constructive.

Leona E. Tyler's Career

1925–38	*High School teacher, Mountain Iron, Minnesota and Muskegon Heights Michigan*
1938–40	*Graduate Assistant, University of Minnesota*
1940	*Instructor of Psychology, University of Oregon* *Established University Counseling Center* *Assistant Professor—promotion and tenure*
1945	*Associate Professor* *Published first six of 38 journal articles*
1950	*Institute of Psychiatry, University of London visiting researcher* *President, Oregon Psychological Association* *Secretary, Western Psychological Association* *Oregon Representative to APA Council* *Elected Fellow of Division 17 of APA*
1955	*Revised Florence Goodenough's* Developmental Psychology *Associate Editor,* Journal of Counseling Psychology

Consulting Editor, Personnel and Guidance Journal
Visiting Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Berkeley
U.S. Office of Education Washington, D.C., Report on 50 NDEA Institutes
Elected Fellow of Division 5 of APA
President, Western Psychological Association
President, Division 17 of APA
Full Professor, University of Oregon
Diplomate in Counseling, ABPP
1960 *Fulbright Visiting Professorship University of Amsterdam*
University of Minnesota Outstanding Achievement Award
1965 *Dean of the Graduate School, University of Oregon*
APA Board of Directors
Secretary, Oregon Board of Psychologist Examiners
Editorial Consultant, Contemporary Psychology
APA Policy and Planning Board
1970 *Editorial Committee,* Annual Review of Psychology
APA Board of Directors
E. K. Strong Gold Medal Award—Research on the measurement of interests
President, American Psychological Association
Distinguished Visiting Scholar, Educational Testing Service
National Vocational Guidance Eminent Career Award
University of Oregon Distinguished Service Award

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The Voyage of Esther Lloyd-Jones: Travels With a Pioneer

MARGARET RUTH SMITH

A WOMAN ON THE MOVE

Esther Lloyd-Jones signifies movement. It is impossible for me to think of her as passive or inanimate. She conjures up images of movement—traveling, voyaging, changing, developing, producing. Even now, in retirement, she is very active, continuing her lifelong zest for working and living. I've known Esther Lloyd-Jones for almost fifty years, and I can give strong testimony to her dynamic journey, a voyage that has had a massive impact on the development of guidance services in this country.

We first met in 1928, when she encouraged me to work for a doctorate at Columbia University. Since that time we have been friends and colleagues. If my interview reflects this positive bias, then I own my bias. Esther Lloyd-Jones has been a major influence in my life. Many who have worked with her over the years agree. We have found her to be a strong teacher, a warm and helpful advisor, an able administrator, and a creative innovator.

This interview presents something of an itinerary of her professional travels, but she has made other voyages too. Early in life she became a concert pianist and composer, being quite gifted in music. Later, after her college work, she became a wife and mother, having met her husband, Silas, while still in her teens. Joanne and Donald, her two children, were born in 1928 and 1931, respectively. Joanne went to medical school and became a child psychiatrist, and Donald earned a PhD and is now employed as an executive for an airline.

Esther moved more vigorously into a shared life with Silas, learning about business, economics, farming, animal husbandry, and other practical crafts. Their farm in Indiana and their second home in rural New Jersey provided her with a laboratory for learning. She still maintains an active participation in the practical side of life, priding herself on being a rather skillful "do-it-yourselfer" and a competent farm manager. She retired from Columbia in 1966, and now she teaches part-time in San Diego, visits the farm, cares for the second home, and still lives in New York City.

There have also been sad travels, trips with death. Between 1963 and 1969 she lost her mother, her daughter, her son-in-law, her husband, and her brother. Through all of this her friends commented on how she endured so much so courageously. She was able to go about the business of life with her chin up.

Some readers may know about Esther Lloyd-Jones's travels, but others may not; perhaps they were not yet born when she made her first pioneering contributions. I feel sure, however, that they will recognize her personal and professional values, will be interested in the development of her philosophy, will feel something of the joy she derives from teaching, and will appreciate the tremendous contributions she has made to the field of guidance.

FROM PIONEER STOCK

Smith: *Describe something of your personal background.*

Lloyd-Jones: Fortunately, one of my husband's hobbies was genealogy. He did a remarkably complete job of tracing the ancestry of all four of my grandparents and all four of his. Way back, they were mainly farmers and teachers who came over from Scotland, England, Wales, Ireland, and Germany.

Smith: *I can understand where you get some of your stamina. Your paternal grandfather was a fascinating character, wasn't he?*

Lloyd-Jones: I remember him well, and he surely was an interesting man. He went overland twice from Illinois to California to the gold rush; he kept a log, which I have, on these two trips. He went "through Oberlin" after his first California trip—as he said, "in the front door and out the back." He just couldn't take the restrictions Oberlin imposed and especially hated the prescribed corn meal mush for supper every night. Later he set up a lending library, established a newspaper, and founded a bank. He was a captain in the Civil War and quite a fine oil painter.

Smith: *His versatility reminds me of your own.*

Lloyd-Jones: His son, my father, was a charming, affable character. He went to the University of Wisconsin at fourteen and stayed until he was seventeen. That year his father went up to visit him and decided he was doing too much hunting and fishing and reading of novels and was bluffing his way through classes, whereupon he made him come home and go to work on the family newspaper. Father ultimately became editor of the family paper, as well as a banker and politician.

Smith: *So writing and publishing continues to be a family tradition.*

Lloyd-Jones: My mother came from a straitlaced family, went to Oberlin, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. She taught only a year before her marriage but went back to graduate study and then taught again after my sister and brothers and I were pretty well grown.

ON TO COLUMBIA

Smith: *You did your undergraduate work at Northwestern University.*

Lloyd-Jones: Yes, and I do want to mention that when I was president of the Northwestern YWCA, Ed Williamson was president of the YMCA at Illinois. As a member of Mortar Board in my senior year at Northwestern, I outlined and completed interviews with a large random sample of Northwestern women seniors to discover what their hopes and ambitions were for their futures.

Smith: *This project gave you experience for future research activity. It also influenced the way the next phase of your life developed, didn't it?*

Lloyd-Jones: Right, because I am sure it was my report on that project that led Walter Dill Scott, president of Northwestern, to ask what my own plans were. When I told him I had had my husband-to-be picked out for five years and planned to do voluntary work in Evanston, he rather hesitatingly asked whether I'd ever considered graduate study and said he'd like me eventually to return to Northwestern as the first Associate Director of Personnel for Women Students. He also said that he would like to nominate me for a fellowship at Columbia's Teachers College, where he had taught with Thorndike, Dewey, and other giants of that time.

Smith: *And the fellowship was granted, and then what?*

Lloyd-Jones: I had a most stimulating year at Columbia. Si and I were married the June I received my MA, and I began my job as Associate Director of Personnel for Women Students at Northwestern that fall.

Smith: *How long were you in this job?*

Lloyd-Jones: Only two years. Then I was asked to teach in summer school at TC, Columbia; my major advisor there was urging me to get on with a doctorate; and the very same day that my letter came from New York asking me to teach the following summer, my husband's partner asked him to move to New York to establish a branch office of their management consultant and CPA firm.

Smith: *It sounds to me as though fate was looking after you.*

Lloyd-Jones: So all this came to pass, and after a busy year I began work on my dissertation. Toward the end of that year, I wrote it with a pillow between me and the desk so our daughter, who was on the way, wouldn't get creases in her!

Smith: *I know that you completed your doctorate, gave birth to Joanne, and were invited to accept an assistant professorship at Teachers College all about the same time. Not a dull year, was it?*

Lloyd-Jones: Since I didn't know just what it would be like taking care of a baby, Si and I thought it wise to ask that the appointment at TC be a part-time lectureship at first so I wouldn't feel under pressure. This was granted, and two years after that I began my full-time career.

THE EARLY YEARS AT TC

Lloyd-Jones: As I've already told you, I started my professional career at Northwestern as Associate Director of Personnel for Women Students. I'd had one year at Columbia between receiving my BA and beginning that job. I guess President Scott thought I should grow for a year and get an MA before I came back to the Northwestern University staff. I did some studies on students at Northwestern during the two years there, and I based my PhD dissertation substantially on this research when I returned to Columbia in 1926.

Smith: *Few find a dissertation topic so easily.*

Lloyd-Jones: I was also lucky because a senior editor at Harper and Brothers, Ordway Tead, a brilliant man, asked to see my disseration and decided to publish it as the first in its field. As I remember, in lieu of royalties he gave me over a hundred copies of the book. This was pretty nice, because back in those days there was no microfilming; people didn't legally have their doctorates from a major university until they'd given the librarian of that university a hundred printed copies of their work. Think how that would wreck a young doctor financially nowadays! The major universities exchanged their students' published dissertations, as you may remember.

Smith: *This book is the one about which E. G. Williamson, in a 1962 letter to Willard W. Blaesser, said:* "Student Personnel Work at Northwestern University *is still a historical classic of the early beginnings of the movement and should be required reading for all current 'personnelers.'* "

Lloyd-Jones: And I've told you, too, how and why I landed on the Teachers College, Columbia, staff the year I finished my doctorate. In teaching my first classes there, I guess I was younger than most of my students. I certainly felt like a novice. Without the reassuring and unswerving support of the head of TC and the head of my department, as well as Ben D. Wood and Harry D. Kitson, I think I would not have imposed my professional ignorance on my students.

Smith: *As one of those students, I can say that you are being unduly modest.*

Lloyd-Jones: Anyway, soon the friendliness and encouragement of my distinguished colleagues let my enjoyment of learning and experimenting assert itself.

Smith: *How many years were you on the staff at TC?*

Lloyd-Jones: Forty years, and I loved every minute. The department of which I was a member changed very soon, at my urging, from a department primarily for women deans, counselors, and administrators to the Department of Student Personnel Administration. It was natural that the department should encompass the guidance and welfare of people of all ages, for Professor Sarah Sturtevant, who was my predecessor as head of the department, had been a brilliantly successful dean and counselor at a high school in California and the rest of us on the faculty had worked professionally with young children up to those beyond college age. In her first few years at TC, Professor Sturtevant attracted to the department many able women students who had already had successful professional experience in schools and colleges, and many of them were destined for distinguished careers in education and some in business.

Smith: *Wasn't it Professor Sturtevant who brought Harry Kitson to TC?*

Lloyd-Jones: Yes, to strengthen the vocational guidance emphasis of her department. He came from the University of Chicago, where he had recently completed his doctorate. He, however, wasn't about to stay in her department and, after two years at TC, insisted on establishing his own Department of Vocational Guidance. There had been lecturers in vocational guidance at TC before Kitson arrived, but what he wanted was a department of his own. And what Kitson wanted—at least at that time—Kitson got. Anyone who was at TC through the thirties, forties, and fifties will remember how Kitson insisted that vocational guidance was the only true guidance and how Sturtevant preached a much broader approach. TC loved controversy. Academic life was exciting. There was no attempt at suppression or control from the top.

Smith: *What position did you take in this controversy?*

Lloyd-Jones: I supported Kitson's insistence that career and vocational guidance and counseling were important and essential, but I chose to work from a more comprehensive and less specialized position.

Smith: *This position was enhanced too, was it not, by the entrance of men into the department?*

Lloyd-Jones: I was delighted when Professor Sturtevant agreed, about 1930, to welcome men as well as women as students in the department. We began to have a rising volume of able men, but we apparently kept our reputation for helping able women to advance their professional competence too. This was at a time when many graduate departments felt they were wasting their time on women students "who would marry anyway."

THE GUIDANCE LAB

Smith: *Tell about the development of the Guidance Laboratory at TC.*

Lloyd-Jones: This has an interesting history. TC had been one of the outstanding centers for the study of child development. Its Child Development Institute in the late twenties and thirties attracted brilliant and ambitious psychologists. One of these psychologists set up a Psychological Counseling Center that got more and more publicity. It finally went so far, though, as to be reported in the *New York Times* as willing and able to take on and solve practically any and all human problems, at which point a committee from the Columbia Medical School demanded that President Nicholas Murray Butler fire this psychologist for unprofessional conduct. President Butler, working through channels, had the center closed. After this, the presidential dean of TC and Professors Leta Hollingsworth, Arthur Gates, and Rudolph Pintner asked me if I'd take over and develop a successor to the Psychological Counseling Center. This was in 1936. I thought it would be challenging to do this, but I wanted to stay as a professor in the Department of Student Personnel Administration too.

Smith: *And the dean permitted this.*

Lloyd-Jones: Right. I became director of the guidance lab in 1936 but remained a professor in the Department of Student Personnel Administration. I didn't become head of the department until Professor Sturtevant became terminally ill in 1941. As soon as I took on the lab in 1936, I changed the name from Psychological Counseling Center to Guidance Laboratory and announced it was to serve not only advanced students in psychology but also advanced students in remedial reading, remedial speech, measurement, and the counseling of high school and college students—any program that needed supervised clinical practice for its students in its own specialty.

Let me tell you more about the Guidance Laboratory. It was a lively and fascinating place. All during the time I was its director, we had a three-hour case conference every Wednesday afternoon. Each week some student would prepare a carefully disguised report of some interesting piece of work he or she was doing. I think most people read the reports carefully. Those case conferences were full of fireworks.

It wasn't long after the laboratory got under way that we were running an operation of about seven hundred clients per year, with twenty supervisors and a hundred advanced students drawn from five different doctoral programs. On the whole, I think it was a revelation to the students and especially to the supervisors to find out each week that different but good work was going on in other than their own program.

The clinical and counseling psychology programs had the most supervisors and the most students, and it was those supervisors who seemed to hop from bandwagon to bandwagon with great agility. At first, in the late thirties, as brilliant refugees were brought over by beneficent committees trying to rescue some scholars from Hitler, Freud threatened to overwhelm us. Two of the regular staff rushed to Europe and came back in a few months claiming to have been analyzed. They proceeded to dazzle many of those who attended case conferences, not only by the titillating sexual interest with which their students' reports were crammed but also by the self-satisfied assurance with which they presented their work. You know, the kind of people of whom it can be said: "They are often wrong but never uncertain." We always had some of these, of course.

Smith: *I don't see how this trend could continue for long.*

Lloyd-Jones: It went on too long and too intensively and pseudodramatically. Some of the Wednesday afternoon case conferences seemed—to one very distinguished male educator-psychologist who was spending his sabbatical in the Guidance Laboratory—to verge on the lurid. He asked me how I could put up with such nonsense. I had to admit that it worried me to see people climb so far out on any limb, but I was counting on the sound common sense of the whole group to bring them back. My distinguished visiting colleague apparently didn't have as much faith as I did, because he confessed to me later he had had a talk with the dean and the president, who were his personal friends. These two administrators subsequently had a talk with the two supervisors, who were told they were to resign permanently from supervisory work in the lab.

OTHER BANDWAGONS

Lloyd-Jones: Our Freudian period was followed by a fervent Rogerian period. Carl Rogers had taken his doctorate at TC not too many years before and was personally liked by many of us who had known him. The clinical psychology programs in the late forties and fifties imported staff members trained by Rogers at Chicago, and they and their followers next became the anointed ones who had the answers and were never uncertain.

Smith: *I am sure that cults were not exclusive to TC.*

Lloyd-Jones: Of course not. They're a national phenomenon, but every Wednesday afternoon at coffee break I had to smooth the feathers of some staff members who felt they couldn't stand the successive cults that threatened to engulf us. It was then that I developed some cynicism about the "placebo effects" of cults. You know the adage: "Treat as many patients as you can with the new remedies while they still have the power to heal." We always had supervisors who were using new remedies with much fervor and fanfare. There still are a good many confident, ambitious, and clever individuals busy concocting theories and attention-getting techniques in the field of counseling. And clients often feel for a while that these do them some good—until another attention-getting book or system comes along.

But I really think and know that a lot of good work went on in the Guidance Laboratory. I think the students in the various clinics learned a lot of sound practices and caveats, even if some of them did follow pied pipers devoutly for varying lengths of time.

Smith: *I suppose there were some jealousies and tensions because of the different departments involved. Almost inevitable, wasn't it?*

Lloyd-Jones: Yes, there was always more or less tension and jealousy, status-seeking and backbiting that went on, but I think it was a less poisonous kind of jealousy and contention because the program areas did differ—even though they overlapped—in their objectives and methods. And good work did get general approval.

ON OPERATING A CLINIC

Smith: *I can remember your telling me of some funny lab incidents. Can we have a few here?*

Lloyd-Jones: Some funny things—and not so funny—happened. One summer when I returned from a semester on leave, I listened to many tales from staff of things that had gone wrong, mainly because of excess permissiveness. The administrative assistant complained that children had urinated in the sandboxes; they had poured lots of water into the sandboxes, making sand soup, which resulted in the ceiling falling in the auditorium underneath. She had also discovered that children who were supposed to be taking tests sometimes climbed out of windows, under the eyes of their testers, and ran about on the roof of an adjacent building where there were no restraints. You can be sure these matters were promptly and vigorously discussed in staff meeting as soon as I returned and subsequently in full case conference, where the value of limits was clarified and emphasized.

But the funniest thing that happened that semester arose from the fact that the acting director of the lab had given permission for a psychology professor not connected with the lab to use one of our one-way vision rooms. He wanted to demonstrate to a few onlookers that his chimpanzee actually had learned a limited vocabulary. One afternoon, when the chimp was in this special room supposedly talking to her trainer, one of our hyperkinetic boys broke loose and rushed into the one-way vision room. The chimp got excited, rushed out after the boy, but deviated and went into the ladies' rest room. There were a number of women in there who were, to understate it, startled. Then the acting director came and tried to calm the ladies down by explaining that it was all right; this was a female chimp!

In the twenty-six years I was director, many who were to become nationally and even internationally well-known scholars and writers worked as students in the lab. But after these years of simultaneously running the laboratory and being head of the Department of Student Personnel Administration, I decided that someone else should have the fun of running the laboratory, that the department held enough interest and possibilities for me.

THE DEPARTMENT AT TC

Smith: *So then you concentrated on the Department of Student Personnel Administration.*

Lloyd-Jones: I really had a vested interest in this department at Teachers College, for I came to it first as a student in 1923, when it was quite new, and then as a staff member in 1926. My contact continued with it until 1966, when I retired. I certainly saw a great deal of the counseling field in the Guidance Laboratory, but it is the broad guidance and personnel teaching field in which I have had my deepest and most meaningful intellectual experiences.

Smith: *I've always been interested in how and why this department was labeled "Student Personnel Administration."*

Lloyd-Jones: We couldn't include the term "guidance" in the name, because Dr. Kitson thought that would confuse the image of his Department of Vocational Guidance with ours.

Smith: *So you came out with "Student Personnel Administration."*

Lloyd-Jones: Furthermore, we had and wanted students who were focusing on all the different ages and stages of human living, from young children to what some would consider old age. We didn't want any artificial divisions between students who would work with younger children and with older ages. And we didn't want "higher education" separated from the education and development of younger and older persons.

Smith: *When I was at TC, I was so involved with my own goals and problems that I wasn't aware of how many students were in the department.*

Lloyd-Jones: For many years the enrollment in the department ran between four hundred and five hundred majors. They were all matriculated for either the master's or doctor's degree. There were about an equal number of men and women students. On the whole, they were highly selected and fine-quality human beings. I thoroughly enjoyed working with them, as did the rest of my staff. And the students enjoyed each other. Many friendships—and even marriages—came out of that department.

Smith: *I can remember how busy you were, but you always seemed to find time for persons who needed your help and advice.*

Lloyd-Jones: I probably taught too many classes and seminars a week, but I enjoyed it. And I was mildly scolded by the academic dean of TC one year when thirty doctoral students for whom I was sponsor finished during the one year. I explained to him that I had been on sabbatical leave one semester of that year and had said I could work on their material just as fast as they could get it to me. All thirty dropped everything else and really produced. We were only the second or third largest department in the college, but I noticed with pride that, for several years, more dissertations by our students than by those from any other department were selected by the TC Press for publication in their distinguished dissertation series. I guess I have a strong competitive streak. I do get a kick out of seeing people do well, though.

I sponsored two hundred twenty-five doctoral students during the years at TC, and since then, at the United States International University in San Diego, I have sponsored fifteen or twenty more. Of course, I'm not a USIU full time, only the winter quarters, but I work with my students intensively while there; and several have come east in the summers so we could work together during these periods.

Smith: *Another illustration of your concern for your students.*

Lloyd-Jones: I'm sure a lot of my doctoral students go through times of hating me, but we're usually friends again after they finish.

WRITING

Smith: *In spite of the many demands upon you as a teacher and administrator, you've found time to write. I know you've changed your ideas about our field because I participated with you in two books that represented rather different points of view.*

Lloyd-Jones: You're right! *You* have to share some of the onus of changes in points of view over the years. Let me try to describe where I started and then, roughly, where I went in my thinking. You may want to add something about your own changes in points of view in order not to seem to have just gone along with me. I'm sure the readers won't mind.

Smith: *Probably not, but this is a vehicle for your philosophy and view, not mine, and those who know me know that I'm not the kind of person who "just goes along."*

Lloyd-Jones: After Harper published my first book, *Student Personnel Work at Northwestern University,* and other work that I—we—had been doing developing our program at Northwestern, I wrote an article titled "Personnel Administration," in which I struggled to identify aspects of our field: the philosophical, which I called the personnel point of view; the various services, which I called personnel work; and personnel administration, which was the leadership and coordinating aspect. W. H. Cowley, who was then editor of the *Journal of Higher Education* published it. He and I corresponded about some of our other ideas, and he came, by invitation, to teach in my department at TC one summer soon after that.

In 1938 you and I published our book *A Student Personnel Program for Higher Education.* I think that book appealed to the organizing needs of administrators. It rather neatly laid out services—areas of specialization—that we said would meet students' uncared-for needs; it showed how these various areas of service should be laid out, staffed, and operated, and it described the need for a central administrator to develop the budget and to work on problems of territoriality. A well-designed and well-operated organizational machine appeals to most top administrators. If this is all they need to do to be saved, they adopt it with enthusiasm. I remember consulting, in the early forties, with a university president who showed me his copy of that book underlined in red and blue—and I shuddered.

Cubberley of Stanford had described education as a process such as factories use: raw material fed in, efficiently processed in a variety of ways, and out at the end as a finished product with more or less of the changes the complicated machine was designed to make. The more I thought about this concept, the more repulsive it became to me as a philosophy of education. I began to realize that *A Student Personnel Program for Higher Education* was essentially a blueprint for a Cubberley machine.

Smith: *Fortunately, this book has been out of print for some time.*

Lloyd-Jones: I notice, as I review the titles of my books and articles in the fifties, that I was working very consciously away from the details of specific services and organization, as well as away from the mystique and magic of counseling. I was trying to see basically what helps people to grow and change. Services are useful and essential to each of us all through our lives, but the constant forces that condition and change our lives are threefold. First, the ambience with which we're surrounded. Second, the expectations that are a constant part of our more immediate and more remote environments—in effect, the values that are commonly held by those with whom we identify closely or more remotely. These may be explicit or implicit, but they exercise terrific control. And third, the way we are viewed by others also controls who we think we are and how we grow. Some individuals have the ability to make one feel a veritable worm—to stage situations in which one feels powerless or a fool. Others have an ability to bring about and maintain situations in which everyone feels worthy of respect and can give respect—situations that also, it is hoped, hold the zest of challenge and fun and appreciation for everyone. This is actually where and how one learns what one is and can become.

Smith: *May I interject here that the latter is how you make all with whom you come in contact feel?*

Lloyd-Jones: I wish I really could and did. Far better that we help persons learn how to develop this kind of milieu in schools, colleges, and businesses in which all can grow and learn and contribute than that we supply a myriad of counseling offices in which to try to repair damage done by a bad or rabid environment and uncaring people. This does not mean that people do not frequently need information and help with their finances, their vocational planning, their social relationships, their educational planning, their health, and other personal problems. We do need experts who can supply these services. They are indispensable, but they're not really the heart of the matter.

Smith: *Didn't we try to say something about this by getting together the book* Student Personnel Work as Deeper Teaching?

Lloyd-Jones: Yes, I think we saw the problem, but I don't really think our answers were terribly well worked out at that time, do you?

Smith: *No, but it was a beginning.*

EDUCATING WOMEN

Lloyd-Jones: Another problem that had engaged my concern more and more was the models—or rather the lack of models in many instances—young and older people had and the roles in which our social systems cast and held those models. I was sure our whole system was depriving girls especially. They had few role models who could show them how a truly free—not rebellious—strong, able woman could build and direct her life for her own fulfillment and the benefit of others.

When Kathryn Sisson Phillips asked a small group of us in the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors "What needs most to be done?" we identified this problem as one that should have top priority. She and her husband gave a generous sum of money, which we took to the American Council on Education in the early fifties with the suggestion that it set up a Commission on the Education of Women. Over the strong objections of some of their leaders, but with the strong support of others, this commission was established; and I was its first chairperson. The members of that commission were an impressive group of men and women: college presidents and social scientists for the most part. We reviewed our problem, invited some outstanding scholars to prepare papers for our consideration, and finally came to the conclusion that we couldn't tackle the wide range of problems that had been exposed, but we agreed the most important place to take hold was at the point of the continuing education of women. I wrote about this in the *Educational Record* and *Teachers College Record*.

INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

Smith: *In 1960, did not certain grants help you further develop your theories and your philosophy that guidance should be based on broad knowledge from a number of academic fields?*

Lloyd-Jones: Yes. In 1960 I was very fortunate in persuading certain people at the National Institute of Mental Health, at the Ford Foundation, and in the U.S. Office of Education that there was a big intellectual overhaul needed in guidance and that it wasn't going to be accomplished by glib talk or impressive pronouncements. It was my feeling that guidance had been based too exclusively on psychology and that we, and indeed all of education, needed a broader base in the social-cultural sciences. Grants from these three sources made it possible to bring together outstanding scholars from the social and cultural sciences to work with us in the field of guidance. We were able to finance three national conferences, get some good papers written, and get together a steering committee of highly qualified scientists representing interdisciplinary points of view.

Smith: *Two of your co-authored books emerged from this work:* Behavioral Science and Guidance *and* Social-Cultural Foundations of Guidance. *What impact do you think all of this has had on the field?*

Lloyd-Jones: I'm not at all sure that all of that work caused as much of a revolution in the guidance field as I think it needs, but it certainly put a new and more solid foundation under my thinking and made my opportunity to be a part, the last ten years, of the developing program of the graduate school in human behavior at the United States International University very rewarding.

PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY

Smith: *How does one keep so many balls in the air at one time—and moving so smoothly and making such interesting designs?*

Lloyd-Jones: Well, if I understand what you're asking me, I'll answer you by telling of one of my high intellectual moments; it's the kind of moment that stands out more or less in everyone's life.

I was taking a seminar with Otto Rank, who was over here in the late twenties. He likened life to the waves of an ocean, and I gathered he thought the trick was to keep oneself right on the crest of a wave as it traveled along. The crest was the "now." He hoped that one neither lived behind the crest—in the past, maybe struggling to get back up on the crest—nor slid off ahead of the wave, thus risking having the weight of the crest—the present—engulf and crush one.

I couldn't quite swallow this analogy in its entirety, and we argued over it, I remember. There always is the past, and one must carry it with one—at least all one has learned from it that supports the "now." The past supplies memories that enhance and decorate the "now." It should have taught lessons that help one stay on the crest with better balance and enjoyment. Certainly, I could agree with Rank that letting one's anxieties push one ahead into the future does not enhance one's present. And I could agree that one has more control over the "now" than over the past or the future. The present is really all one does have, but the present moments move swiftly and inexorably onward, and one carries as much balance and power and understanding over from past moments as one can manage in order to deal more gracefully and confidently with each present moment. And, if one is managing to stay on the crest of the "now," one's view, looking out on the future, should be clearer and farther-sighted. I can't leave the past or the future out of my total concept of how it is, but I did get a lot from Rank's insistence that it's important to endow each present with all the quality one can.

Maybe this is a way of getting a lot done; but unless one imbues each present with a constant concern for quality and for priorities—and this one distills from the past—living on the crest of the wave could mean simply being a good surfer. And, like a surfer, just to exult in being on the top of the wave and not to be able to look beyond that, to stay with the simile, would be to miss the sky, the clouds, the sun, the birds, and even the land one ought to be approaching, as well as not to know in what direction toward that land one should be trying to go—toward one's objectives.

Smith: *Certainly we must include your hobbies in this interview.*

Lloyd-Jones: My hobbies? My grandchildren. And I love animals, the tame ones and the wild ones: deer, chipmunks, raccoons, foxes, birds, even bats and snakes and mice. I enjoy cooking, not the artsy-craftsy kind but food that I hope is appetizing to view, good to taste, doesn't get monotonous, and supplies the elements that contribute to good health. I love music, but my ears appreciate far more now the sounds other artists supply than any my unpracticed fingers can produce. Having been a trustee at Pratt Institute for so long has greatly enhanced my appreciation of the visual arts. I spend quite a bit of time on the *Wall Street Journal, Barrons, Fortune*, the newsletters of various economic services, and, of course, farm journals. I find this all fascinating, probably a direct result of my husband's efforts to give me some economic understanding. I read whodunits at night to put myself to sleep. And I'm developing a new interest in the minerals and rocks of Franklin, New Jersey, which advertises itself as "The Fluorescent Capital of the World." And I also get a thrill out of keeping up with professional writing in the various social-cultural sciences.

Smith: *I regret we must close this interview, but perhaps you have a closing thought.*

Lloyd-Jones: Well, I think our daughter, Joanne, expressed beautifully the way she thought her father had lived his life. She wrote this within some hours after his death. It was very much the way she lived her life also. Maybe some of those who read this will find it speaks to them too, especially those of us concerned with the human potential.

A craftsman lifts the gift of wood or stone
With awe. The form that lies within the
rough
Grained slab is hidden well. He bears
alone
The fearful choice of carving deep enough
But not too close. His task must be to hold
A vision of the goal; his faith that there
Exists for all a meaning, true and bold
If his hand falters not. He works with prayer
Each man receives the gift of life at birth
To waste through human ignorance or
fright,
Or use with prayerful strength, with love
and mirth,
To reach the vision of his inner sight.
And death illuminates the skill, the goal;
The final product of his craft, the soul.

Esther Lloyd-Jones: Further Facts

Publications

Esther Lloyd-Jones is the author, co-author, or co-editor of 17 books and about 100 articles and chapters in books. In 1967 Eleanor Margaret Schetlin published Selected Writings of Esther McDonald Lloyd-Jones from 1929 to 1977 *(University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan), which lists and discusses all of her publications through 1965.*

Honors and Awards

She has received four honorary degrees: an LLD from Elmira College in 1955; a DScEd from Boston University in 1961; an LHD from Long Island University in 1963; and an LLD from Bridgeport University in 1966.

The Award of Merit was conferred on her by Northwestern University in 1945. She was named Woman of the Year by Dickinson College in 1956 and by Texas Southern University in 1960. She received the University of Arizona's Award of Merit in 1960 and the American Personnel and Guidance Association's Wimmer Award in 1966. The National Association of Student Personnel Administrators gave her its first Distinguished Service Award in 1966, and she received the Distinguished Service Award from the New York State Personnel and Guidance Association that same year. Also in 1966 she was given the Old Master Award by Purdue.

In June 1966 she was honored with a retirement conference and dinner attended by students, former students, and colleagues, who came from all over the country and Canada. At that time she was presented with a book, Guidance Personnel Work: Future Tense, *which had been published in 1966 by Teachers College Press. The book was edited by Margaret Ruth Smith (the interviewer for this article), written by fifteen of Esther Lloyd-Jones's former students, and dedicated to her.*

Committees, Commissions, Boards

Esther Lloyd-Jones has served on the following: National Board and Executive Committee of the YWCA, 1923–24, 1928–31; National Personnel Committee of the National Girl Scouts, 1939–45; Board of Directors of the National Council on Religion in Higher Education, 1941–46; National Committee on Recognition and Awards of the American Association of University Women, 1946–52; Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services, 1951–54; Commission on Education of Women of the American Council on Education (chairperson), 1953–58; Committee on Policies for Women in the Federal Service of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1961–63; Committee on Education of the American National Red Cross (chairperson), 1961–64; Board of Directors of the Ellis L. Phillips Foundation, 1967–present; Kathryn Sisson Phillips Trust Fund of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (president of trustees), 1974–present. She was on the board of trustees of Briarcliff College from 1945 to 1951 and on the *board of trustees of Elmira College from 1956 to 1962, and she has been on the board of trustees of Pratt Institute from 1946 to the present.*

Consultancies

In 1942 she was a consultant to the secretary of war and a representative of Director Hobby to select the first group of WAC officer candidates. From 1968 to 1971 she was a consultant to the U.S. Office of Education. She has also been a consultant for various other organizations and institutions.

Lectureships

In 1951 she was a lecturer at the Institute Brasil–Estados Unidos in Rio de Janeiro, and she has been a lecturer for many workshops, seminars, institutes, organizations, and colleges.

Organizations

Following are some of the many professional and other organizations of which Esther Lloyd-Jones is or was a member: fellow, National Council of Women Psychologists (now the International Association of Psychologists), 1945–present; fellow, American Psychological Association (also diplomate in counseling) 1934–present; secretary-treasurer, American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1938–39; member, National Vocational Guidance Association, American College Personnel Association (president from 1935 to 1937), American Sociological Association, Mortar Board, Pi Lambda Theta, Psi Xi, Phi Beta Kappa, Kappa Delta Pi.

PUBLICATIONS CITED IN THIS INTERVIEW

This list contains only those writings of Esther Lloyd-Jones that have been referred to in this interview.

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Personnel Administration. *Journal of Higher Education,* 1934, *5,* 141–147.

(With Margaret Ruth Smith) *A Student Personnel Program for Higher Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1938.

Special Problems in Women's Education. *Educational Record,* 1954, *35,* 155–156.

(Edited, with Margaret Ruth Smith) *Student Personnel Work as Deeper Teaching.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954.

Women Today and Their Education. *Teachers College Record,* 1955, 1956, 1957.

The Commission on the Education of Women Since 1955. *Educational Record,* 1957, *38,* 250–257.

(With Esther Westervelt) *Behavioral Science and Guidance: Problems and Perspective.* New York: Teachers College Press, 1963.

(With Norah Rosenau) *Social-Cultural Foundations of Guidance.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Interviewer **Margaret Ruth Smith** *is an Educational Consultant who has had a long career in student personnel work, with very active memberships in ACPA, NAWDAC, and other associations. She is based in Atlanta, Georgia, having moved there in 1964 and then finding the need for her services so great that she never left. She does not confine her consultation work to her immediate environment, however, but is in constant demand throughout the southeastern U.S. for consulting, editing, speaking, and conducting workshops and seminars. Her specialty is higher education, her particular interests human development and human potential. She describes herself as a free-lancer and says, "I haven't taken a teaching job, because I want to be free to help people when they need it badly. If someone needs my help, I don't want to have to tell that person that I'm sorry but my teaching schedule restricts me."*

Year of Article: 1985

The Evolution of Anne Roe

ROBERT L. WRENN

There are so many wonderful titles that could fit the introduction of this celebrated pioneer, Anne Roe. Reality forced me to stay with one. I chose "The Evolution of Anne Roe" for two reasons. First, the interview I had with Anne was organized chronologically within the article to show her unique style and personal development and achievements—how she has evolved, if you will. Second, Anne's propensity to relate psychology to the evolving nature of man is stated explicitly within her various writings as well as through the collaborative work she has done with her husband, George Gaylord Simpson, an internationally acclaimed paleontologist. I would like to have put something in the title about the serendipity factor that worked its way through her life, but I knew I would only confuse the reader. Anne is hard to summarize in one title.

Anne was born in Denver, Colorado, in 1904. Her paternal grandfather had come to Colorado in 1859 when he was a young man suffering from tuberculosis. Anne's maternal grandfather was a newspaper publisher, and both of her parents' families knew each other. Anne was born the second of four. She has an older brother, Bob, a younger brother, Ed, and a much younger sister, Pat. During the depression in the 1920s, Anne's father's company went bankrupt, and Anne's mother took a position with the state parent–teacher's association as a field worker. She later became national field secretary. Her income supported the family at this time. Because Anne's mother was away from home much of the time, Anne was the one who cooked, cleaned, ironed, and darned. Anne describes her mother as an active, intelligent, and well-organized woman and her father as a sweet, thoughtful, and considerate, but not very aggressive, man. The family was described as close-knit. To quote Anne, "I had a happy childhood except that I was not really accepted in grade school and high school because I was ahead of my class and younger and smarter than the rest."

Anne began college right after her 16th birthday. She could not afford to join a sorority as she had wanted, so she became manager of the Glee Club as a social alternative. The group in college that Anne was most closely associated with was the athletic club, because that group offered her both leadership and social and exercise opportunities. Anne did not spend much time thinking about careers. She assumed she would become an English teacher mainly because she read voraciously and teaching was an acceptable field for women. But in her junior year she met a professor of Education and Psychology, Thomas Garth, who saw a special talent in Anne and encouraged her to think about becoming a psychologist. She eventually became his research assistant. As Anne began work on her master's degree, Garth became ill, and at the encouragement of the Chancellor and the offer of $60 per month, Anne taught three classes and ran the department for about 6 months. After she completed her master's degree, Garth found her a job in Thorndike's office at Columbia University in New York. This gave her the opportunity to leave Denver and the job track she had seemed destined for—teaching high school English. Anne received her doctorate from Columbia in 1933 in what would be considered Experimental Psychology. Her life work, however, has been devoted chiefly to those areas of interest we now associate with Clinical and Counseling Psychology.

My first brush with Anne Roe was in reading her Division 12 (Clinical Psychology), APA presidential address while I was still a graduate student at Ohio State. The title of her address was "Man's Forgotten Weapon" (1959), in which she argued for a heightened consciousness and a sense of awareness in managing our increasingly changing environment. Little did I realize that 14 years later I would receive a call from Anne, then a resident of Tucson, asking me to serve on the Simroe Foundation Board, a board constructed to oversee the collective library holdings of George Simpson and Anne Roe. I was, and still am, delighted to have had the regular contact with Anne and George since that time and for the opportunity to visit them in their home on many occasions. Now that I know her better, I can see that the article I read back in 1959 was really a positive projection of an evolving Anne Roe.

One of the "duties" in being on the Simroe Foundation Board is to dine with Anne and George from time to time. My wife, Marcy, and I have come to appreciate the special times when locals on the board and their mates are treated to George's special gin martinis and then whisked off to a cozy restaurant for dinner. I always get to sit next to Anne, and Marcy next to George. Lively discussions concerning their many trips throughout the world, their children's family events, and colorful characters they have known make these meals most enjoyable. I mention this chiefly to indicate that in all the ways I have come to know Anne over the years, I am most impressed by the diversity of her talents, skills, and interests. I learned much of this during these dinner conversations.

Anne became an octogenarian in August 1984. She looks 60. Because she has been plagued throughout her life with such illnesses as brucellosis and heart trouble and slowed down by the inevitable drain of raising four daughters, one would think that Anne would be less vital than she is. Those who know her find her positively stately, certainly majestic, and definitely businesslike in demeanor. One also notices a depth of character and a warmth of manner that is the mark of someone who has experienced many peoples of the world and accomplished many tasks in this life, but yet who is miraculously unembittered. Perhaps her inclination to assert her opinions as they occur keeps her on an even keel.

The reader will glean a basic knowledge of the research and professional service achievements of Anne in the interview to follow. But in closing this section, I want to impress the reader, just a little, with the *joie de vivre* that emanates from Anne when she is not at work. Aside from being an excellent cook (and editing her own cook book) and a master jigsaw puzzler (my closet holds many 2nd editions), Anne has had a lifelong love of music. I remember one Christmas not long ago when Anne and George came over to our house for dinner and Anne sat down at the piano as we all gathered around to sing carols to her accompaniment. It was a joy for us all. In George Simpson's autobiography (1978), he mentioned that after W.W. II there was a resurrection of the Mandolin and Martini Club. This was a "select organization of gin-, music-, and whiskey-lovers" that featured Anne Roe on piano and guitar, a doctor friend on banjo-mandolin, a publisher on first mandolin, and George on second mandolin. George also stated modestly (he would say "accurately") that first and second refer to skill, not to solo or harmony parts. The way it was described made it sound like a lot of fun, and the description ended with the words, "there are rumors that when the moon is full and the cups are too, a ghostly tinkling as of mandolins can be heard from a closed room on East Holmes Street in Tucson."

This is the side of Anne Roe that I have come to know and love as much as the more serious side that follows. Anne simply cannot be captured in one title—or in one article.

BEGINNING RESEARCH INTERESTS

R.W.: *Your master's thesis had to do with American Indians from Albuquerque and Santa Fe and their scores on the National Intelligence Test. As I recall, mixed-blooded Indians scored higher on most tests, but full-blooded Indians did especially well on digit symbol tests for some reason.*

A.R.: The reason I did this particular thesis was because Professor Garth was interested in color preference in Indians and, for some reason, he had these data available to me. I didn't collect the data. I was a little baffled by the odd-digit symbol thing. It does not baffle me so much now, you know. I ran into the same thing, years later, in talking to Clyde Kluckhohn (an anthropologist in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard). George and I had bought all these Indian rugs in New Mexico, and we realized that the women were weaving them without having any set pattern, making the pattern up as they went along, which meant to me a kind of visualization that is impossible for me.

R.W.: *They had the pattern in their head.*

A.R.: That's right. Then I thought, how does it happen? It occurred to me that it's because Indian babies, among the Navajo at least, which are the only group I know reasonably well, are carried pretty well strapped down on a board, and the only sensory experience they have, apart from sound, is visual. The dominant one is visual. It came to me that this might be related to this early experience.

R.W.: *Sort of the blind man hears better through compensation.*

A.R.: Yes. When I mentioned it to Kluckhohn, he thought that this was very likely the case. About the same time I was working on this master's thesis, there was an orthodontist in town who was attending Garth's research seminar and was interested in doing research in connection with the dental school at the University of Denver. He wanted to see if there were tests that would discriminate between students who were likely to be good dentists and who were not. But he did not think that he would do this himself. So he got me to do it for him and paid for it. That's how my first paper had to do with dental students.

R.W.: *Garth lived up to his promise and got you a job in Thorndike's office at Columbia. Was this your first move away from the Denver area?*

A.R.: I had never been out of Colorado before.

R.W.: *What was that like for you? It must have been a little strange.*

A.R.: Oh, it was very exciting! I went to Columbia and worked in Thorndike's office as a general clerk. Thorndike was a very interesting man. The thing I remember most about him is he was a big, heavy man. And he sort of panted all the time, and of course his office—big office in which all the clerks were—had shelves lined with records. And he used to climb up a ladder to get things off the top shelf. Everybody there, there were about six of us in the office, would hold our breath until he got safely down again. So my chief memory of Thorndike is him sitting on the top of a ladder gasping for breath while we were all sitting down below wondering if he was going to make it.

R.W.: *Another person there who apparently had an influence on you was Robert Woodworth, an experimental psychologist on the faculty.*

A.R.: Woodworth was my senior professor. And it's odd, I didn't have a lot of contact with him. You know, the Columbia faculty at that time really didn't interact with the students that much. Woodworth, I saw when I needed to. He was always very sweet. The thing that impressed me about Woodworth was that he would sit in on a seminar, some student would present a paper, and he would sit there looking out the window, sort of smacking his lips, and apparently paying no attention. And when the presentation was finished, he would know absolutely everything about it. He would identify good points and bad points and put them out in such a gentle but comprehensive way—it was really extraordinary. I tried to learn from that, how to be critical of certain things. That was a very good learning experience.

R.W.: *You were working too, weren't you?*

A.R.: Yes, I was working half-time.

R.W.: *At the Pelman Institute and also at a psychiatric children's clinic as a psychologist.*

A.R.: That's right. I was having to earn my way, you see. I had borrowed $500 to go to Columbia and it took me some years to pay it back. I left Thorndike's office when Mary Whitley, a professor of child psychology at Teachers College, needed an assistant. I occasionally taught her classes. I did most of her grading and that sort of thing. She was extremely good to me. At one point, I came down with another attack of brucellosis, she took me home with her, tucked me in bed, and looked after me for a couple of weeks.

R.W.: *I was trying to make some thematic sense out of your research. As you were saying before, some of it just fell into your hands, but the intellectual functioning, the cognitive functioning seems to go throughout . . .*

A.R.: Yes, that's true and, in fact, when I make a few notes on what seemed to me to be the most significant ideas—intellectual functions in mental disorder is one of them.

R.W.: *Music has been an interest throughout your life, too, I know. At any rate, your dissertation had to do with cognitive functions of musicians.*

A.R.: Yes. What I was interested in was the difference between ability to read music at sight and performance. I had observed that some people could read at sight. I, myself, could sight read well. This, I discovered, was quite unusual. So then I decided to try and develop some measures of why . . . of what kinds of mistakes people made in reading music. I developed a nice little test, four or five subtests, to pick out where the errors were. I had music students take it and related it to their musical abilities. It was kind of interesting.

R.W.: *Was any of this related to the Kwalwasser-Dykema or Seashore tests of musical aptitude, or did you go off on your own to . . .*

A.R.: I had Kwalwasser tests on them, but the tests I developed were pencil-and-paper tests.

R.W.: *Yours were quite different from anything else that had been done at that time?*

A.R.: Oh, yes. Completely different. Before or since, as far as I know. I had a terrible time finding any literature on the subject.

There was practically nothing. The thing was, I presented a series of music errors and to spot the errors, as I recall, was the task.

***R.W.:** In 1931, you somehow got to Philadelphia and began working on a norm group of intellectual functioning for Katherine McBride, a colleague of yours at the time.*

A.R.: That was when Cecil, my first husband, and I separated. I had started work for Katherine before the separation and was commuting to Philadelphia. When Cecil and I separated, I just moved to Philadelphia.

***R.W.:** That was an important time for you.*

> *"I remember one man whose job was selling hot dogs at baseball games. He loved it because . . . the city hot shots knew him by name . . ."*

A.R.: Yes, in many ways. And the sample I got, I think, was a very good sample of normal adults. I got it by going into the hospitals where there were aphasics and paralysis patients without aphasia. I went on surgical wards and got patients who had some problem that could not possibly be related to intellectual function—broken leg, an appendectomy, that sort of thing—and most of the men were very happy to cooperate because they were bored silly. They used to keep people in the hospital much longer then. This was very interesting to me, not only because of the work itself, what became of it, but also because I met a wide spectrum of social backgrounds with which I had been unacquainted previously. And that was when I first began to see how important an occupation could be in one's life. It only occurred to me in connection with a few of them as being a really significant factor in their lives. I remember one man whose job was selling hot dogs at baseball games. He loved it because a lot of the city hot shots knew him by name and he knew them by name; it made him feel really important because the mayor called him by his name, and you know, this sort of thing. Even the very lowly type job meant a great deal in terms of the associations. That was eye opening.

***R.W.:** So if he had sold hot dogs in some little store that important people did not frequent, his job satisfaction would have been quite different, it sounds like.*

A.R.: Yes.

***R.W.:** And I think you worked some of these variables into your occupational research later on.*

A.R.: Yes, I think I did. There was another man who was a riveter—worked on high buildings. His scorn of people who were afraid of sitting on a beam way up in the air was really very interesting. Gave him a feeling of superiority.

***R.W.:** Well, in 1933, you received your doctorate.*

A.R.: Finally.

GEORGE AND FAMILY

***R.W.:** In that same year you took a job at Worcester State Hospital as assistant psychologist in charge of internship training. The hospital was a productive research hospital at the time. David Shakow, a research psychologist on the staff, and you embarked on a study of intelligence in mental disorders that took some time. Somewhere in there you also worked in a well-baby clinic studying the establishment of breast feeding routines between mother and child. In 1939 you and your new husband, George, published a book on Quantitative Zoology. How did that book come to fruition?*

A.R.: Well, this came about because he kept saying that psychology was not a science, and I kept saying paleontologists were stupid because they didn't know anything about statistics—they would have all these samples and all they ever did with them was get a mean, and there was a lot more to be done. With his usual interest in everything, George got interested in statistics. We decided we would write a book about it. At that time, the only books that a zoologist or paleontologist could use were Fisher and Snedecor, and neither of these authors is a model of clarity when it comes to writing. We worked out the idea for a book and George wrote the text. My job was first to do the statistics part and then to research the literature for material that we could use as examples. That book did not sell very well, but it was extremely influential because it was the first time (except for one paper by Pearson's daughter, who was a paleontologist) anybody had applied small sample statistics of this sort to a zoological problem.

***R.W.:** Shortly after this, you and George went to Venezuela for 9 months.*

A.R.: The book came out while we were gone, I guess, because we read proofs of it while we were in Venezuela. We had written it just before we were married.

***R.W.:** It seemed to me that would be an abrupt change of things for you, suddenly going off for almost a year to a strange country.*

A.R.: It was fun. I loved it!

***R.W.:** What were you doing there?*

A.R.: Well, George was digging bones. I collected recent mammals while he was collecting fossil mammals. I skinned them and prepared the skulls, and sent back quite a nice little collection to the museum. I did that all the time I was in Venezuela, down in the Gran Savanna as well as in the camp near Barquisimeto. I got very much interested in it and, when we came back, I gave some thought to switching from psychology to field zoology, but then when I looked into it more closely, I decided no, I would not be able to do the kind of research that I had wanted to do.

***R.W.:** Well, you came back to become a mother to George's children (by a previous marriage).*

A.R.: Yes. That was very interesting. Before we were married, George's mother said she would like to have the children for a while, as she had done from time to time. And then she decided that she could not manage it anymore. She was too old. So I took the children. They were so happy to have somebody pay them personal attention and be actually interested in what they did, that it did not take long before there was a good deal of trust. I stayed home for a year until we really were pretty well shaken down. Then Jellinek, a biostatistician at Worcester, gave me a contract to analyze textbooks on alcohol education, so I could work at my own speed. I was paid a lump sum for doing the job. That was very handy. In a later study, one of the groups that we were interested in was children of alcoholic parents—alcoholic, psychotic, and so-called normal. When Jellinek made me this offer, I moved to Yale. George had joined the Army but had been offered a professorship at Yale, and I thought he was going to take it when he came back from the Army. Later, Jellinek wanted me to do a study of the effects of alcohol on artists. His idea was to make it a library study. I would read all about artists of the past and how much they drank, and I said, "Nothing doing. This is

> *"I would read all about artists of the past and how much they drank, and I said, 'Nothing doing. This is stupid.' "*

stupid. Why don't I ask some artists?" And everybody said you couldn't do this.

R.W.: *Outlandish idea! Well, that was a turning point, wasn't it, as far as the creativity aspect . . .*

THE CREATIVITY RESEARCH

A.R.: Yes. I was not even thinking of creativity as such. My job was to study the effect of alcohol on painting—how much painters used it and so forth. I decided if I was going to be able to get to these painters, I should do more than that. So I got life histories and I learned the Rorschach, which I didn't know, and an abbreviated TAT. I was astounded to discover that there were such intimate relationships between what they painted, how they painted, how their paintings changed, and the personality structure as I could derive them from these studies; I became completely fascinated with this! So it was then suggested after I finished, that I do the same thing with writers. By this time George had come back from the Army, quite ill, and decided to stay in New York. So we moved back to New York and I attempted to do this at a distance, and that proved very unsatisfactory.

So I dropped that and then wondered what to do next. Then I ran into Jim Miller at APA. He was the head of the VA Psychology staff, and he said that the National Institute of Mental Health was giving grants for research. I thought, well, I want to study scientists—I had wanted to ever since I had done the painters. I thought that would be a more interesting group to me than writers. And so I drew up a program and sent it in, and didn't hear, and didn't hear. In the meantime, I took a job with the VA. One Sunday morning, while reading the paper in bed, I came across an item announcing NIMH grants and there was one to me. This was the first I had heard of it. I nearly fell out of bed.

But you see, it is always that one thing leads to another and that leads to something else. I was not thinking about creativity, per se, with either the painters or the scientists.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF OCCUPATIONS

R.W.: *By this time it was clear that you had a strong interest in vocational psychology. How did you come upon your particular ideas for an occupational classification system? There was not much existing in the literature to go on, and I suspect some of it you gleaned from your own experience?*

A.R.: When I wanted to cover the whole gamut of occupations, I obviously had to have some kind of classification. The only ones I was acquainted with were the various census classifications, which were just psychological nonsense. I then turned to studies of interest, and the kinds of classifications that evolved from those. I began to think about how interests could be used as the psychological basis for classifications. I literally got out slips of paper and wrote on them groups of occupations that seemed to fit together, ordered by the nature of interpersonal relationships. That seemed to me to make quite a lot of sense, but it took me a number of months before I got a classification worked out.

R.W.: *The idea that one's relationships with people would be an important part of that sort of fell out of your other groupings.*

A.R.: Yes, fell out of the groupings. I do not remember exactly when I realized this.

R.W.: *This is before Holland's scheme, and I do not know who else had a scheme. Super was doing some work at the time . . .*

A.R.: Yes, but Super did not have a classification scheme.

R.W.: *There really was not much, other than the government census.*

A.R.: No, there really wasn't much—although I should mention the Minnesota Occupational Rating Scales—and, at one point, my original scheme had eight levels instead of six, as it finally came out. I presented my scheme at a meeting of the Eastern Psychological Association, and Super's seminar took it up and tried to see how valid it would be, how reliable with the graders.

As a result of that, I dropped the two levels, the two top levels. And also after that meeting, someone came up and said, you know, the Department of Labor is getting out a new classification of occupations, broken down into people, data, things (*Dictionary of Occupational Titles*). That sounded good to me and I thought, well, their resources are much greater than mine, and I should look into this; perhaps I can use this for a classification. I had not actually completed mine at the time. So I wrote to them and asked for details about this, explaining that I was working on a classification of occupations; I felt if they had one that met my psychological requirements, I would be very happy to use it. It seemed to me much better to have one classification in general use than competing classifications. I got back an answer saying, in effect, you mind your business and we'll mind ours. I got an apology many years later from the man who wrote it. I thought that was pretty nasty. So I went ahead with mine.

Later, when John Holland first came out with his, I noticed that there were a number of similarities. I wrote him and said, "Look, maybe we can get together on a classification"—this was after mine had been published—"and it would be better, more useful for the field if we could present one classification from the two of us." Well, John was not so abrupt. What he said was, "Look, I am sorry, but I have got the next 5 years of research planned out on the basis of the one I have and so I don't think that it would be practical." From my point of view, I thought that was perfectly reasonable. So I continued with mine, which turned out to hold up much better than I had expected. For example, I had said that if a person changes jobs, he or she is more likely to change into the category adjacent to the one that he or she had to start with. I didn't have any evidence whatsoever, and I didn't know any way of getting it. Some years later, I discovered that they had all this Strong Vocational Interest data over years. I obtained data from about 800 subjects and had a couple of graders go through it, and it came out so much better than I had anticipated.

R.W.: *Do you think that the system you devised could be developed more, or do you think that there are better existing systems now?*

A.R.: I think John's system is pretty good. In fact, I think it is very good and it has some advantages over mine, because he has the themes relating to each other, and I think that is good. Perhaps better than mine.

R.W.: *In 1963 you were going to revise the book, but illness once again struck.*

A.R.: Well, I put it off for a while. That was when I had a heart attack, I guess, the first time, but . . .

R.W.: *You were thinking at the time that some of the sociological work might have been brought in.*

A.R.: That would have been the chief addition, I think, and of course, after the *Psychology of Occupations* came out, there were a lot of studies that were very relevant to it.

R.W.: *But you were thinking at the time that social groupings, social normings had more relevance to occupation choice . . .*

A.R.: Yes, I thought that I didn't give enough thought to the total social group in which the individual was involved. I thought that should be taken care of better.

R.W.: *Your paper on early determinants of vocational choice, how did that come about?*

A.R.: I was brooding about occupations. Why I happened to be brooding about them at that particular moment, I don't know. But I remember sitting in my office at Montrose thinking, now there should be some kind of relationship between early parent-child relations, because I had seen hints of this and I tried to make sense of it. Well, I couldn't find any good—what I considered really good—analysis of parent-child relations. When I tried to fit it to my circle of occupations, it seemed to me that there very well might be a fit. So I wrote the paper. Then, of course, various people tried to check it and it turned out not really to be true. But it did turn out to be true that there was some difference in much broader terms between the warm relationships and the not warm relationships, not to specific occupations, but more generally that there definitely was something there.

AN ISSUE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

R.W.: *Being a woman researcher in psychology, you came into contact mostly with male colleagues, particularly at an oil refinery you consulted with. Did you find a lack of other women to talk to?*

A.R.: Well, as far as the oil company consultation was concerned, it was all men, there were no women involved. I felt comfortable talking with Ruth Tolman and Jean McFarland and, of course, Kathy McBride, until she became president of Bryn Mawr and was pretty thoroughly occupied. At Columbia I had a very close friend, Marian Outhit, with whom I spent most of my time and from whom I got a great deal of clinical knowledge. I did not really receive clinical training at Columbia. Marian was an accomplished clinician who had been trained by Louise Poole. She taught me a great deal which I had no other means of getting, because no one was capable of supervising my work at the Child Clinic. So, from her and from Shakow is where I got my clinical training. I never had any university job until I went to Harvard. Although I had an appointment at New York University, it was simply to handle research grants. When I was with the VA the first time, I was in charge of research. Well, I was batting around all over the place. There was no close relationship with anybody, no individual as far as the work was concerned. Most of the station chiefs were men, and all the administrators in the VA Hospital were men. And you know, I have served on loads of committees and boards and this kind of thing and there were other women, but very often I was the only woman involved.

> *"I couldn't find any good . . . analysis of parent-child relations . . . so I wrote the paper."*

R.W.: *It never seemed to be a problem.*

A.R.: I don't think so. I didn't observe any. The men I worked with didn't make me uneasy in any way.

R.W.: *And you did not make them uneasy?*

A.R.: Apparently not. The only time that this happened on a board was after I went to Harvard. The faculty club at that time was very male-oriented. There was, for example, one of the dining rooms in which my male assistant could eat but I could not, which was a little annoying. Anyway, the members of the board that ran the faculty club were appointed by the different deans. And my dean appointed me. Well, the first time I showed up at a board meeting, there was a certain amount of eyebrow raising. One of the men from Arts and Sciences was absolutely outraged and made no attempt to conceal it. And I said nothing the first time. He just kind of snorted and what not. So, the next time we had a board meeting, he started to behave that way. I turned to him and said, "It's too bad that you feel so annoyed that a woman is here. I don't know whether it's because I'm me, or because I'm a woman, but in any case, it's your problem, not mine." He never showed up at a board meeting again. But that was really the only time I had any difficulty.

> *"I don't know whether it's because I'm me, or because I'm a woman, but in any case, it's your problem, not mine."*

INTEREST IN NORMAL BEHAVIOR

R.W.: *You and George organized some conferences on Behavior and Evolution. Was the process of working that out enjoyable, or was it difficult?*

A.R.: That second conference was one of the most exciting I ever attended. It was really, really very stimulating. I talked the Board of Directors at APA into giving us their blessing and George talked the Board of the Society for the Study of Evolution into it, and he talked the Rockefeller Foundation out of $1,000 to set up a committee and get the work going. The National Science Foundation funded the two conferences, and we planned from the start to have two. That was Harry Harlow's idea. After the first one, a couple of years elapsed and then we didn't have entirely the same group the second time, but most of them had been at the first conference. That gave them time to absorb what they had learned at the first one. The second one was essentially an editorial conference, because we had read each other's papers and were discussing them.

R.W.: *This was the first time those two fields of Behavior and Evolution had been combined in a national conference?*

A.R.: Oh, yes. The first time anybody had ever thought of it, as far as I know. Although Darwin was interested in behavior to some extent, he only thought of behavior in evolutionary terms. He did think and write in terms of the expression of emotion in animals, though.

R.W.: *I would like to come back to something you brought up very early in the interview—something about how you kept falling into this and that led to that, and of course, looking at all the different kinds of research, starting out with Native Americans and then qualifications for dentists and then alcoholism, foster children, norm groupings. If you go through this, you can see that some of this was opportunistic, following on the heels of the previous research, but do you see any theme throughout?*

A.R.: Well, one thing was that I have never been really interested in the abnormal, except for the intelligence in mental disorder, which was sort of fortuitous because of where I was located. It has always been normal development that I have been interested in, particularly on a superior level. For example, when I compared engineers and social workers, these were people who were effective in life. That has been, I think, the major thread, the run of the mill, the normal and the superior that has interested me.

R.W.: *Isn't it rather unusual for a clinical psychologist to get involved with what is thought of more as counseling psychology?*

A.R.: Well, there again, I have never done any counseling and in my job with Kathy McBride, I was dealing with normals. I went from that to Worcester and later the VA, where I was really dealing more with the interns and trainees than the patients. The basis of my *Psychology of Occupations*, apart from the classifications, was personality theory in terms of Maslow, more or less how the occupations fulfilled needs. That was what it was all about.

R.W.: *Were there any personality theories that you found useful?*

A.R.: Well, I used Maslow's work. Previously I had used

Angyal's work, but it wasn't broad enough to interpret the meaning of the occupation in the life of the individual.

R.W.: *Anne, with what you know now, would you still go back and start over in psychology, or would you go off in some other field?*

A.R.: I think I would go back to psychology. I'm not sure what kind now, because when I read contemporary journals, I don't know what they are talking about half the time.

R.W.: *But is there some area that still intrigues you as a psychologist?*

A.R.: Yes. The intellectual cognitive area. Also, life history development pattern intrigues me. When I was teaching a course in vocational psychology, one of the things I had my students do, after giving them an example, was to get a whole life history from someone who was at or about retirement age. This was so enlightening for them. I had this very early in the course, and then we read some of the histories in class; they would come in with anything from a judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court to a barfly. They picked their subjects more or less all over the place. Every concept that I wanted to discuss in the course would come out in these examples.

R.W.: *Of all your research and all your work, all of your various activities in psychology, is there any particular one of those that you want to be remembered for? I mean, are there certain areas that you feel are more close to you?*

A.R.: The scientists and painters are probably the ones that have made the biggest impression. *Making of a Scientist* has gone through three different publishers now.

R.W.: *It was unique.*

A.R.: Yes, it was unique. It was the first study of superior normals. You know, that is another thing. Most of the things I have done have been the first, like the study, "Intelligence in Mental Disorder." *Making of a Scientist*, of course, was certainly the first in that line. That really started things, and *Behavior and Evolution* started things in a different way.

THE MOVE TO HARVARD

R.W.: *Then, in 1959, you accompanied your husband to Harvard.*

A.R.: I still had a year or so on my grant. I could take that with me, so I wrote Dave McClelland and said that George was moving to Harvard and asked if he could give me some ideas of what the situation was around Boston, what division of some university I might get attached to. Well, Dave took the letter to the Dean of Education, who said that there was not a chance of getting a woman in the Department of Arts at Harvard, but that Tiedeman had a counseling program going that might be a possibility. Tiedeman—I felt he was very generous in this respect—approved and supported my being appointed, and the dean went along with this, so I was offered a lectureship and a research assistantship at Harvard, which was marvelous. Then a few years later, I was made a full professor, to everybody's surprise and shock, including mine. That was how I got to Harvard.

R.W.: *You were the ninth woman in the history of Harvard . . .*

A.R.: Yes, that's right. It's gotten a little better since then . . .

R.W.: *And, as I recall, you and George were the first two married professors at Harvard . . .*

A.R.: The only, as far as I know.

R.W.: *Shortly after you arrived at Harvard, you got a grant for a center for research in careers.*

A.R.: It ran for 2 or 3 years. After I had my first heart trouble, I felt that I was going to have to leave, I couldn't keep it up. That is when I turned down a nomination to be president of APA. Art Brayfield said he was sure, since I had been nominated the previous time and had come within a very few votes of being elected, that I could make it. But anyway, I said, "No, I can't." I just didn't think I had the physical strength to take care of it. That broke my heart, practically. Anyway, the whole situation of the Graduate School of Education changed, and counseling was out. Tiedeman had to leave. I am not quite sure just how it was arranged, but it was made impossible for him. That whole program was dropped altogether. And so far as I know, it's never been renewed.

R.W.: *This was during the Viet Nam War time, the mid 1960s?*

A.R.: Yes.

THE RETIREMENT YEARS

R.W.: *And then you retired to Tucson in 1967?*

A.R.: That's right. Although it was after I retired that Tiedeman was out, he was still there when I was there, and a fellow named Moment carried on for a year with the center, but did not get funds renewed for it. So it was just disbanded.

R.W.: *Well, I won't go into all the other things you have done, but just to mention a few, you were a Trustee of ABEPP from 1953 to 1959, president of Division 12, APA, from 1957 to 1958, an APA council representative, on the Board of Directors for APA from 1961 to 1965, one of the founders of the New England Psychological Association in the mid 1960s . . .*

A.R.: I was the second president.

R.W.: *Yes. And honorary doctorate of humane letters and doctorate of science degrees. And then, in 1980, the Harvard Graduate School of Education instituted an Anne Roe Award to be given annually. And this past year, 1984, you received the Leona Tyler Award from APA's Division 17 (Counseling Psychology). I also counted 115 books and articles in your publications list. So you have been living in Tucson almost 17 years, and this is a whole different chapter in your life.*

A.R.: Completely. For the first few years, I was still able to lecture and write, and did quite a bit of chasing around the country. And then I had more trouble, had my second heart operation, and they still didn't get the valve repaired. Finally, I had a third operation, in which they replaced the valve. But they never did manage to control the leakage. Those things sort of took the heart out of me and, in recent years, I just have not even attempted to do any work. I read a few journals and that is about it. The only thing I have written recently is an article on politics.

R.W.: *You had your library and George's library from which you developed the Simroe Foundation to assist in disposing of this wealth of holdings.*

> *"Nothing is as much fun as research. . . . I miss that very much . . ."*

A.R.: Yes. Then my library was given away to Howard University, as you know. Now occasionally, when I feel like writing again, it's just too difficult to get to the university library. I would have to walk further than I can comfortably walk from a parking lot, and so I do not attempt it. Well, I have written a chapter here and a chapter there.

R.W.: *Do you have any regrets about that? About your last 10 or 15 years?*

A.R.: Nothing is as much fun as research. And I miss that very much, but actually, you see, I'm not active very many hours a day. If I am up before 9:30, it is a little unusual. It's normally somewhat later. At 11:30 George comes in for lunch. After lunch I go to bed and I sleep for an hour or an hour and a half. Then I am up and more or less active until 5:00, when he comes in again, if he does not come in before. So that would not give me very many hours. By the time I have done the marketing and the cooking and the general housework—I don't do the heavy cleaning, that sort of thing, or heavy laundry—there isn't all that much time and energy left. I have very little energy, including intellectual energy.

R.W.: *Did you communicate at all with Harlow when he was here before his retirement?*

A.R.: I saw him just a few times. I went to a lecture that he gave; I was so mad that I was hardly willing to speak to him again. He was so down on women. It was unbelievable how insulting he was. I spoke to him long enough to tell him that.

SOUND ADVICE

R.W.: *To the people reading this article in the* Journal of Counseling and Development, *who will probably be people dealing mainly with counseling issues, do you have any special advice for them or any thoughts about their area of work?*

A.R.: I think chiefly to learn how to listen. That was the thing that made me so successful when I went down to the research lab. I listened. I just sat and listened to four groups of these young men who were there. And that is all I did. And then I was able to pinpoint difficulty after difficulty.

R.W.: *Is that listening with the intent to try to understand?*

A.R.: Yes.

R.W.: *And then also make sense out of the situation.*

A.R.: Yes, think what could be done to remedy it. But as to counseling, I don't know, you see, because I have no personal experience in counseling.

R.W.: *Well, I must say I appreciate the time that you have given us on this.*

A.R.: Oh, it has been fun. And it is nice to review these things, and I miss—I like to lecture—I miss that also, and I enjoyed the students I had at Harvard—that was the only teaching I did and I enjoyed that very much.

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Editors' Note: George Simpson died in October 1984 after a short illness.

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Kate Hevner Mueller: Woman for a Changing World

MICHAEL D. COOMES, ELIZABETH J. WHITT, and GEORGE D. KUH

Kate Hevner Mueller was the dean of women at Indiana University (IU) from 1937 to 1945 and, for 21 years (1948–1969), the matriarch of what is now considered one of the best student affairs preparation programs in the country (Sandeen, 1982). She was among a group of highly productive female scholar-practitioners, including Esther Lloyd-Jones, Ruth Strang, and Melvene D. Hardee, who shaped student affairs work from the 1940s through the 1960s. Kate personified high standards in professional performance, scholarship, and research. Her own scholarly interests took her beyond student affairs work; for years, she pursued with great zeal the psychological assessment of aesthetics, particularly music appreciation, and the changing role of women in modern society. In a field dominated by persons known for their caring and concern for others, Kate Hevner Mueller stood out as an intellectually superior, multitalented, driven champion of the integral role of student affairs work in the "academy" (of higher education). Her friends consider her one of the most interesting and complex persons they have ever known.

Kate Hevner was born November 1, 1898, in Sunbury, Pennsylvania. Her father was a YMCA secretary and Presbyterian minister, and her mother was an elementary school teacher. After graduation from Williamsport (PA) High School, Kate completed her baccalaureate degree with honors in 1920 from Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where she majored in English and minored in French. Her interest in psychology was piqued by a course in her junior year, and she contributed articles on psychology to the campus literary magazine.

After 2 years of teaching high school mathematics in her hometown, Kate enrolled at Columbia University to pursue a master's degree in psychology. She returned from Columbia to Wilson to teach psychology and mathematics. Teaching further stimulated Kate's interest in psychology and prompted her to leave Wilson in 1926, this time to study with L. L. Thurstone at the University of Chicago.

In 1929 Kate joined the faculty of the University of Minnesota, where she taught experimental psychology and psychology of the arts and continued research on the measurement of music appreciation begun at Wilson College. Her interest in the psychology of music took Kate to the University of Oregon for a summer. There she met her future husband, John H. Mueller, a sociologist and musician.

Kate married John Mueller in 1935 and moved with him to Bloomington, Indiana, where he had taken a faculty position in sociology at IU. Kate had not planned to become a university administrator, but after joining John at Indiana she was offered the dean of women position in 1937. She immersed herself in the new job with uncommon determination and quickly adapted to the role, relying on the principles of experimental psychology and the philosophical tenets of *The Student Personnel Point of View* (American Council on Education [ACE], 1937). Kate Mueller soon became an articulate spokesperson for the student affairs field.

World War II prompted a sharp decline in the number of male faculty members and administrators. As did many other institutions in American society, colleges and universities responded to this phenomenon by greatly expanding educational and professional opportunities for women. Women entered traditionally male fields (e.g., engineering, medicine, law, science) in unprecedented numbers, and Kate took advantage of the times to develop numerous programs and services for female students, including career education and peer counseling (Solomon, 1985).

After the war, record enrollment increases were fueled by the GI Bill. As men returned to reclaim their jobs, staffing in student affairs divisions mirrored the return to a male-dominated academy. At many institutions, the roles of dean of men and dean of women were consolidated into one: the dean of students. At IU, as at most other universities, the dean of men became the dean of students, and Kate Mueller was reassigned to the Counseling Center. This professional embarrassment was instrumental in her subsequent outspoken advocacy of an expanded role for women in the university as well in other areas of life.

After 2 frustrating years as senior counselor for women, Kate was offered a faculty appointment. According to August Eberle, professor emeritus and former chairman of IU's Department of Higher Education,

> Herman B. Wells, the president of Indiana University, and the dean of faculties took Kate to lunch and offered her an assistant professorship. Kate looked at them and said, "I was an assistant professor before I came here, and I have no intention of being one again"; and she got up and walked out on them. She went home and told John, and he was just horrified. But after a few days, they offered her an associate professorship and 5 years later she was promoted to full professor. (A. Eberle, personal communication, August 1985)

As a teacher, Kate's greatest strength was challenging students to justify, in philosophical terms, the role of student affairs in the academy and to document, using psychological research, the relationship between the actions of student affairs staff members and the growth and development of students. "We learned from her a comprehensive view of student affairs. She was a link to the pioneers of our field, and so could help us to question it" (C. Smith, personal communication, July 1985). According to Thomas Schreck (personal communication, July 1985), another of Kate's students and former dean of students at IU (1969–1981), "Kate was not a 'nuts and bolts' trainer of administrators. She was a psychologist first and foremost and used her background in psychology to design appropriate responses by student affairs staff to problems in the field."

According to Dean Elizabeth Sutherland of Mercy College (personal communication, July 1985),

> Kate never accepted a "trashy" position. . . . You couldn't say, "Well, I think students should have such and such, or should be permitted to do such and such." You had to provide a well thought out, critical analysis of the problem and why the position you adopted was consistent philosophically with the institution and with the research literature. She kept herself so well informed and was fearless in defense of an examined position. Yet, she was gracious—always kind. I never heard her belittle or say an unkind word about anybody. It just didn't enter her behavior.

During the 1950s, Kate was active in many different areas: establishing the master's degree program in college student personnel at IU; serving as a consultant to the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany, preparing women for effective citizenship through education; presiding over the aesthetics division of the American Psychological Association (APA); and publishing numerous articles and a landmark book, *Educating Women for a Changing World* (1954).

Kate was well ahead of most of her contemporaries in her view of the emerging role of women in society. Some have speculated that her mother's experience as a teacher fostered in Kate a strong desire to succeed in the male-dominated academy and influenced her advocacy of expanding the roles of women in contemporary society.

Kate's work in women's education led to a remarkable distinction: She was one of 70 women named in a 1959 Women's News Service Poll as qualified to be the vice-president of the United States. But she was also comfortable in performing activities often associated with the traditional role of women. For example, she and John entertained often, and she graciously played the part of the elegant hostess. After her husband died in 1965, she served in a similar capacity for Indiana University Chancellor Herman B. Wells. According to August Eberle, who knew Kate as well as anyone in the last few years of her life, "she wanted to enjoy male companionship but at the same time she needed to be free to pursue her own interests and inclinations" (personal communication, August 1985).

Many considered Kate to be an exemplary role model. "Anyone entering the field could not have asked for a finer example—as an intellect, as a leader, as a writer, and as a thinker" (E. Sutherland, personal communication, July 1985). "Even when her ideas were under attack, Kate's personal graciousness and style were evident" (R. Shafer, personal communication, July 1985). "In an argument or in a debate, Kate conducted herself as an intellectual. She was really a scholar, but a very human one. She could give the appearance of being haughty but she wasn't" (E. Sutherland, personal communication, July 1985).

> She had such confidence in herself—she was an excellent teacher and basically a true academician but yet a person who was passionate about other people. She was demanding, yet understanding. Her sense of humor was delightful—when you could discover it. She was a person whom I respected a great deal because of her knowledge, her ability to write, her ability to conceptualize. Younger people sometimes felt in awe of her because she presented herself as a woman of intelligence. (J. Trow, personal communication, August 1985)

In the 1960s Kate made seminal contributions to the student affairs literature. *Student Personnel Work in Higher Education* (Mueller, 1961) was recognized as one of the first scholarly textbooks in the student affairs field. According to Robert Shaffer (personal communication, May 1985), "Kate brought a measure of scholarship that those of us who came into teaching with a student affairs practitioner's orientation did not have. . . . She was a true scholar and probably introduced a higher level of scholarship to the field than most people could muster." From 1960 to 1969, the *NAWDAC Journal* flourished under her editorship. "She really had vision and although she sort of resented those who adopted a management perspective toward the administration of institutions of higher education, she knew the management literature of that time pretty well" (R. Shaffer, personal communication, May 1985).

Kate retired from Indiana University in 1969, but she continued to teach and conduct research on symphony orchestra repertoires. She spent 1 year on the faculty of Florida State University and, with support from the Rockefeller Foundation, completed a book that she and John had worked on together: *Twenty-seven American Symphony Orchestras: A History and Analysis of Their Repertoires, Seasons 1842–1843 to 1969–1970* (Mueller, 1973).

During retirement, Kate traveled extensively and was frequently recognized for her leadership and scholarly contributions to student affairs work. She received the Outstanding Contribution to Research and Literature Award from the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) (1978) and the Distinguished Service Award from the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (NAWDAC) (1982). She also continued to meet with the "Peaceful Valley Deans," a group of female student affairs officers who gathered annually at the Peaceful Valley Ranch in Colorado to discuss topics of interest in student affairs. According to Elizabeth Sutherland (personal communication, July 1985),

> The meetings of the Peaceful Valley Deans gave us a forum to critically analyze difficult issues (e.g., coed housing, students' rights, alcohol on campus) and to support each other in maintaining our personal and professional integrity. Some thought we were off on holiday, but we actually met four times a day with a formal agenda. We had a good time, too, but I learned more about what was going on in the field from Kate and the other women there than any other opportunity I've had.

After a long illness, Kate Hevner Mueller died on August 10, 1984, just several weeks before a scheduled interview in which she was to begin to talk about her contributions to counseling and student affairs work. Fortunately, Kate's compulsiveness led her to record much of her thinking about her life from her undergraduate days through the early 1970s. She left more than 60 pages of notes, some typed and some written in her own hand. These personal, heretofore unpublished recollections, along with passages from some of Kate's published works, have been fashioned into an interview format similar to those that have appeared in the Life Lines series. Some minor editorial changes were made to restructure the diverse sources into a coherent whole. Every effort was made to remain true to Kate's words and ideas.

THE EARLY YEARS

What stands out in your mind about the years following your graduation from Wilson?

K.M.: After teaching high school in my home town, I decided to pursue a master's degree at Columbia University. I studied the history of psychology, experimental and abnormal psychology, and statistics. I also took a philosophy course from the well-known John Dewey. Dewey was bewildering to me, for he sat at his desk with his hand over his mouth, talking, or rather mumbling and rambling, or so it seemed to me. I enjoyed the assigned readings and somehow got through the course, but I must admit I never could follow the lectures.

I served as one of Edna Heidbreder's subjects for her doctoral thesis on the formation of concepts. This meant long sessions with her in what were very frustrating problems, for she could give no clues, and when I sat there sometimes as much as half an hour without knowing what to do, it was all I could do to keep on with it. She had nine subjects, who of course were never identified, but afterward when I could read the printed monograph I could identify myself because I was the only one who invariably said, "Oh, I should have thought of that!" Some 5 or 6 years later, when I was a candidate for a job at the University of Minnesota after my teaching at Wilson and 2 years at the University of Chicago, Edna was asked to look over the prospective candidates. When she saw my picture, she exclaimed, "Why, I know that girl!" When Elliot asked, "Can she teach statistics?" Edna replied, "Well, if she *says* she can, she can," and that was important in getting me the Minnesota job.

For my practice work in abnormal, I went by ferry to Ward's Island to administer intelligence tests to newly admitted patients, a job that rather frightened me, but I stuck with it as long as necessary for the credit. After getting up enough courage, I asked Professor Garrett to supervise my thesis, which had to do with the intensity of the sensation (i.e., the loudness of the voice in reading comprehension). Work on the thesis was discouraging. I found it the most deadly and uninteresting thing I ever did and still wonder how I finished it.

After finishing my master's degree in 1923, I returned to Wilson College, where I taught psychology and mathematics for 3 years but soon decided it was time to go on for another degree. In my statistics course at Wilson, I used a text by Thurstone of the University of Chicago. I knew about the National Science Foundation meeting in Washington and that Thurstone would be attending, so I wrote to him and asked him if I could talk with him there. After meeting with Dr. Thurstone, I applied for a fellowship at Chicago and Bryn Mawr and was delighted when I heard that I had been successful at Chicago.

At Chicago I chose to live in one of the residence halls. There were no rules for graduate students, and I enjoyed that very much. I found the classes smaller, more pleasant, and, certainly, more stimulating. I did some teaching in general psychology, and Thurstone and I lost no time in embarking on a thesis. We demonstrated the truth and value of his law of comparative judgment by means of handwriting analysis. I planned to spend 2 hours each night, 10 to 12 o'clock, in the tabulation of samples, and finished that part in the second quarter. The reward for the endless hours of work came in finding that my doctor's thesis, the summary of the results of the study, was only 11 pages long. I actually typed it myself!

"... my doctor's thesis ... was only 11 pages long. I actually typed it myself!"

What was your experience at Minnesota like?

K.M.: I was very overwhelmed by the aggressive competition of the faculty there. Pressure to produce research was greater than anything I had ever experienced. Teaching skills were negligible; it was reprints that counted, but Edna Heidbreder was a gentle, helpful, and altogether delightful person, and she found me a room within walking distance of my office. My primary assignment was teaching experimental psychology to sophomores, although in the spring I had one class in psychology of the arts.

How did you meet your husband, John?

K.M.: While on the faculty at Minnesota, I received a grant from the Carnegie Committee for the Study and Advancement of the Teaching of the Arts to continue work on my music appreciation test at the University of Oregon. John was a faculty member at Oregon and a member of the Carnegie Committee. He was very interested in the outline that I had submitted and in the music appreciation test. Having been trained in sociology at Chicago, he rejected the experimental method common to psychology. John's first statement to me was that appreciation cannot be tested, to which I replied, "You don't know what you're talking about." He insisted that we make an appointment the next day at a practice room in the music school. I thought this was a preposterous challenge, because in developing my test I had spent many hours coaching my student pianist in the proper playing of my tests, and suddenly a *mere sociologist* proposed playing them on sight! Of course, I had no idea that he was a talented pianist. His criticism was also somewhat mollified by the success I could report in my earlier experiments.

I took John seriously because he was the first man I met who was more intelligent and more committed to excellence in his professional work than I was. At the same time, he was more of a serious challenge to my own ways of thinking. And how we argued! We each had a different point of view of beauty and the best way to understand, to teach, and to enjoy it.

John also had an impact on my career. I well remember my first day at my job at IU. It was our wedding anniversary, and John sent a bouquet for my office desk. His card said he was reconciled to my job even though the last thing he had ever imagined for himself was sleeping with the dean of women. John was the most ruthless critic and best adviser I ever had while I was dean!

THE DEAN OF WOMEN

You assumed the position of dean of women in 1937. How did you get the job?

K.M.: In the spring of 1937, John and I had one of our "at homes" for some 20 people, with tea, sherry, and music, because we had a new Steinway, and friends were curious to hear my husband play. Sherry was as "far out" as anyone in Bloomington dared to go in those years. Guests came and went and others tried the piano, and at the very last I looked out the window and saw Dean Agnes Wells and Assistant Dean Lydia Woodbridge coming up our walk. I had been eager to meet other women on the faculty, and Miss Wells had invited me to one of her Sunday afternoon teas, so of course I was returning the compliment. But I had already learned that Miss Wells was an ardent member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and so I ran to the dining room saying, "John! Here comes Dean Wells—help me get these glasses of sherry out to the kitchen."

They came, John played, they ate my fruit and drank my tea, they admired our new bookcases and John's Russian enameled work, and we finished the cookies. I often wondered what might have happened if they had come in earlier when the sherry was served.

In 1937 Miss Wells was requested by her physician to give up her position as dean of women, and she called one day to tell me that she had recommended me as her successor. Although I knew nothing about the functions of the dean of women, I saw no reason why I could not do as well as the deans I had known in action, but John was thoroughly frightened. My argument then, as always, was that when a woman married she would have to take any old job that came her way and make the best of it, and, in any case, where would you find someone better, especially at that price? But John did all he could to discourage me.

I well remember my interview with Herman B. Wells [no relation to Dean Agnes Wells], the new president of Indiana University, who began by telling me that Agnes Wells had briefed him as follows: "She has a good husband and a PhD, and psychology is the new thing for these jobs, and also she has 10 years experience at five different places and does not belong to a sorority." We talked for a while about my work in psychology, and I offered to have the Columbia and Chicago placement files sent to him for his official records. He inquired about my salary, and when I told him it was $2,700 at Minnesota he allowed he could meet that. We did not talk of specific programs or plans, which was not surprising because neither of us could have had too much to say on the subject.

On becoming dean I had conferences with members of the staff of the dean of women at Nebraska and with the student personnel staff at Minnesota. From those meetings I learned that a shift was taking place in the profession, away from the older paternal or maternal attitudes and toward the mental health and counseling points of view. I discovered that the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) had been formed as an alternative to the two national associations of deans of men (NASPA) and deans of women (NAWDAC), and I promptly joined.

As the dean of women, I served as adviser to the Association of Women Students (AWS), and, through this organization, handled women's regulations, including discipline problems and academic probation. We worked to establish a "Board of Standards," a group of female students that would be appointed by the AWS and whose responsibilities would be the administration of the AWS rules for women. The board worked fairly effectively and was accepted by the Faculty Student Personnel Committee, who, after all, did not relish meeting too often. I was also on the YWCA Board and the Panhellenic and Sorority Housemother's boards.

We had regular meetings with our staff and the hall counselors and heads of the university's smaller houses. At those meetings we studied the new trends, reviewed the new books or theories, and reported on the professional meetings we attended. Our office staff also used every opportunity to speak to groups of students, with whom we promoted the idea of goodwill and personal relations rather than an emphasis on rules.

And, of course, every group of students, alumni, or honorary or service club wanted me to make a speech. The most impossible speech-making job was for the "POW WOW," a huge, informal "banquet" scheduled for the Friday night before the homecoming game. It took place in the men's gymnasium, and there were acres of tables. The food was always the same: baked beans, ham, cole slaw, and pumpkin pie, and I was always seated between Head Football Coach "Bo" McMillan and President Emeritus William Lowe Bryan. My assignment was to "speak 2 minutes and be funny." I am sure I stayed within the 2 minutes, but I doubt I was very funny.

What was the dean of women's role in disciplinary matters?

K.M.: In the offices of "the disciplinary deans," as the president always referred to us, it was always difficult to keep our heads above the never-ending flow of individual students who came for appointments. Every day brought its quota of student officers and committee chairs, wrongdoers, complainers, and out-of-town visitors. Positive and constructive work was carried on largely through group meetings.

No college in those days was without its pages of silly little rules that students resented, faculty laughed at, housemothers could not do without, and, or course, the deans were expected to support: "One glass, but never two, on the cafeteria tray"; "When entertaining your date in the living room on the sofa, *one* foot always on the floor"; "Five minutes late after 10:00 P.M., one fewer night out that week, 10 minutes late, two fewer . . . and two offenses in same week, no nights out at all."

These rules differed from our theory about hall discipline. Our theory was that the freshman should feel that the head resident was always on her side, and it was just that awful presence in the dean's office that was arbitrary and threatening. Therefore, the ultimate punishment for an offender was an interview with the dean! On one occasion two sorority pledges, on a junket to Brown County (15 miles east of Bloomington) on a "blind" date, came in late because their men had been drinking, ran the car off the road, and lost a lot of time setting it back on the track again. So the culprits had come into the hall very late and were duly sent to me. The first one soon dissolved in tears, "I'm not like that other girl. She will always take a drink. *She* is the kind of girl whose own family has beer in the refrigerator, but I'm not like that. I would never take a drink." And I thought, as I handed her another Kleenex, here *I* am, with my *own* refrigerator well stocked with John's Anheuser-Busch beer!

How did the second World War affect campus life and the role of the dean?

K.M.: World War II brought much unusual work for the dean's office. It was a period of constant change. The military units marched to their classrooms, and their hours and privileges did not coincide with the campus regulations. Because the female students longed for social interchange, this was a source of constant friction, and committees of students and military recreation officers met almost daily in my office to exchange complaints. Why did dances have to begin as late as 9:00 P.M. when military regulations required return to quarters at 10:00 P.M.? Why did military units get free football tickets and then cheer for the opponent? (It happened on every campus, we soon learned.) Above all, why did the military have plenty of the choicest cuts of meat while the halls had the poorest quality, and mighty little of that?

As the halls were gradually given over to the military, female students were given four old fraternity houses. We traveled and telephoned and scraped the bottom of every employment agency barrel to find chaperones. We called them head residents, but as soon as we established good rapport with them, they seemed to leave—attracted by well-paid munitions jobs, or to join their husbands at camp, or to enter the women's military units.

In August 1942 we established a special training program for women who would thus be encouraged to enter one of the women's military units. In late August we announced our plans and the War Council approved them. The Women's Auxiliary Training Corps lasted just 1 year but received an unusual amount of national publicity.

The nature of our work with male students changed and diminished, because the military groups on campus had their own programs, regulations, and officers. The fraternities were dormant for the most part, and the male students were few and relatively transient.

After 1945 we prepared for the veterans; temporary quarters, quonset huts, and trailer courts began to dot the campus. We began to deal for the first time with married students, more pregnant women than the local hospitals could accommodate, cooperative kindergartens, babysitting, grocery "co-ops," divorces, and complaints about our social fees (too much) and programs (suitable only for single students).

What impact did the civil rights movement and student activism have on campuses in the 1940s?

K.M.: Students in the early 1940s, contrary to general opinion, were quite interested in current issues and were engaged in activism. There was one occasion in which the students picketed one of the bookstores because they were selling pies not made by a union bakery. The store responded by carrying the pies out to the picketing students, who devoured them with relish while parading up and down Indiana Avenue with their signs.

In the 1940s Black students did not pay union building fees and were, therefore, not allowed to eat in the union commons. A group of students, led by the student pastor of the Presbyterian church, protested this policy by eating there every noon with the Black students. This movement enlisted the support of some very prominent sorority and fraternity students, and soon the union was open to Blacks. A similar incident occurred when the IU yearbook censored a picture of Blacks and Whites eating together. Again the students protested and the picture was restored.

Describe for us your administrative style.

K.M.: I had no training for administrative work, and although I was able to organize efficiently and manage not only our daily tasks but also the larger units, I did not have the long-range view to focus on the future as a more aggressive entrepreneur might have. I had never developed habits of "thinking big," and, also, as a woman, I did not have the opportunities that men have always had to participate in councils at high levels of administration. Then, too, there were no books or articles on higher education as there are today and few, if any, departments of higher education or annual conferences where national problems were discussed.

> *"I had no training for administrative work. . . . I had never developed habits of 'thinking big,' and, also, as a woman, I did not have the opportunities that men have always had to participate in councils at high levels of administration."*

When duties were assigned or solicitations were made for my help, I believe that I was quite effective. Our office was a comfortable and efficient place to work. Staff members were formal in their contacts with students—as was the custom in those days—but friendly and open. I believe that I presided well over the many staff and committee meetings, drawing comments from all members, watching the faces to catch those who wanted to speak, and catching the general drift of the thinking. I was a good armchair worker, and it was easy and pleasant to take the lead in setting directions, organizing research, writing, and editing.

THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATOR

How did your experience as a psychologist influence your work in student affairs?

K.M.: Because I taught experimental psychology and statistics for 10 years and used those methods in my own publications, I attacked many of the problems of the dean's office by collecting data. I made a number of studies of grades in relation to housing and of attrition of students from the halls and rooming houses.

For example, in 1942, after the halls had been functioning for 2 years, I received a note from President Wells reporting that many complaints of "noise and lack of discipline" had reached his office. We immediately laid out a very extensive information-gathering campaign. We developed an open-ended interview form for questioning and recording, gathered together a corps of interviewers, gave them an hour or two of training and discussion, and arranged for a wide variety of the students from the halls to respond. More than 100 students were interviewed, and in the final summary we stated that:

> There is in general much more satisfaction than dissatisfaction, and this was emphatically supported by remarks from the interviews. When asked their general impression, the first remark of all but two of the twenty was in regard to the enthusiasm and satisfaction which had been evident. They are most content with two factors: the social program and the physical surroundings; and they are least satisfied with the food and the student government.

The survey at least cleared the air and gave us some data to quote for the "education" of our faculty, administration, and student critics.

In 1978 the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators recognized you for your contributions to the student affairs literature. The award contained the following statement: "Kate Hevner Mueller, psychologist, teacher, and administrator, has been a pioneering presence in student personnel administration for four decades." What do you consider to be your most important contributions to the student affairs field?

K.M.: With the opening of the new residence halls after World War II, I was able to realize an ambition that I had cherished since my first days in office, namely to establish a 2-year training program for interns leading to a master's degree in college personnel work. College student personnel programs in higher education were so new in the 1950s that it was necessary to develop materials for the students, to write textbooks, and to edit journals.

In a very few years, and even through the war years, we gradually built up a curriculum and a body of students that rivaled the Syracuse school and challenged the Columbia University department. At this time all such curricula suffered because of their inclusion in the so-called guidance departments, where emphasis was on the preparation of guidance counselors for the high schools. The college personnel students were obliged to take all the courses required for these high school counselors, even though they did not need and usually did not have teaching licenses. The courses were not appropriate for the understanding of the older undergraduate students or for campus administration. These problems of breaking away from guidance were argued annually at the personnel conventions, but the greatly superior numbers of the counselor educators prevented for many years the needed curriculum reform. In the early 1960s we gradually moved away and joined forces with the higher education doctoral program.

You described student affairs work as an art rather than a science. Would you elaborate on that?

> The [student personnel] administrator assumes that the norm for the happy, well-developed individual is built on a social, not a revealed, ethic, and that the process of achievement, while not fully known, is nevertheless knowable. It is not revealed by pure scientific methods alone, as the physical sciences or biological sciences may be, but requires in addition to experimentation and observation, some value judgments and some compromises, which are inescapably ethical in quality. This is the more precise way of stating the old cliché . . . that [student affairs] administration is "more an art than a science." Such a phrase may be interpreted as meaning either of two

> things: (1) that the principles and methods of administration must be studied but cannot be rigidly applied for the solution of all administrative problems because value judgments will sometimes be needed; (2) that administration is a tightly organized and effective machine, working very much like any mechanical business machine, but that like the automatic thinking machine it is only as good as the material given to it, the questions asked of it—therein lies the art. (Mueller, 1961, p. 121)

In your opinion, what is the purpose of student affairs work in the academy?

> I believe that four objectives [of higher education] may be described: (1) preserving, transmitting, and enriching the culture . . . by promoting the intellectual approach to all aspects of campus life; (2) developing all aspects of the personality . . . as they are needed to promote the intellectual . . . [intellect] is the impelling force, the very dynamics, of that understanding which is the end result of education; (3) training for citizenship; and (4) training for leadership.
>
> To determine his special contribution to the integration of campus life, the personnel worker relates his objectives to the functions of higher education in general and grounds them in the most modern psychological theories of human development. Student personnel workers, whatever their age or station, owe all their constituents, and most especially their reluctant youthful charges, a positive, unrelenting program (1) *for* self-understanding, ego-integration, and personal growth; (2) *against* cheating and slipshod intellectual work of any nature; and (3) *in support* of learning and enjoyment of all the arts. These programs must be successful and sophisticated; therefore, carefully studied, planned, and endorsed in a nationwide professional effort.
>
> Undoubtedly, there are activities and issues perhaps of equal importance, and it is the duty of each student, each member, and each subgroup to ferret them out. Those for the larger profession will serve to identify and illuminate those for the college and individual. Self-criticism, harsh and audacious, is both the measure of stature and the prescription for growth. (Mueller, 161, pp. 64–66, 547)

"Student personnel workers . . . owe all their constituents, . . . especially their reluctant youthful charges, a positive, unrelenting program for *. . . self-understanding . . .* against *. . . slipshod intellectual work . . . and . . .* in support *of learning . . ."*

WOMEN

You were very involved in promoting the higher education of women. What do you feel was most important about your efforts in that area?

K.M.: One of our special programs at IU was Women's Week. Women took over the *Daily Student* for a day, and they featured announcements and news about campus and world news of interest to women.

The new halls were beautiful and comfortable and well staffed. The prestige of the sororities was high, and they competed favorably for campus offices and dominated the campus social life. The YWCA and Panhellenic were strong and vigorous organizations. At least, with our required meetings, we had obviated the indifference of the women toward voting in campus elections, in contrast to the lack of responsibility of the women at, for example, Minnesota, where in a student body of 30,000 only 68 women voted in one year for their AWS officers, a figure vouchsafed to me by the dean of students, my former student, E. G. Williamson.

"Self-criticism, harsh and audacious, is both the measure of stature and the prescription for growth."

After Dr. Catherine Evans came into the dean of women's office as vocational adviser for women, we greatly enlarged our programs for advising women. Miss Evans and I undertook a study of all women who had graduated during the previous 8 years and asked them to give us information on their attitudes about courses and curricula and about their jobs or situations in general. We were also interested in knowing whether their college experience had prepared them for the future.

In 1941 President Wells suggested to me that World War II would mean fewer men on campus, that we needed to do something to attract more women, and that money could be found for a good campaign. We started immediately to study what other colleges were doing or publishing, and soon we had a large file of booklets and pamphlets. I asked each department head to send me information on what career after graduation a woman could expect and prepare for and what would be the actual sequence of courses that she would follow. These letters brought telephone calls from a few departments and responses from one or two. I could see that they were not going to take us too seriously, and so, by studying the university bulletin, I discovered what was required for majors. After more study of available materials, I discovered what possible jobs and careers were available for women. Armed with this knowledge, I wrote a paragraph or two about future jobs and drew up an outline of a curriculum that would prepare a student for those jobs. This sketch and outline was sent to each department head, along with a reminder that he had not responded to my first appeal and asking him for his approval of my materials. Of course, as fast as I could get these out, the chairmen had me on the phone pointing out my many errors and promising to correct and return the copy immediately.

What special problems do you believe female students face?

> Women undergo pressures from society which are quite different from those of men and require more attention. In a sense women constitute a rather special problem for the [student personnel] worker: they are a clearly identifiable group, but so many of their problems are identical to those of men that theirs alone may not be adequately isolated and recognized. [For example], their equality in the classroom is not matched by equality of vocational opportunity when they go into the outside world of professional competition. . . . Some well-meaning administrators and curriculum planners, both men and women, have taken pride in ignoring the limitations of women as competitors in the world of work and have deemed it a favor to women to insist on the perfect equality of the sexes in all aspects of their education and campus privileges. This attitude takes advantage of the naivete of all youth, for men as well as women need to be appraised [*sic*] of the future liabilities as well as the assets of the two sexes. (Mueller, 1954, pp. 142–143)

"In a sense women constitute a rather special problem for the [student personnel] worker: they are a clearly identifiable group, but so many of their problems are identical to those of men that theirs alone may not be adequately isolated and recognized."

What "future liabilities" do women face?

> Every woman faces a double challenge. She must not only prove her capabilities for each step forward, but she must also be ambitious, alert to the responsibilities, and determined in the progress toward those goals; she also has a duty to help break down men's current prejudices against the promotion of women and their employment for all possible jobs. (Mueller, 1954, pp. 247–248)

You have described education as the best mechanism for women to create social change. What do you mean?

> The college woman must master the intellectual discipline of the methods and conditions of social change and accept her own possible responsibilities in them, either as a leader, as interpreter, or as a mere follower. Women's growth has been stunted by our American traditions. Women are fettered by prejudice, by their own ignorance; only a liberal education, a truly liberating experience in their education, can set them free. (Mueller, 1954, p. 252)

You began and ended your professional career in faculty positions. How did your teaching experience influence your approach to student personnel work?

> The good teacher, one who helps students to use knowledge for the expansion of the whole personality and eventually of life itself, is in any century and in any schoolroom a student personnel worker. Teaching then must become not only the giving of knowledge but also the assuming of responsibility for the student's full use of that knowledge for himself and society. (Mueller, 1961, p. 49)

POSTSCRIPT

When asked to describe Kate Hevner Mueller, Indiana University Chancellor Herman B. Wells (personal communication, May 1985) replied: "She was a smart woman, an elegant woman, a modern woman." From the strikingly consistent comments of former students and colleagues and from Kate's own words, a pattern emerges of a woman with powerful intelligence and scholarly vision clothed in graciousness.

Kate's own words, penned to describe the life of a professional, have an autobiographical authenticity:

> A dedication to the intellectual life does not mean being a bookworm, a bluestocking . . . he is one who lives by the mind, reads widely, knows culture, exercises judgment, mediates, discusses. . . . It means also that he creates his personality, in part at least, through his work. He gives part of himself, his thought, imagination, knowledge, even his conscience and values. (Mueller, 1960, p. 168)

Student affairs work has been immeasurably enriched because Kate Mueller devoted much of her energy, intellect, and imagination to encouraging human development in the academy.

Significant Events in the Life of Kate Hevner Mueller

1916	*Graduated from Williamsport High School, Williamsport, Pennsylvania*
1920	*Bachelor of Arts, Wilson College*
1923	*Master of Arts in Psychology, Columbia University*
1928	*Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology, University of Chicago*
1929–1935	*Faculty member, Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota*
1937–1947	*Dean of Women, Indiana University*
1949	*Appointed Associate Professor of Education, Indiana University*
1951	*Consultant on women's affairs, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany*
1951	*Elected President of the Esthetics Division of the American Psychological Association*
1953	*Honorary Doctor of Science degree, Wilson College*
1954	*Recipient of the Delta Kappa Gamma Educators Award for her book,* Educating Women for a Changing World
1959	*Named one of 70 women most qualified to serve as vice-president of the United States in a poll conducted by the Women's News Service*
1960–1969	*Editor,* NAWDAC Journal
1961–1964	*Member of the Executive Committee, Association for Higher Education of the National Education Association*
1962	*Citation as a Distinguished Leader in Education, State University of New York—Buffalo*
1963	*Honorary Doctor of Humane Letters, Mills College*
1969	*Retired from the Indiana University faculty*
1978	*Outstanding Contribution to Research and Literature Award from the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators*
1982	*Distinguished Service Award from the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors*

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Year of Article: 1989

Elizabeth Adele Greenleaf: Having Some Fun Getting the Job Done

DEBORAH ELLEN HUNTER and GEORGE D. KUH

Elizabeth Adele Greenleaf was a prominent leader and noted educator in student affairs administration. Hundreds of former students knew her as "Dr. G"; to her colleagues and friends, she was simply Betty. Because of her feminist views and vision for the future of the student affairs profession, Betty Greenleaf seemed to be a "woman before her time." In retrospect, however, she was just right for the times.

As one of only three people to serve as the president of both the American College Personnel Association (1967–68) and the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (1971–72), she was a tireless, articulate advocate for the special contributions that professionally prepared student affairs staff could make to the quality of campus life. She had little tolerance for petty politics and was a persuasive advocate for cooperation between professional associations. Thus, she was an ideal choice to serve from 1963 to 1969 on the Council on Student Personnel Associations (COSPA), a federation of student affairs associations which explored ways to work together toward mutual goals.

Betty Greenleaf's "no nonsense" leadership style was instrumental in guiding the student affairs profession during the tumultuous years of the 1960s and early 1970s. That era was marked by heated confrontation between college students and administrators and successful legal challenges to "in loco parentis." During these years housemothers and deans of men and women, who were usually appointed because of their availability and nurturing personalities, were replaced by people with graduate degrees from professional preparation programs with specializations in financial aid, career planning, facilities management, and risk management.

Betty Greenleaf's commitment to professional practice in higher education and student affairs administration, and her attitude toward life in general, are best characterized by a saying she used often in speeches and classes: "You have a big job to do. Get it done. Get it done right. Have some fun getting it done!" A poster with these words, made for her by a former student, still hangs in the School of Education at Indiana University.

Like most pioneers, Betty was a complex individual. Her personality revealed a paradox. On the one hand, she championed women's rights long before the Equal Rights Amendment. On the other hand, her conservative Indiana roots and values made it personally painful for her to deal with many manifestations of the liberal trend in social attitudes during the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., protests against campus authority, administrative relinquishing of practices "in loco parentis," student experimentation with drugs, sexuality, and alternative life-styles).

In this entry to the *Life Lines* series, we try to summarize the many contributions Betty Greenleaf made to the fields of human development and student affairs administration. Unfortunately, Betty died in 1979. To fashion a profile of "Dr. G," one of the trailblazing pioneers of student affairs work, we relied on the recollections of her friends, professional associates, publications, unpublished speeches, notes, and archival documents.

> *Betty Greenleaf's commitment to professional practice in higher education and student affairs administration and her attitude toward life in general, are best characterized by a saying she used often in speeches and classes: "You have a big job to do. Get it done. Get it done right. Have some fun getting it done!"*

THE EARLY YEARS

Betty was introduced to college life early. She was born to Herrick Greenleaf, a mathematics professor, and Blanche Bryant Greenleaf in Winthrop, Massachusetts, on November 4, 1919. Her formative years were spent in Greencastle, Indiana, where her father taught mathematics at DePauw University. Betty was the oldest of four sisters (Edith, Mrs. T. E. Aanderud, Portland, Oregon; Marion, Mrs. P. David Smith, Terre Haute, Indiana; Mildred, Mrs. John F. Hodshire, Valparaiso, Indiana). The Greenleafs had high expectations for their children and encouraged them to become well educated and successful whatever their chosen endeavors.

In 1937 Betty was the articulate and energetic president of the Greencastle High School student government. It was there that she first crossed paths with Robert Shaffer, then a student teacher and student government advisor. "Even as an adolescent she demonstrated her skills in group dynamics by her ability to build morale" (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1985). With Shaffer, Kate Mueller, and others, Betty Greenleaf would later establish an excellent student affairs preparation program at Indiana University (Sandeen, 1982).

Betty attended DePauw University, where she was active in student activities, golf, student government, sorority life, and Panhellenic. She graduated in 1941 with majors in political science and history. Except for the 1946–1947 academic year, when she worked on a master's degree at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, she taught high school social studies in Indiana high schools, first in Putnam County, then at Salem. At Salem High School she also was the counselor for girls. Her work in guidance and summer jobs as a recreation supervisor for the

City of Greencastle (1941–43) and as Girl Scout camp director (1948–50), was so rewarding and enjoyable that she decided to pursue guidance work full time.

She enrolled in the doctoral program in counseling and guidance at Indiana University and completed an Ed.D. in 1952. During the doctoral program, Betty taught social studies at the University School. By that time Robert Shaffer was the Dean of Students at Indiana University (Kuh & Coomes, 1986). Although Robert wanted Betty to stay after completing the doctorate and work in student affairs at Indiana University, "we had no position to offer her" (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1985).

ADMINISTRATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Betty's first full-time student affairs position was as coordinator of the Activities Development Center and assistant professor at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Although her primary appointment was as an administrator, she began to share her ideas through publications: first, a summary of her dissertation (Greenleaf, 1953), then an article on student leadership (Greenleaf, 1962). She also taught graduate courses in group guidance and tests and measurements; in fact, an interest in the theory and research of group dynamics continued throughout her career. She then served for two years as the associate dean of students and dean of women at San Jose State College in California.

In the fall of 1959 Indiana University was scheduled to open the first residence center in the country specifically designed and constructed as a coeducation living facility. Although the idea of male and female students living under the same roof became commonplace a decade later, it was revolutionary in the late 1950s. Seven years after Betty completed her doctoral studies, Robert Shaffer finally had a position which was challenging enough to entice Betty to return to Indiana University. In August 1959, Betty was appointed as director of counseling and activities in the Halls of Residence. Because she was responsible for integrating the male and female student governments, hall staff, and programming boards, her position was highly visible and received considerable attention by the national media.

Betty perceived her appointment at Indiana University to be both a vote of confidence in the ability of women to perform high-level administrative work and a recognition of her particular skills and abilities. The following year she acquired the additional title of "assistant dean of students." Painfully aware of the obstacles encountered by women aspiring to administrative positions in student affairs, Betty feared her job was "as near a chief student personnel position that as a woman [she] would be able to have" (Greenleaf, 1976, p. 4).

One thing Betty feared about creating coeducational halls was that the voice of women students in the decision-making process might be suppressed, which was what happened in the late 1940s and 1950s when Dean of Men and Dean of Women positions were consolidated into Dean of Students. In most institutions the Dean of Men was routinely appointed Dean of Students; the Dean of Women typically became an assistant. In an effort to ensure that the influence of women students was not abrogated, Betty successfully orchestrated the drafting of the new coeducational student government constitution so that one of the chief executive officers (e.g., president or vice-president) would always be a woman.

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Betty had high expectations for herself and for her staff. She insisted on an annual review of her performance and conducted an annual performance review for every staff member. Her reviews of staff were anything but cursory. Betty believed that honest, direct feedback was necessary for personal and professional development. Betty wanted every one of her staff to be a consummate professional, which included one's personal life as well as programming and advising skills. Thus her reviews often specifically addressed attire and hairstyle which did not meet Betty's standards. Not all of her staff or former students appreciated her observations, but almost everyone respected her candor and sincerity.

Although Betty was conservative politically and socially, she was a visionary as far as residence halls were concerned according to Thomas Hennessey, Acting Director of Residence Life at Indiana University and a former student (personal communication, October 16, 1985). Wanda Deutsch, who was Betty's assistant for 10 years (1959–69) in the residence life program, recalled that much of what is now commonplace in large residence hall systems was introduced at Indiana University by Betty in the early 1960s (personal communication, October 17, 1985). Describing the residence hall as a "dormitory" was anathema to her. She believed significant learning occurred where students lived; thus, the residence hall was much more than a physical space where students ate and slept. In her mind the residential living environment should support and enhance the academic mission of the university by helping students adjust to college life and providing opportunities for informal faculty-student interaction and for the development of self-discipline and individual responsibility. Recognizing that the academic mission was preordinate, she developed an approach to residence hall programming that went beyond social activities and involved faculty members in the activities. She also encouraged faculty to teach regularly scheduled classes in the halls as a way to link the academic program with the social development of students. Betty was also in the forefront of the national movement to establish judicial processes that included peer review in adjudicating student disciplinary cases (Deutsch, personal communication, October 17, 1985).

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO STUDENT AFFAIRS PREPARATION

In 1969 Betty relinquished her administrative duties to devote herself full time to teaching, research, and professional service and became the chairman of the Department of College Student Personnel Administration (CSPA). It might seem odd that someone with Betty's feminist views would accept the sexist title of "chairman" rather than demand an alternative, such as "chairperson." Actually, Betty insisted on being addressed as "chairman." After being elected to the presidency of the American

College Personnel Association (ACPA), she declared, "I waited all my life to be a 'chairman,' and I don't want to be called a 'chairperson' " (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1986). She subsequently agreed to be addressed as "madam chairman" during ACPA business meetings. Only in the late 1970s, after the title of chairperson had replaced both chairman and chairwoman in common usage, would Betty refer to herself as a "chairperson" (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1986).

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Betty received numerous invitations to work at other universities but remained at Indiana University for the rest of her career (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1986). Because of Betty, Robert Shaffer, and other prominent leaders in the student affairs field—such as Kate Hevner Mueller (Coomes, Whitt, & Kuh, 1987) and Bill Martinson—Indiana was a fertile environment in which to examine the emerging concepts of student development, residence education, professional preparation of student affairs administrators, and students' rights and responsibilities. It was only a matter of time before others who had worked with Betty would rise to positions of leadership, particularly in residence hall work (e.g., David DeCoster, now vice-president for student affairs at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, and John Schuh, now associate vice-president at Wichita State University, among others).

Under Betty's direction the Indiana University CSPA Department flourished. Her rich experiences, coupled with the contributions of excellent colleagues, contributed to the master's program being ranked as the top program in the country (Sandeen, 1982). The number of internships in the residence halls doubled during the 1960s; between 1962 and 1972, the number of students involved in practicum experiences also doubled. In 1970 Betty decided that internships in addition to those in the residence halls should be available to master's students. She urged colleagues throughout the university to create assistantships rather than the new full-time positions which were needed to work with increasing numbers of students with diverse needs. Of course, master's students in CSPA were ideal candidates for such positions.

Betty's long-time friend, Joyce Konzelman (personal communication, October 15, 1985) recalled that Betty's home was always open to students, an invitation that one or more current and former students accepted almost every day! During her years as an Indiana University administrator, Betty's student visitors were most likely undergraduates wanting to discuss problems in the residence halls, ideas for activities programming, or difficulties they were encountering in coping with college life. When Betty was a full-time faculty member, her student visitors were usually graduate students seeking her counsel about professional development concerns. Both invited and impromptu visitors usually arrived hungry. Amid preparations for meals or snacks, their discussions often continued well into the evening hours. From her days at Southern Illinois and San Jose State as well as Indiana University, Betty maintained contact with many former students and staff members by exchanging cards, letters, and pictures that chronicled the important changes in their lives. She cherished these relationships and maintained an alumni file in the CSPA office which, because it was updated monthly, was more accurate than the official university alumni records.

Betty prided herself on being well read; she was always quizzing students and colleagues on the latest developments. In the early 1970s *The Chronicle of Higher Education* was required reading in the introductory course in the master's program, long before the *Chronicle* became popular as a weekly higher education trade journal. To make the publication affordable to graduate students, Betty convinced the *Chronicle* to establish an academic year subscription rate for students.

The stimulating intellectual climate at Indiana University energized Dr. "G's" efforts to push, prod, and provoke the maturing student affairs profession to "bring together faculty, students and other administrators to contribute to the education of the leaders of the future" (Greenleaf, 1968a, p. 231). She brought to the classroom the voice of experience that came from what she called her "years in the trenches" as a practitioner, along with common sense, scholarly insight, and heartfelt concern for students. She entertained and enlightened her classes with tales of the serendipitous and sometimes bizarre adventures that awaited them as student affairs workers, such as calls to the Dean of Student's office asking:

> What do we do with the carload of donkeys that just arrived? Will you investigate and give me all the information you can about this man my daughter says she is going to marry? Will you see that my son goes to his classes? (Greenleaf, 1968b, p. 29)

Her personal agenda for the preparation of student affairs professionals (Greenleaf, 1968a) incorporated the elements endorsed two decades later by the Council for the Advancement of Standards for Student Services/Development Programs (1986): (a) knowledge of the characteristics of the young adults with whom student affairs staff work; (b) knowledge of society and forces of social change; (c) knowledge of management and personnel practices; (d) ability to use counseling and teaching skills; (e) knowledge of legal procedures; and (f) the broad interests of a generalist with the skills to coordinate specialist functions (Greenleaf, 1968a). Yet she also infused her teachings with realism born of experience: "Administration takes time. There is no such thing as a 50-hour work week; there is not time or little time to do some of the social activities you'd like to do" (Greenleaf, 1976, p. 9).

Three decades ago she also proved to be ahead of her time in pressing the emerging student affairs profession to confront the confusion surrounding the relationships student affairs administrators have with others on the campus:

> I'm concerned about how others see us. Are we seen as student personnel educators, or as babysitters? Are we administrators responsible for determining and interpreting policy, for making decisions and budgets, or do we simply carry out the orders of the students, the faculty and the general public?
>
> Are we, as student personnel educators, available to students? Do students perceive us as available and helpful, or as managers? Do we have responsible, well-prepared, intellectually sharp staff available to students? With whom do students see us eating in the student center or at a fraternity or sorority house? Do we spend our time only with the "elected" student leaders, or do we sometimes see "Mr. Average College Student?" Do we talk with the man with long hair and earrings, the couple not married but living together in the off-campus apartment, and the people challenging the right of the university to be responsible for students' out-of-class activities?
>
> Are we so busy sitting in meetings that we are no more help to students than the faculty member who puts first and foremost

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> research and writing? Have we pushed our strongest people into administrative posts and failed to reward financially those who will work regularly with students? Do students find us as concerned about world affairs, concerned with the scientific wonders of today's world, concerned with the political issues of the day? Do they see us at campus lectures? Do we carry on conversations with them about anything academic or about concerns of today's world? Do we encourage learning in the discussions and lectures held outside the classroom, held in our residence halls, in our sorority and fraternity houses, and in our student centers? Are we still seen as serving "in loco parentis?" Do we engender an environment in which free inquiry and learning can take place? (Greenleaf, 1968a, pp. 226–228)

"I'm concerned about how others see us. Are we seen as student personnel educators, or as babysitters? Are we administrators responsible for determining and interpreting policy, for making decisions and budgets, or do we simply carry out the orders of the students, the faculty and the general public?"

Elizabeth Greenleaf's contributions as a gifted educator were recognized by the Indiana University President's Award for Distinguished Teaching, which was presented to her in 1978. The award plaque was inscribed with the following citation: "Dr. Greenleaf is truly a master of her discipline, always well-prepared, knowledgeable, current and always able to articulate clearly her convictions and thoughts on issues. But even more significant, she is truly a master of the art of being a fine human being."

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WOMEN'S NETWORK

Betty was genuinely committed to helping all her students reach their potential. But with her female students, she shared even more of herself, disclosing the achievements and disappointments of a woman who had earned full membership in the male-dominated club of higher education administration. Having experienced firsthand the myriad challenges and frustrations, she was particularly sensitive to the obstacles and frustrations that lay in the path of her ambitious female students. She was keenly aware of her influence and responsibilities as a role model. Many of the women currently in leadership positions count "Dr. G" as a cherished mentor. Barbara Varchol, former master's and doctoral student, and later a full-time administrator at Indiana, recalled that "at that time for a woman to have that kind of influence and position was a vital image for many of us to have" (Varchol, personal communication, March 26, 1986).

Betty was a key figure in supporting the advancement of female colleagues within the professional ranks. Through telephone calls and letters she nurtured the development of a women's network, although it was not called that at the time. As a sponsor, Betty sought to provide support to the ones who dared to go beyond the traditional stereotype field of work for women. She was one of the major female figures in the preparation of student affairs administrators and was motivated by the knowledge that:

> . . . unless outstanding women educators in every community and at every level of education became involved, no one else was going to be concerned enough to stand up for women's equality, insist on affirmative action, or maintain the programs we developed. It is essential that every woman educator take stock of her attitudes toward, and her involvement in, the women's movement . . . She must become concerned about the role of women in education, must serve as an example by her participation in all phases of education, and encourage other women to work for self-learning and self-growth. (Greenleaf, 1974, p. 60)

She would not sponsor anyone for a leadership position without first confronting them with the realities of the hard work and sacrifice necessary for success: "Are you willing to prepare yourself for top administration? Earning a terminal degree or . . . being willing to take opportunities to secure the experiences necessary for those top positions . . . may mean taking up your belongings and moving across the country" (Greenleaf, 1976, p. 8). Betty believed that the challenges to women in higher education administration would have to be met with the same kind of rugged individualism that characterized pioneers in every field. "It's up to you" she said repeatedly, particularly in talks to Girl State delegates, Girl Scouts, and Panhellenic members.

Over time Betty became an ardent feminist, continually reminding her female students and colleagues to plan for the future. Although never married, she acknowledged the dual careers of motherhood and professional and reminded women students they could expect to work for several decades after raising a family (Deutsch, personal communication, October 17, 1985). Wanda Deutsch recalled: "It was important to her that the young women aspiring to be professionals look far enough ahead to make the right choices today" (personal communication, October 17, 1985).

Betty frequently employed humor to dispel tension resulting from her being one of the "small, elite group of women who invaded what tended to be a male preserve" (Hennessey, personal communication, October 16, 1985). She did not favor public protestations to gain equal representation; rather she preferred to work behind the scenes to change attitudes and practices. She was not above using a public forum to call attention to the relative dearth of women in positions of responsibility. For example, she would often quip at the organization meeting of a new campus committee or task force to which she was the only woman appointed: "I see you've invited me to represent the women" (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1985).

Betty's political guile, feisty demeanor, and tenacity, coupled with a flair for public speaking, made her an effective proponent of equality in the profession. In 1967, when Betty became the chairman of the CSPA Department, she learned that her salary ranked in the lowest third among her Indiana University faculty peers. Such experiences only served to strengthen Betty's conviction that women in higher education needed to support each other in their quest for equal treatment: "Be willing to give them support in being hired and be willing to give support to their leadership" (Greenleaf, 1977, p. 15).

Betty was committed to developing leadership abilities in others. One of the first questions she asked aspiring members of the profession was, "What position of leadership have you ever been elected to by your peers?" (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1985). Her conception of leadership had moral and ethical dimensions: (a) accuracy in all acts, statements, workmanship, and promises; (b) honesty toward associates, superiors, subordinates, students and their parents; (c) initiative in helping others; (d) self-discipline; (e) open-mindedness; (f) appreciation for the works of others; (g) open communication with others; (h) persuasive styles; and (i) the ability to mobilize resources when challenges arise (Greenleaf, 1976). These expectations were based on the assumption that every leader must make difficult decisions and be "willing to take the gruff and criticism that follow" (Greenleaf, 1976, p. 8).

During her years as a leader in a profession undergoing rapid change, Betty received her share of gruff and criticism. She was not one to shy away from a good fight. According to an Indiana colleague, Mary Jane Reilly, an administrator in the residence life office:

> If there was a big conflict of some sort, she would walk right in, and she would handle all the questions, shouts, epithets and whatever. She did not hesitate in the least. And she usually came out quite well, because she listened, too. But some of my colleagues would say, "I would never have gone into that situation . . . " But she usually came out quite successful. (Reilly, personal communication, March 23, 1986)

Betty was successful because she possessed the competencies critical for student affairs administrators:

> (a) Be a manager: understand policy making; (b) be skilled in the art of communication and challenge students to do the same; (c) be sharp intellectually in order to challenge college students to think. The wider the knowledge of the student affairs workers, the better prepared they will be to challenge students. Thus, a strong background in the liberal arts is desirable; (d) be traveled; (e) be a skilled administrator and involve students, faculty, and staff in student affairs functions; (f) be a catalyst to encourage interaction among faculty, students, and staff; (g) be a generalist with the ability to coordinate specialist functions; (h) be skilled in dealing with students as individuals. (Greenleaf, 1968b, pp. 31–32)

GETTING THE JOB DONE

Betty Greenleaf personified the Protestant work ethic. She followed her own advice ("It's up to you") and seemed to work 7 days a week, 10 or more hours a day. To her, the main difference between those who were eminently successful and others was the amount of time devoted to the job. According to Robert Shaffer:

Betty Greenleaf personified the Protestant work ethic. She followed her own advice ("It's up to you") and seemed to work 7 days a week, 10 or more hours a day. To her, the main difference between those who were eminently successful and others was the amount of time devoted to the job.

> Betty was willing to work herself harder than hell. It could make you uncomfortable because then you had to work harder, too. When asked to serve on committees, make appearances or give talks, Betty just couldn't seem to say no . . . but then I'm a bad one to talk! (Shaffer, personal communication, November 6, 1985)

Although her commitment to the work she loved took up much of her time, she did have some fun getting the job done. Betty took pleasure in traveling: she vacationed each winter in Fort Myers, Florida, and enjoyed weekend trips with an Indianapolis-based travel club. She was an excellent golfer (once winning the departmental golfing outing) and sometimes used the game as a "political tool," thus combining recreation with opportunities to interact with professional colleagues (Deutsch, personal communication, October 17, 1985). In her free moments she was often knitting and even at professional conferences would interject insightful comments while knitting, evidence that only her fingers were preoccupied.

Betty's leadership was felt in the local community as well. She was (a) president of the Bloomington chapter of Altrusa International, a philanthropic organization of business and professional women; (b) president of Delta Kappa Gamma, a national women's honorary educational organization; and (c) president of the Bloomington chapter of the American Association of University Women. She also served on the Commission on Campus and Student Affairs and the Official Board of the First Methodist Church of Bloomington.

In the last year of Betty's life, she underwent surgery twice. While convalescing in the spring of 1979, Betty kept office hours in her home, where she met with students and made progress on a book on residence halls to which she had agreed to contribute, a volume subsequently completed by Gregory Blimling, a former student, and John Schuh, one of her successors in the Department of Residence Life at Indiana (Blimling & Schuh, 1981). Health problems notwithstanding, just 2 months before her death she attended the 1979 national conferences of the American College Personnel Association, the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors, and the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators, perhaps sensing these meetings might be her last opportunities to visit with cherished colleagues and celebrate their shared profession. In early May 1979, Betty's father died, and after settling his estate, she traveled to Florida for a brief vacation. There her physical condition suddenly deteriorated, and she passed away 9 days later on May 28, 1979.

Indiana University established the Elizabeth A. Greenleaf Distinguished Alumnus/Alumna Award as a memorial to Betty. This award is presented each year at one of the national student affairs professional conferences to a graduate of the master's degree program in higher education and student affairs who exemplifies the qualities of professional leadership and caring for students for which Betty was so well known. Recipients of this prestigious award include Louis Stamatakos, professor of higher education at Michigan State University, Keith Miser, vice-president of student affairs at Colorado State University and editor of the *NASPA Journal*, Phyllis Mable, former ACPA president and vice-president of student development at Longwood College, James Lyons, dean of students at Stanford University, Paula Rooney, vice-president for student affairs at Babson College, Joanne Trow, former president of NAWDAC and vice-president for student services at Oregon State University, and Carol Cummins-Collier, director of residence life at the University of Dayton.

CONCLUSION

The hundreds of former students and colleagues who had the good fortunate to see Betty in action in the classroom, at the podium at a professional meeting, or in private conversation can hear her voice when they read her published works. In some ways she was an iconoclast, holding firmly to values that modern society had left behind in the 1950s. Yet, many of her perspectives on student affairs administration provided the roots for current professional policy and practice. The student affairs profession is richer and stronger because so many benefited from Betty Greenleaf's caring and wise counsel and from her vision of the role of student affairs work:

> Will the student affairs profession survive? Yes! Student affairs functions must be performed, but the way these functions are delivered are changing and must change. Our survival depends on whether others think we are effective in carrying out these functions. (Greenleaf, 1968a, p. 231)
>
> Many times you will wonder whether it is worth it. Student affairs workers have a big job. It is an important one. We must get it done and get it done right. I hope you will have some fun getting it done! (Greenleaf, 1969, pp. 13–14)

"Will the student affairs profession survive? Yes! Student affairs functions must be performed, but the way these functions are delivered are changing and must change. Our survival depends on whether others think we are effective in carrying out these functions."

Significant Events in the Life of Elizabeth A. Greenleaf

1937	*Graduated from Greencastle High School, Greencastle, Indiana*
1941	*A.B., Political Science and History, Depauw University*
1941–42	*English and History Teacher, Reelsville High School, Putnam County, Indiana*
1942–46	*Social Studies Teacher, Salem High School, Salem, Indiana*
1946–47	*M.A., Political Science, University of Wisconsin*
1947–50	*Social Studies Teacher and Counselor for Girls, Salem High School, Salem, Indiana*
1952	*Ed. D., Counseling and Guidance, Indiana University*
1952–57	*Coordinator of Activities Development Center and Assistant Professor, University of Southern Illinois*
1957–59	*Associate Dean of Students and Dean of Women, San Jose State University*
1959	*Director of Counseling and Activities in Halls of Residence and Assistant Professor of Education, Indiana University*
1960	*Assistant Dean of Students, Indiana University*
1962	*Associate Professor of Education, Indiana University*
1967	*Professor of Education, Indiana University*
1967	*Distinguished Alumni Citation, Depauw University*
1967–68	*President of American College Personnel Association*
1969	*Chairman, Department of College Student Personnel, Indiana University*
1971–72	*President of National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors*
1971	*Depauw University Commission to Define the Role of the Liberal Arts College*
1978	*Indiana University President's Award for Distinguished Teaching*
1979	*The Greenleaf Distinguished Alumnus/Alumna Award established by Indiana University as a memorial to Elizabeth A. Greenleaf*
1980	*Distinguished Service Award of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors conferred posthumously*

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Year of Article: 1989

Beatrice A. Wright:
Broad Lens, Sharp Focus

DAVID KEITH HOLLINGSWORTH, WALTER CAL JOHNSON, JR., and STEPHEN W. COOK

There are many ways that one could describe Beatrice Wright. She is a psychologist in the broadest sense of the word. She was trained first as a social psychologist and then as a clinician when she studied with Carl Rogers, one of the pioneers of counseling. She worked as a guidance counselor for the United States Employment Service during World War II and later became a postdoctoral fellow at the Menninger Foundation. While in graduate and undergraduate school, she worked with Kurt Lewin, Tamara Dembo, Solomon Asch, Abraham Maslow, and Kenneth Spence. The way these people thought would be reflected later in the work for which she would become known.

Beatrice Wright is a scholar whose major works have been translated into several foreign languages. She has presented at many international and national meetings, as well as having sat as a member on many national and international advisory boards. Besides winning the Research Award from AACD's American Rehabilitation Counseling Association (then the Division of Rehabilitation Counseling), she has been recognized for her contributions by the National Easter Seal Society, the American Psychological Association, and the American Congress of Rehabilitation Medicine. She has been a journal editor and associate editor, an APA division president, a fellow of the American Psychological Association and American Orthopsychiatric Association, and has sat on the National Easter Seal Society Board, Gallaudet University's National Advisory Board, the Professional Advisory Board of United Cerebral Palsy, and Rehabilitation International's World Commission on Social Aspects of Disability.

Most people know Beatrice Wright as a rehabilitation psychologist. She has worked to first define and then to promote her concepts, which emphasize a positive and constructive viewpoint of people with disabilities. One of the ways she did this was to recognize the *fundamental negative bias* with its attendant *negative spread effects* that lead to devaluation of the person as a whole. This concept, combined with her notion of the *coping versus succumbing frameworks*, resulted in proposals concerning the nature of *constructive views of life with a disability*, which provide a firm basis for detecting snares and determining promising leads in attempts to change attitudes.

Beatrice Wright entered graduate school in 1938 and received her Ph.D. when she was 24. In June 1988, she was "promoted" to emeritus status by the University of Kansas, a transition she viewed with mixed emotions. She has continued to be productive in psychology right up to the time of her retirement and shows no sign of slowing down.

It seems important to note that her academic career has been nontraditional. Because of a decision to be closely involved with her children during their growing-up years and because of nepotism restrictions at the University of Kansas, she did not hold a regular academic position from 1943 to 1964. She continued, however, to be involved in research, writing, and a number of professional positions in psychology. During this time some of her most influential work was developed and published. She speculates that, if she had assumed a standard university position during this period, she might not have been able to concentrate her attention on the ideas she was pursuing. She acknowledges that during these years the support of her husband and help from her parents enabled her to continue her involvement in psychology and counseling.

Indeed, her relationship with her family is extremely important to Beatrice Wright. Her husband Erik (who died in 1981) was in his own right an outstanding scholar in the field of clinical psychology, serving as director of the Clinical Psychology Training Program at the University of Kansas. It is evident in talking with her that this relationship was paramount to her and that his death is a loss that still brings her pain. Beatrice and Erik Wright reared three children, each of whom has achieved prominence. Their daughter Colleen received a Ph.D. in psychology from Stanford University, is currently doing research on eating disorders at the University of Florida Health Science Center, and is also an artist. Erik received a Ph.D. in social science from Berkeley, is a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and is engaged in comparative international research. Woody, like his father, holds both an M.D. and a Ph.D., which he received from Stanford, and is currently a biomedical researcher at the University of Texas Health Science Center in Dallas. There are also seven grandchildren. Beatrice Wright reports, with a smile, that beyond being accomplished in their chosen fields, her children are "fun people to be around." One gets the idea that her emphasis on enjoying the world as it comes is a very important factor in the amount of work she has contributed.

During the hours spent with Dr. Wright in preparing this article, we could not help but get caught up in the sense of excitement that she conveys. She has a love for life that seems to energize her and motivate her as she speaks. Even when talking about retirement, one could not help noticing that she did not intend to "retire" from thinking about ways that would lead people to live better lives.

In this interview Beatrice Wright talks about her development as a scholar through graduate school and early professional life and about those who served as mentors and influenced her, and how this contributed to the development of her ideas. She also talks about her views on education, the current state of the fields of academia, rehabilitation psychology, and counseling, and of other broad social influences on those fields.

GROWING INTO REHABILITATION PSYCHOLOGY: GRADUATE SCHOOL, MENTORS, AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

D.K.H.: *What were some of the major choice points or events in your life that led to what you have accomplished professionally?*

B.A.W.: Initially, the first major choice was my decision to go to the University of Iowa, because that's where Kurt Lewin was.

D.K.H.: *He was one of the premiere social psychologists of the time. How did it happen that you got into doctoral study with him?*

B.A.W.: One of my undergraduate professors said, "Now Kurt Lewin, he's doing interesting things. You have a conceptual mind that will fit. Go to Iowa." So I did. I soon read Lewin's "Dynamic Theory of Personality," "Topological Psychology," and "The Conceptual Representation and Measurement of Psychological Forces." These were difficult, but I quickly realized that they dealt with whole people functioning in a real world, rather than with piecemeal behavior. I like that.

D.K.H.: *What was it like to work with him?*

B.A.W.: I would come to Kurt with my ideas and pretty soon he would go off in this and that direction, in hot pursuit of so many interesting psychological questions. It was a "head-expanding" environment in which the challenge was to understand the psychological meaning of thoughts and behavior rather than just being led by operational definitions. One idea would lead to another, they would unravel, and we would discuss the questions as they came up. Then, if we wanted to do the research, we could approach the problem through systematic observations, interviews, and experiments.

Kurt Lewin demonstrated the truth of his dictum, "There is nothing as practical as a good theory." He did this by thinking theoretically as he geared his research to real-life problems. Then, on the basis of the findings, he would further refine the theory.

D.K.H.: *A list of others whom you worked with reads like a "who's who" in psychology and counseling. How did each of them influence your thinking and development?*

B.A.W.: Oh, there are a number who I know had a significant influence on my way of thinking about psychology. As an undergraduate, Solomon Asch looms large, and it was with him that I carried out my first bona fide research in psychology. I also affectionately remember Abraham Maslow, with whom I talked about personality questions in those days, and Austin Wood, who kept encouraging me every bit of the way.

As a graduate student my outstanding mentor in addition to Kurt Lewin was Tamara Dembo. To her I owe a special debt of gratitude because it was through later working with her on the "Adjustment to Misfortune" study involving World War II–injured soldiers that I began more fully to appreciate the significance of two central concepts. One has to do with values—the fundamental difference in the outcome of evaluation when the process is guided by the *intrinsic value* of something in contrast to its *comparative value* along a scale of better or worse than something else. The second has to do with the importance of getting the viewpoint of the experiencer regarding what is happening in the situation (i.e., the inside view), and to recognize that that person has a different perspective from an observer who can only perceive the situation from the outside. There were two other Iowa professors whom I must mention as important in my understanding of things. One was the philosopher, Herbert Feigl, and the other was Kenneth Spence, the psychologist who followed the behaviorist tradition.

While still in graduate school, I was especially fortunate to have the opportunity to spend a year with Carl Rogers at Ohio State University, when I went there to be with my husband during my last year of completing my Ph.D. Rogers's fundamental regard for the human being became entrenched as part of my own outlook, and his emphasis on listening to what the other person was saying and feeling has contributed much to whatever skill I may have in clinical work.

D.K.H.: *What other impressions of your graduate school days do you have?*

B.A.W.: Of course, one romanticizes one's graduate school years, I think. It's so easy to think of those years as the "golden era." The times were obviously very different then. I was in graduate school from 1938 to 1942. Those were the years of depression, war, and Hitler. We were very patriotic in those days.

Maybe part of this romanticization comes from the stimulating times of being in graduate school with students who were so keenly interested in psychology and thinking. A number of those students, like Ronald Lippitt, Ralph White, and Leon Festinger, have since become well known in psychology. We would meet together on Wednesday afternoons for a kind of brown bag lunch and discuss somebody's research—it could be a master's thesis or dissertation. All of us would try and make that research better. It was very exciting.

D.K.H.: *Besides your formal education, what other choice points do you see?*

B.A.W.: Another major choice point, of course, was marrying my husband Erik. He also received his Ph.D. with Kurt Lewin. Another major decision occurred when I received my Ph.D. in 1942. It was the time of World War II and Erik was in the Navy, expecting to be shipped to the South Pacific. So we made the decision that I would accept a position at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. He was soon sent to Oakland Naval Hospital but didn't get shipped out. We were 3,000 miles apart, which was a long, long walk. So, in 1943, we decided that the thing for me to do was to join him.

> *". . . you sometimes find yourself either in uncharted territory or objecting to the usual view of a problem or issue. It is then that you might have a chance to develop new ways of thinking about old problems."*

D.K.H.: *How did that affect your development?*

B.A.W.: It allowed other things to happen—call them opportunities. When I first got to California, I worked as a counselor for the United States Employment Service. I was looking for something to do in psychology, and that job was open. It was my first introduction to the real world of work, not the more cloistered world of academia. It was an experience I would not ordinarily have chosen. Of course, I learned a lot about jobs and factories and hard-to-place people, and I am grateful for the experience. I even got familiar with the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, a resource that I had never heard of before.

D.K.H.: *How did your very broad experiences put you in the pioneering stage of the counseling and human development movement?*

B.A.W.: I don't think of myself as a pioneer, although I have contributed some ideas. In your work, you sometimes find yourself either in uncharted territory or objecting to the usual view of a problem or issue. It is then that you might have a chance to develop new ways of thinking about old problems.

D.K.H.: *It seems like a lot of interactions that contributed to your* *thinking on human development and rehabilitation happened after you left graduate school.*

B.A.W.: Yes. I have already mentioned my work with Tamara Dembo. Then there was Roger Barker, who came to Iowa to work with Kurt Lewin and left just before I arrived there. I met him later in the 1940s when both of us happened to be in California. He had been asked by the Social Science Research Council to prepare a review of the literature on illness and disability, and I joined him in the effort. That work produced the volume *Adjustment to Physical Handicap and Illness: A Survey of the Social Psychology of Physique and Disability* in 1946. It wasn't only a review, because we began to put the ideas in some conceptual framework. I quickly realized how destructive many of the ideas were that had appeared in the literature. So I became involved in trying to understand the nature of the distortions and how to counteract them. I always felt that one could formulate problems and issues that would have constructive effects on the lives of people.

After we came to Kansas in 1951, I worked with Fritz Heider, the distinguished social psychologist, in collaborating with him on his book, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations* (1958). What impressed me was how often he was able to clear away the brush of complexity to reveal underlying simplicity.

Dorothy Fuller was a psychologist at the Menninger Foundation with whom I worked intensively during my 2-year postdoctoral fellowship there in the early 1960s. She helped me to understand the more covert significance of responses on psychological tests and in the therapeutic situation.

And, of course, there was Erik, my husband. He was so gifted in helping people gain the strength to deal with what had to be dealt with and, in the process, to discover their own "Okayness" and capabilities. It was Erik who was my main support and helpmate in meeting our family's needs and in helping me work out ways so that I could continue my work in psychology.

> *"I always felt that one could formulate problems and issues that would have constructive effects on the lives of people."*

Her Own Influence: Teaching, Writing, and Important Ideas

D.K.H.: *The way in which you worked with ideas from social psychology and clinical training to formulate ideas that have such a tremendous impact on the teaching and practice of rehabilitation counseling and psychology is truly striking. If you had to pick one of your ideas you would most like people to note, which one would it be?*

B.A.W.: I guess I lack humility, because there are several I can think of. One thing that I would like to be remembered for is the importance of making explicit one's values. In fact, in the revised edition of *Physical Disability—A Psychosocial Approach* (1983), I used the preface to explicate my value-laden beliefs—twenty of them [see Table 1]. It is important to make values explicit because they provide a way to check one's own work and give others a basis for understanding some of the underlying premises that have guided it. It's so easy to become sidetracked by coercive forces in the *situation* in which you are working, to the point where you are not aware that you may be violating some fundamental values. Isn't it easy to violate the basic tenet that "everyone needs respect and encouragement, no matter how severe the disability may be," without even realizing it?

D.K.H.: *One idea that you seem to emphasize as important in your work is the idea of flawed human perception.*

> *"It is important to make values explicit because they provide a way to check one's own work."*

B.A.W.: I think this idea is basic to understanding important sources of prejudice and misunderstanding. For instance, take the *fundamental negative bias.* That is, when an outstanding characteristic of a person or group is perceived as negative, as in the case of a visible physical, mental, or emotional disability, especially when we don't know the person or group we tend to spread the negative sign to other imagined attributes of the person or group, and to ignore the healthy and positive (Wright, 1983, 1988). Another example of flawed human perception is the tendency to attribute a person's behavior to characteristics of that person while neglecting the environment.

D.K.H.: *What practical impact do these realizations have?*

> *"Look for abilities; seek and you shall find them."*

B.A.W.: The analysis of flawed human perception helps us to understand what we need to do to check the unbridled effects of misperception and thereby to counteract prejudice. For example, suggestions concerning nonhandicapping language flow from this analysis. Thus, to avoid making the whole person equivalent to disability, the term *person(s) with a disability* is preferred to *the disabled* or *the disabled person.* To counteract both negative spread effects and environmental neglect, it is recommended that a four-pronged approach guide the effort to understand behavior—namely: one needs to examine characteristics of the person that are positive as well as negative and one also needs to uncover aspects of the environment that are positive (resources and opportunities) as well as negative (barriers of different sorts). I also offer my students pithy reminders, such as "look for abilities; seek and you shall find them" or "both the person and the environment require focused attention."

> *". . . both the person and the environment require focused attention."*

Once the nature of flawed human perception is understood, corrective measures seem pretty obvious. My students have heard me say more than once, "The obvious isn't obvious until it's obvious."

D.K.H.: *The understanding of how people overgeneralize from the negative is important in dealing with disability then?*

B.A.W.: Correct. We should be guided by *constructive views of life with a disability,* in attempts to change attitudes positively. This requires a careful analysis of what constitutes a constructive view conceptually. The *coping versus succumbing framework* (Wright, 1978, 1980) brings together the different conceptual aspects of constructive views as I see it. Whereas the coping framework concentrates on abilities, satisfactions, and action possibilities in dealing with problems, the succumbing framework focuses on the heartbreak of suffering, limitations, and passivity. It was this

TABLE 1

Value-Laden Beliefs and Principles of Beatrice Wright

1. Every individual needs respect and encouragement; the presence of a disability, no matter how severe,does not alter these fundamental rights.
2. The severity of a handicap can be increased or diminished by environmental conditions.
3. Issues of coping and adjusting to a disability cannot be validly considered without examining reality problems in the social and physical environments.
4. The assets of the person must receive considerable attention in the rehabilitation effort.
5. The significance of a disability is affected by the person's feelings about the self and his or her situation.
6. The active participation of the client in the planning and execution of the rehabilitation program is to be sought as fully as possible.
7. The client is seen not as an isolated individual but as a part of a larger group that includes other people, often the family.
8. Because each person has unique characteristics and each situation its own properties, variability is required in rehabilitation plans.
9. Predictor variables, based on group outcomes in rehabilitation should be applied with caution to the individual case.
10. All phases of rehabilitation have psychological aspects.
11. Interdisciplinary and interagency collaboration and coordination of services are essential.
12. Self-help organizations are important allies in the rehabilitation effort.
13. In addition to the special problems of particular groups, rehabilitation clients commonly share certain problems by virtue of their disadvantaged and devalued positions.
14. It is essential that society as a whole continuously and persistently strives to provide the basic means toward fulfillment of the lives of all its inhabitants, including those with disabilities.
15. Involvement of the client with the general life of the community is a fundamental principle guiding decisions concerning living arrangements and the use of special resources.
16. People with disabilities, like all citizens, are entitled to participate in and contribute to the general life of the community.
17. Provision must be made for the effective dissemination of information concerning legislation and community offerings of potential benefit to persons with disabilities.
18. Basic research can profitably be guided by the question of usefulness in ameliorating problems, a vital consideration in rehabilitation fields, including psychology.
19. Persons with disabilities should be called on to serve as co-planners, co-evaluators, and consultants to others, including professional persons.
20. Continuing review of the contribution of psychologists and others in rehabilitation within a framework of guiding principles that are themselves subject to review is an essential part of the self-correcting effort of science and the professions.

Note. Excerpt from *Physical Disability: A Psychosocial Approach,* Second Edition, by Beatrice A. Wright. Copyright © 1960, 1983 by Beatrice A. Wright. Reprinted with permission of Harper & Row and the author. These values are elaborated in the preface of the book.

understanding that alerted me to handicapping myths unintentionally promulgated in fund-raising campaigns, health-care messages, disability simulations, educational programs about disability, and research, to take a few examples. Understanding some of the principles of flawed human perception and the need for corrective measures led me to propose specific recommendations that would lead to constructive views of life with a disability, that is, to positive attitude change. The last chapter of my book (Wright, 1983), called "Developing Constructive Views of Life with a Disability," ends with a list of 15 points that could well serve in this regard.

D.K.H.: A lot of your work in rehabilitation psychology has been in the academic arena. What type of impact do you feel you've had?

B.A.W.: It's hard for me to say what impact I've had. I'm aware that some of my students who work with me grasp the ideas well. They are able to apply the concepts and values to a diversity of problems and populations in their teaching, research, or practice. Others appear to have an intellectual grasp of the ideas but do not firmly integrate them within their complex system of values and intuitive selves. I'm not sure how much of those ideas will be carried on when they go off to their respective positions. I've had many people other than my students write to me about how my writing has influenced them in their own work and personal lives.

D.K.H.: As an instructor, how do you view your place in the educational process?

B.A.W.: I think a lot of teaching should facilitate the discovery of understanding through the students' own probing. I'm not as good at putting that into practice as I would like, probably because I feel that I have many important things I want to share with my students in helping them to understand. I lecture some. We discuss a lot. Also, I take advantage of student experiences in helping to arrive at a sense of what is significant for the problems being considered.

In my graduate seminar the students keep a log of their own ideas throughout the semester. They are asked to note what prompted the idea (e.g., something read, discussed in class, or personally experienced). They then develop the idea as fully as they can or want to. Some of the ideas later serve as a basis for class discussion. Some stimulate dissertation research. The hope is that the "idea log" encourages creativity and furthers understanding.

D.K.H.: Is there anything that you see as a drawback to graduate education today?

B.A.W.: What seems such a pity is the inordinate pressure on students to master encyclopedic information. I know I would be distraught by the quantity of reading matter the students are required to absorb. I stand in awe of anyone's capacity to do so.

I know that what I need is a good deal of "alone time" with my thoughts as I try to disentangle confusion and arrive at integrated and meaningful formulations. For that I would need far more unbuffeted time than the students are allowed. How to work with and around the information explosion remains a challenge.

D.K.H.: What hopes do you have about your influence as an academician?

B.A.W.: I would like to be remembered as someone who tried to direct her scholarly work toward the application of scientific understanding to problems that matter in the lives of people in the real world. As a caution against remaining immersed in interesting problems as such, I offer my students the following reminder: "Don't get stuck with the problem; move on to the solution."

D.K.H.: Do you think that many of the problems and ideas you have written about can be recognized as applicable to people in general, and not only to people who have a disability?

> *"Don't get stuck with the problem; move on to the solution."*

B.A.W.: Yes, I do, and I wish they would. Although some of the ideas emerged from studying people who have a disability, those insights also shed light on the life-course of people generally. After all, all people experience a loss of something they regard as an important value; all people experience some form of devaluation; all people know what it feels like to be excluded; all people have struggled to deal with these affronts and have learned something of value in the effort to meet the challenge. These experiences do not belong to disability alone. And, of course, all people will encounter some form of disability in their families and in themselves, if not now, then later, even soon.

> *". . . all people experience some form of devaluation; all people know what it feels like to be excluded; all people have struggled to deal with these affronts. . . . These experiences do not belong to disability alone."*

Thoughts on Current Trends and Influences

D.K.H.: What do you see to be the impact of some recent developments in the world in general, like the women's movement?

B.A.W.: The women's movement has already had a major influence in much of psychology and counseling, whether it be in research, application, psychotherapy, etc. The women's movement has made us aware of how widespread sexism is in how we think and what we do. It took the women's movement to alert us to the fact that knowledge-claims in psychology, in wide-ranging areas, reflect a male vantage point.

The concepts of *masculinity* and *femininity* themselves pose a difficult problem. Their use implies that traits and behavior can be dichotomized in this way. Even the concept of *androgyny* assumes a blending of the two types of traits and, therefore, that the traits can be stereotyped as masculine or feminine.

D.K.H.: What implication does this have for understanding how people behave?

B.A.W.: I believe that labeling traits as masculine or feminine interferes with the development of individuals as whole human beings. Take nurturant traits. The very labeling of them as feminine feeds the proscription of them in the rearing of boys. Likewise, assertiveness, assigned to the masculine column, inhibits their expression in the rearing of girls. If one argues that both nurturant and assertive traits need to be carefully fostered in each and every individual, then one would also need to worry about the inhibiting effects of these gender labels.

D.K.H.: Over the long period of time that you have been working, have you ever found your gender to stand in the way of practicing your craft?

B.A.W.: I can tell you one outstanding incident that happened in terms of gender. My husband received his Ph.D. 2 years before I completed mine. He then accepted a position at Ohio State University. I had one more year of required residency at Iowa and another year beyond that to complete the training. We decided that I would remain at Iowa to fulfill the residency requirement. When I went to the Dean to have my registration card signed, he looked at me and asked what I was doing here. When I replied that I was registering, he said in a measured tone, "You belong by the side of your husband. This is his first teaching position as an assistant professor and it is important that his wife be with him." I explained that Erik and I had discussed this, and we felt that it was best if I would complete my degree. Reluctantly, he signed the card. I don't think such flagrant sexism would ever happen today.

After the war my husband completed his medical degree, and in 1951 we moved from California to the University of Kansas, where he became the director of the clinical psychology training program. At that time, nepotism restrictions at the University of Kansas prevented me from teaching there. Although it was also true that a husband would not be able to teach if the wife taught, the nepotism regulations mostly discriminated against women.

In my case, however, I wasn't too troubled by this, because we had three small children, ages 2, 4, and 6, and I really felt that I would be the best person to rear them. But I always had a need to do something in psychology, and in one way or another managed to do that. I wrote, I did research, I did parent education, I consulted at cooperative nursery schools, and so forth. And then, when the children grew older, I worked at the Menninger Foundation until the nepotism restrictions were rescinded at the University of Kansas in 1964, at which time I joined the faculty.

D.K.H.: What do you see as the greatest strength in psychology and counseling as practiced?

B.A.W.: Whether in terms of practice or academia, or rehabilitation, clinical, or counseling psychology in particular, a main strength is a concern with ethical standards as applied to research and professional-client relations. The standards are well thought through and are subject to revision periodically, as they should be. The ethical standards of the American Psychological Association have served as a model for other professions. The AACD casebook (Callis, Pope, & DePauw, 1982) describing specific case examples is helpful.

Another strength is that we strive to challenge and evaluate ideas and knowledge-claims. This is done by scientific canons concerned with research methods and data analysis, by replicating research, by peer review, by program evaluation, and so forth.

D.K.H.: Much of your work has direct social implications. As a scientist, how do you feel about blending counseling and psychology with social issues?

B.A.W.: In my view, this is a strength. Some people may regard this as a weakness, holding that social issues have no place in a science. But how can one be a rehabilitation psychologist or counselor divorced from social issues? A large part of understanding "constructive views of life with a disability" bears upon understanding issues of minority group status, social and environmental barriers to opportunities, civil rights, and other social issues. After all, psychology is the study of people, and people live in environments molded by society. Societal environments are inextricably tied to values involving social issues, and if one ignores them, one will be viewing and exploring human potential in an environmental vacuum. I encourage the efforts of psychologists to hold open forums on social issues at their meetings and to take considered action in the public interest.

D.K.H.: *What about weaknesses in academia or practice?*

B.A.W.: There is a problem with how universities reward their faculties, thereby pressuring the nature of scholarly work. Premature publication is fostered by the fear of "publish or perish." Of course, the main way to spread knowledge and understanding is through publications. Unfortunately, systematic work that may take a long time to follow through is often published piecemeal to meet merit, promotion, and tenure requirements. That is one reason, I believe, contradictory results appear so frequently in the literature. Later work may require modifying the conclusions of preceding work whose publication should have been deferred in the first place. Publications can be counted, and numbers allow for the facile ranking of contending candidates. It is much harder to judge the quality of publications than to judge their quantity.

The competitive edge of a number of publications has also invaded the striving of graduate students, who quickly learn the importance of having a few pre-Ph.D. publications to their credit if they are to seek an academic position. Undoubtedly this encourages the kind of research that one can quickly publish. Not all "short and quick" research is bad, but the need to publish early means that research requiring "thinking and exploring," or difficulty in obtaining or analyzing data, is discouraged. In my view, scientific and applied psychology is weakened thereby.

D.K.H.: *What are your personal hopes for the future of rehabilitation? What do you think most needs to happen?*

B.A.W.: I hope that counselors and psychologists won't contribute to insidious myths surrounding disability in their work as researchers, teachers, practitioners, and policy makers. To avoid this, they need to understand flawed human perception, their own motivations, and those societal conditions that interfere with the realization of the human potential of people with disabilities. They also need to give serious attention to what constructive views of life with a disability implies both in their attitudes and actions.

D.K.H.: *Do you have other hopes?*

B.A.W.: There are two further thoughts that are intrinsic to this hope. One is that rehabilitation counselors and psychologists really need to take to heart the importance of giving as much weight to *positives* as well as to *negatives* with respect to attributes of both the person and the environment. Time and again, whether in assessment, case evaluation, counseling, or research interpretation, the limitations of the client become the predominant focus of attention. And yet, we should also be working very hard at uncovering the strengths of the person, what the person can do, for it is these abilities that have to be strengthened and garnered in meeting difficulties. The second thought has to do with the importance of seriously thinking through the meaning of client dignity so that the dignity of clients can be fostered by how practitioners think and what they do. After all, it is the client's life, not the counselor's or psychologist's, that is at stake, and ways to support the vitality of the client as co-manager in his or her rehabilitation require pointed attention.

D.K.H.: *How do you feel that rehabilitation counseling and psychology fit in with society in general?*

B.A.W.: I believe that the best of modern rehabilitation is expressed in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and its amendments. I hope that the thrust of this act will increasingly be reflected in the practices of society, including how counselors and psychologists carry out their role functions. This will require vigilance not only on the part of people with disabilities themselves, but also on the part of their supporters. It is not easy to maintain a full measure of hard-won civil rights. The philosophy of the independent living movement can be expected to provide a strong force for continuing progress. The Black civil rights movement, before that the suffragettes, and since then citizens with disabilities and other groups, have taught us that groups must lay claim to their civil rights, for these are not granted without a struggle. I hope that competition and hostility among groups can be set aside in favor of recognizing a common humanity that encourages the fulfillment of human dignity for all people.

Still another hope is that the importance of rehabilitation psychology as an area of specialization will be more generally recognized within psychology. Rehabilitation psychology typically deals with more or less permanent residuals of disability, not with cure. To think in terms of life with a disability is not attractive, and this is one reason, I believe, that has kept psychology from embracing this specialty area. Yet, what has been learned in this area has wide-ranging implications for psychology as a whole.

D.K.H.: *When you look back on your past, is there anything you regret or would like to change?*

B.A.W.: I'm sure there were times when I was too strict with my children and too lenient, and times when I said an unkind remark that I regretted to someone. Otherwise, I can't think of anything under my control that I wish I had done differently, although it must be absurd to think that there is nothing that one would do differently. That does not mean that I don't experience guilt related to conflicting needs. I guess I feel that if I changed anything that I could have changed, then I would be giving up some good things that would be swept away with the change as well. Perhaps if I thought more about it I would find something I now regret without such a complicated trade-off.

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Keeper of the Fire:

A Profile of Carolyn Attneave

TERESA D. LAFROMBOISE and CANDACE FLEMING

Dr. Carolyn Attneave, undoubtedly the best-known American-Indian psychologist, is internationally renowned for her expertise in cross-cultural issues in counseling and for her pioneering work to extend family therapy to include the social network of the identified client. Her work is frequently quoted in major textbooks that deal with family therapy as related to ethnic and social issues. Her book *Family Networks: Retribalization and Healing* (with Ross Speck)—considered the most comprehensive and significant presentation of social network therapy for family intervention—has been translated into Spanish, Japanese, Swedish, Dutch, and German.

Carolyn served in 1976 on the Special Panel on Access and Barriers to Mental Health Services and the Special Panel on American Indian Mental Health for the President's Commission on Mental Health. Later she was an invited delegate to the White House Conference on Families during both President Jimmy Carter's and Ronald Reagan's administrations. Carolyn participated in two conferences—the Vail Conference on Alternative Patterns of Training and the Dulles Conference on Minority Psychology—which significantly altered and strengthened doctoral training in psychology. Carolyn served on the board of the American Family Therapy Association and the Massachusetts Board of Registration for Psychologists and has chaired other boards and committees on minority issues in psychology, including work for the Education Testing Service.

Carolyn Lewis Attneave was born July 2, 1920, in El Paso, Texas. She was descended from the Delaware Indian tribe from her mother's side. Carolyn's maternal grandfather, after serving as tribal chairman until 1911, left Oklahoma to earn a living as a rancher and contractor for highway and irrigation projects throughout the Southwest and Mexico. In order for Carolyn not to feel detached from the Indian community (as her mother had) she was sent to spend summers with her Indian grandparents.

Her father was similarly detached from his Scandinavian background. Carolyn's paternal grandmother emigrated from Sweden in her teens; her paternal grandfather was "one of those Texans whose ancestors were neither revealed nor questioned" (Speck & Attneave, 1973, p. xv). As children, Carolyn and her only sibling James moved with their parents throughout the West, seldom staying in one place more than 2 years. Their father's work eventually progressed from roustabout to executive marketing trainer for Standard Oil.

Carolyn graduated from Gridley Union High (California) in 1936. After earning a bachelor's in English and theater from California's Chico State College in 1940, she immediately began pursuing her second baccalaureate, this time in elementary education.

Her first position, as a sixth grade teacher in the San Carlos (California) Public Schools, carried additional responsibilities working in therapeutic dramatics with troubled children. In 1942, lured by the "community school concept" advanced by professors Paul Hannah, Paul Leonard, Ernest Hilgard, and I. J. Quillen, Carolyn began graduate work in education at Stanford University. During her graduate school years Carolyn's interest began to focus on working with children within the larger context of family and community. In the early years of World War II, she assisted Stanford faculty in investigating the educational needs of Japanese Americans interned at relocation centers.

Carolyn interrupted graduate work during World War II for active duty in SPARS, the first class of women officers of the U.S. Coast Guard Reserve. Her duties included training enlisted personnel and acting as senior research officer in the Air Sea Rescue Agency, which was under the aegis of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and whose constituents were from U.S. allied countries. She conducted research on submarine sinkings and wrote air-sea rescue and survival manuals. Carolyn's interest in psychology developed through participation in a SPARS mental health training course taught by Commander Robert Felix, who later became a director of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH).

Carolyn returned to Stanford in 1947 to begin doctoral work in counseling psychology. She also enrolled in child development courses through the Department of Psychology. H. B. McDaniel, her dissertation chair, supported her "out of the ordinary" study program, which combined elementary education, rehabilitation courses, and secondary school counseling. She also worked with Lois Stolz, who had moved to Stanford from the Berkeley Child Development Study.

In 1949 she married Fred Attneave III, a fellow graduate student. They moved to Oxford, Mississippi, when Fred was offered a position at the University of Mississippi. Their first child, Dorothy, was born a year later. Carolyn completed requirements for the PhD in 1952, the same year a second child, Phillip, was born.

Divorced in 1956, Carolyn accepted a position as the director of student personnel at Texas Women's University, Denton. The following year she moved to Lubbock, Texas, to teach courses in child development and rehabilitation counseling at Texas Technological College. At Texas Tech she trained specialists to work with blind, deaf, and physically disabled children and adults before leaving in 1962 to establish a private consulting practice.

In 1963 Carolyn moved to Oklahoma and assumed responsibilities as the coordinator of community guidance services for Region V, an area of four counties, for the Oklahoma State Department of Health. The population of Region V included seven American-Indian tribes, in addition to other ethnic groups.

For the next 6 years she collaborated with physicians, civic organizations, tribal and federal agencies, tribal leaders, and medicine men in providing mental health services to this vast population.

In 1968 Carolyn met Salvador Minuchin at an American Orthopsychiatric Association meeting. Minuchin invited her to come to the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic. Here she worked with Jay Haley and Ross Speck. Carolyn helped Speck refine retribalization concepts in his work on network therapy as an alternative to hospitalization for schizophrenic patients.

Carolyn moved to Boston in 1969 to assist Fred Duhl in coordinating the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health Public Service Career Program. Here she trained personnel at five mental hospitals, three state schools for the retarded, and three new community mental health centers; she later worked as clinical director of the family intervention unit at Boston State Hospital.

While in Boston, Carolyn became a founding member of the Boston Indian Council, one of the largest Indian centers in the country. In 1970 she began writing and editing *Network of Indian Psychologists*, a newsletter created to exchange information about services available to the American-Indian community. People who now receive the newsletter number about 400. The newsletter's readership eventually evolved into a formal organization, the Society of Indian Psychologists, which is dedicated to the advancement of psychology in Indian communities.

In 1973 Carolyn joined Morton Beiser and Alexander Leighton as a research associate and lecturer in the Department of Behavioral Sciences at the Harvard School of Public Health. She and Beiser conducted a baseline study of the mental health needs, service networks, and patterns of utilization in the eight catchment areas of the Indian Health Service. This work resulted in a nine-volume document (Attneave & Beiser, 1975, 1976) and ultimately led to Carolyn's directorship of a NIMH-sponsored project to compile an annotated, computerized, and continually updated bibliography of American-Indian mental health research (see Kelso & Attneave, 1981) housed at the National Center for American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research at the University of Colorado in Denver.

Carolyn accepted a position at the University of Washington as a professor of psychology and director of the American Indian Studies Program in 1975. As a full-time faculty member in the Department of Psychology and as an adjunct professor of psychiatry and behavioral sciences, she taught courses in child development, family therapy, and community issues until her retirement.

Terry Tafoya, a faculty member at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, and co-founder of the National Native American AIDS Prevention Center in Oakland, California, is only one of several outstanding Indian professionals who earned an advanced degree while working with Carolyn. Terry describes her authority:

> Virginia Satir had power in her work, generated by a lot of frenetic activity; Carolyn has the power of stone—a power of stillness and secured energy that suddenly erupts with the force of an earthquake. When stone moves and carries everything else with it, the experience is quite phenomenal.

Carolyn spent 1983 as a visiting professor at St. Vincent's College in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, a liberal arts institution operated by the Benedictine order of St. Vincent Archabbey. In 1987, due in part to a recently acquired physical disability, she retired from the University of Washington. (See Attneave, in press, for a more detailed and autobiographical account of her career.)

Physical therapy and surgery have enabled Carolyn to resume an extensive lecture schedule that permits her to circle the globe. During a recent visit to Sweden, she was able to pursue genealogical research on her father's family. She is a favored guest and respected elder among various American-Indian and family therapy communities.

A midlife convert to Roman Catholicism, Carolyn is a permanent member of the St. Vincent Archabbey as a Benedictine Oblate, that is, a layperson who strives to apply the Rule of St. Benedict to life outside the monastery. Her home parish, St. Bridget's in Seattle, is the focus of her church-related activities, where she serves in many roles open to women in the Roman Catholic Church: bringing Communion to the sick, leading small-group faith-sharing meetings, and instructing interested adults in Catholicism. When thinking of Carolyn's ability to perceive the important things in life, Reverend Nowicki, O.S.B., former professor of psychology at St. Vincent's and director of education for the Diocese of Pittsburgh, tells us that he often thinks of the line from *The Little Prince*, "The essential is invisible to the human eye" (Saint'Exupery, 1943).

CULTURE BROKER

T.L.: Carolyn, how has your identity as an American Indian influenced your professional life?

C.A.: I never had any problem being an American Indian as far as I personally was concerned. It almost never was an issue when I was growing up, because we were not in an area where there was a visible Indian population. Northern California does have some American Indians, but not in the parts where I was [living]. The minority groups there were Japanese or Basque.

As far back as I can remember, the family was aware of that identity. When I'd go back to Texas, I certainly had it reinforced by my grandparents. I think Grandfather's idea was always that if you knew both worlds (the Indian world and the White world), you could probably survive in either of them. He taught us that when you bring elements of experience from several worlds to bear on a problem, the solutions become creative solutions because no one set pattern includes all the elements.

". . . when you bring elements of experience from several worlds to bear on a problem, the solutions become creative solutions because no one set pattern includes all the elements."

It wasn't until I worked in Oklahoma that I had an opportunity to live with many Indian people. I suspect I was gradually accepted by the local tribes because I didn't pretend to be anything I wasn't. Every time I wrote up a case for presentation, I'd ask Indians to read it over to see whether it was fair, whether they felt that, even with changed names, it was too personal or embarrassing. Usually they were amused but still supportive. Their endorsement gave me the confidence to go ahead and make oral presentations. They took me across the state to meet my own people—the Delaware. I was later able to take my mother there to find her childhood friends. But my real validation came when my daughter spent a summer at the Tama Reservation in Iowa. The tribe there recognized and accepted both of us.

Even now people will ask me to identify an Indian component in my work and then be disappointed in my answer. I know that my own thought and work are much more effective when I forget about being or not being Indian, when I seek to understand and to do what seems right to me in the context of the moment, of the experience, of the task at hand. Telling me, "Now be an American Indian" is like the problem of trying to induce another to be relaxed and be themselves by commanding: "Be spontaneous!" (Attneave, 1979).

> *". . . my own thought and work are much more effective when I forget about being or not being Indian, when I seek to understand and to do what seems right to me in the context of the moment, of the experience, of the task at hand."*

[*Interviewers' note:* Carolyn's understatements about the influence of her Indian identity on her work may also be tied to her reluctance to speak for other Indians (Albin, 1980). The majority of her publications, however, focus on Indian psychology, and her memorable address "Some Thoughts on Creativity and the Experiences of the American Indian Child" speaks of her Delaware identity in eloquent detail (see Attneave, 1979).]

T.L.: How has your knowledge of tribal life influenced your views on counseling?

C.A.: To look at problems as a minority person, as a particular tribal person, or as a woman requires one to look at the rest of the culture and see what's going on. Very often there's an important contribution within each culture to be found. What seems to be creative in the way of a solution in one world is really the skills from another world applied to that one without distorting the integrity of either.

You have to realize that a clinical priority for me is the process of looking not just at a client's problem but at the context in which it arises. It is just as important for a non-Indian person to realize, for example, that she or he is from a farm family, from a railroad family, from roughnecks or roustabouts, or from sophisticated professionals such as doctors or townspeople running stores. It is as important for me to know the backgrounds of my clientele and to work within those frameworks as it is for me to work within the Indian framework.

Because of my own Indian heritage, perhaps, I had an advantage of learning the importance of knowing and respecting diversity very early in life. It always surprised me that other people seemed not to be aware of these differences—or, if they were [aware], tried to ignore them.

> *"Because of my own Indian heritage, perhaps, I had an advantage of learning the importance of knowing and respecting diversity very early in life."*

For instance, most people are only negatively aware of things like "Indian time." This always amused me, because it can work for you as much as against you. I remember one morning I went from my office on the second floor to the waiting area. There was an Indian family there that didn't have an appointment until 2 o'clock. They looked comfortable, the kids were enjoying their comic books, and the parents had a cup of coffee. Nobody objected to them being there. I stopped and said, "Hello," and went back to my office. Eventually, it dawned on me that the family who was scheduled [to see me] had not arrived. They were more than half an hour late. I decided since the other family was there, we might as well talk. So I asked them if they'd like to take their appointment then. They grinned and said, "Sure." So we went ahead with their session. When they were ready to leave, they said, "Oh, by the way, if so-and-so's car gets fixed, they'll come in and take our two o'clock time. We figured maybe you might not want to waste the time and could have us in early. On the other hand, we didn't want to say anything because you might have had something else you wanted to do."

I think that was fairly typical. The people involved in that missed appointment were from another county, but the "moccasin grapevine" had been at work. They came in and were there just in case I wanted to go ahead and see them in the morning. If not, they were perfectly willing to wait. Working on the children's problems, apparently, was the important thing for them to do that day, so [they felt] they could be early as well as late.

My grandfather taught me that Indian time meant not putting off what could only be done now. As the Indian population gained an appreciation of our help and an understanding that scheduling and schedules were necessary, "Indian time" was seldom a problem. There was also an understanding on my part that they were not careless, incompetent, or intentionally rude. When they were late, it might be because the car didn't work or because something else came up that had to be tended to. This, incidentally, is true of many people, not just Indians. All people need to feel free to accommodate the realities of their lives, and professionals need to share their realities with equal openness.

> *"All people need to feel free to accommodate the realities of their lives, and professionals need to share their realities with equal openness."*

C.F.: How, for the most part, have Indian people reacted to your prominence?

C.A.: There are many ways we have learned to knock one another down through petty fighting, power struggles, tribal rivalry, urban/reservation splits, or saying that a successful Indian isn't Indian anymore. This rejection by other Indian people hurts. It's especially hurtful, I think, when you expect emotional acceptance and understanding but don't receive it. I've experienced some of that—and in the mainstream, non-Indian society as well. Perhaps I was buffered a bit by not feeling as though I belonged by experience to a large tribal group.

ADVANCING TRIBAL NETWORK THERAPY

T.L.: Carolyn, interdependency is a major theme in network therapy. Your work insisted on the necessity of including persons outside the family who were related by friendship, neighboring residence, or work associations in therapy. How did you begin to break away from reliance on the family as a unit of analysis to the identification of natural intimacy within social relationships?

C.A.: Much of my early "networking" was with professionals of other disciplines, not just with families, clans, and tribes. I worked with the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs), the welfare department, the courts, and the clergy, as well as with schools, health departments, and family doctors.

I would usually get the family's permission to talk with whomever they felt could be helpful. I would bring in consultants: people whom I believed were important to the family's needs. Obviously, as the only full-time mental health professional in an area of a hundred square miles—in the beginning at least—I couldn't do everything for everybody.

[*Interviewers' note:* Network therapy, as developed by Speck and Attneave (1971) has as its goal enabling people to cope and to share their strengths in coping and to restore their supportive potentials so that they will be ready to handle the next crisis of living. This involves convening a group as large as 40 people who are related to the identified client by blood, friendship, need, or physical proximity. The intervention centers on the spiraling effect of retribalization designed to enable the group to renew itself and thus be more helpful to the client. The phases within the cycle of renewal include retribalization (group consensus), polarization (activating conflicting positions within the system), mobilization (channeling energy constructively), depression (resistance), breakthrough, and finally exhaustion/elation. A detailed transcription of an actual network assembly session is provided in Speck and Attneave (1973, pp. 84–139).

A number of studies have suggested that clients who participated in network therapy had significantly less contact with mental health service agencies following the intervention than they did prior to their involvement in this form of therapy (Greenblatt, Becerra, & Serafetinides, 1982; Schoenfeld, Halevy-Martini, Hemley-Van der Velden, & Ruhf, 1985). When appropriate, network interventions offer distinct advantages over more conventional family therapy interventions: a clearer understanding of the problem within the wider context of relationships, the opportunity to include personnel from other agencies, multiple intervention points, open and creative problem solving, more effective deployment of community resources, decreased social distance, revitalization of extant social relationships, validation for the network and its members, and an increased likelihood that benefits will be experienced by more than the identified client (Mueller & Macelveen-Hoehn, 1979).

Network therapy, now nearing its third decade, has had a far-reaching impact on family therapy and mental health (Turkat, 1980). After reviewing more than 200 studies describing and verifying how social ties act as natural support systems, the President's Commission on Mental Health in 1978 concluded that the primary goal of the community mental health movement would be to recognize and strengthen the natural networks people depend on. A recent policy statement in Great Britain recommended that the entirety of government-based social work be converted to a network-based approach (Barclay, 1982). Scandinavia has already put this into practice (C. Attneave, personal communication, August 23, 1988).]

C.F.: How did you go about formalizing the techniques you used in rural community work in Oklahoma into what we now know as tribal network therapy?

C.A.: Around this time two outside personalities came into my life. The first was Jay Haley, then editor of *Family Process*. As a promotional effort, Jay sent copies of the journal to a number of mental health clinics across the country. A copy landed on my desk. I looked at it and said, "Well for Pete's sake, this is what I've been doing all the time!" Until then my contact had been with clinicians and therapists who were traditionally oriented, and what I was doing seemed pretty strange to them. Here were people writing about working with families—and they had a journal and they called it *Family Process*—a special area. I thought that I was just doing what was common sense and not "really professional" from a clinical psychologist's point of view. I also learned about Minuchin's *Families of the Slums* (1967) and Haley's book of transcriptions of family interviews (see Haley, 1971, for a related reference). I went to the ORTHO [American Orthopsychiatric Association] meetings in Chicago and met both of them. I realized that there were techniques and a special language I could learn and that Haley was going to be in Philadelphia. They eventually offered me a position at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic; I accepted and made the move.

C.F.: What was it like working with urban families and agencies in Philadelphia?

C.A.: It was very interesting. For one thing, I found that the lack of understanding between the Black and White communities was [essentially] due to the same problems that existed between Indian and White communities in Oklahoma. Minuchin had made some progress and some good links were established, but many of the professionals really had no understanding of what it was like to live in the Black community. In order to help and understand our clientele, I felt I needed to do that. In fact, I think I was the only staff member who did. I knew that I didn't know, for example, why [some] parents worried and kept their 13-year-old son indoors all the time (realistic or not, they were afraid of city street gangs). I knew it wasn't good to confine any 13 year old that much. The natural tendency toward rebelliousness and "acting out" makes parents tense. I had to live in the middle of the neighborhood to learn what was sensible, what was dangerous, what kinds of community structures could be tapped for healthy growth. This, it seemed to me, was as important as testing or other traditional ways of learning what disturbed individuals. Both [methods] were needed in order to decide what kinds of family therapy and problem solving could be done.

T.L.: Can you tell us something of your impressions?

C.A.: Most of the cases I dealt with were pretty typical. I remember, though, walking around a ten-block square in the center of Philadelphia and realizing that as many people lived in that small area as lived in a hundred-mile area in Oklahoma. Looking at that compact mass of humanity, I realized that one of the big differences between urban and rural populations was that there were no subdivided organizations for those ten blocks. By contrast, in Oklahoma I worked in four counties with about sixteen school districts, four or five cities, dozens of small communities, seven tribes, two political parties, local grange halls, junior and senior chambers of commerce, Rotary Clubs, Lions Clubs, churches, the American Legion, auxiliaries, and many other ways in which people were organized. There were all kinds of ways of getting at problem solving within the community itself. In that ten-block area people were all squished together. While some efforts were made at increasing and empowering organizations, none of them were really adequate or strong enough to be able to say: "This is our turf; we'll solve the problem this way and then negotiate with our neighbors." There wasn't any way to get a handle on it. That's where I started "putting labels" on what I had been doing in practice in Oklahoma.

I recall organizing one whole small community as a resource for a teenage schizophrenic girl. It was a good example of milieu therapy outside an institution that sustained itself for several years past the initial precipitating crisis. One case example of network therapy with an Indian family described in *Family Process* actually emerged into print out of an exchange Jay Haley had stimulated between me and Ross Speck (Attneave, 1969). Jay had fun bringing Ross in for a colloquium, telling me I should be sure and come and listen to him, and then sitting back to watch the fireworks. Jay had the idea that our ideas were compatible. Ross was spouting off, trying to find roots for his ideas in terms of tribal and clan relationships. As I listened to him, I thought, "You've never really met a tribe." (Laughter) I thought his ideas were good, but I had a feeling that he was latching onto some literary metaphors without having really quite understood what tribal life was really like. I wrote him a letter, and out of our correspondence came a pair of articles for that issue (Attneave, 1969; Speck, 1969) and another article on the ecological roots of therapy by Edgar Auerswald (1968), whom I learned to know much later. Ross and I enjoyed working and thinking together, and we set about writing the *Family Networks* book.

T.L.: How would you like to see the work you've done in network therapy advanced?

C.A.: Well, one of the things I'm excited about is the international interest and application of these ideas. I've just come back from an all-Nordic conference in Oslo and from follow-up consultations on networks and social supports in Stockholm. A wide spectrum of people were involved, including not only persons from the mental health disciplines like psychiatry, social work, and psychology, but politicians, anthropologists, and city planners. People working with the elderly, the chronically ill, the physically disabled, and refugees also attended.

In those Scandinavian countries at least, the awareness [of network theory] has really percolated at all levels of society without becoming the gimmicky definition *network* means in the United States. All too often here the strength and importance of a wide variety of social ties and mutual exchanges of support go neglected and unappreciated by people in pursuit of "freedom," "privacy," and "independence."

> *"All too often here the strength and importance of a wide variety of social ties and mutual exchanges of support go neglected and unappreciated by people in pursuit of 'freedom,' 'privacy,' and 'independence.' "*

I feel a genuine disappointment that, when networks are mentioned here, people immediately think of a telephone chain, a political action group, or a personal link to people with power and status. Certainly, those are network structures, but there is a whole series of concepts and applications that are much broader. I'm particularly concerned that people not see this field as a few manipulative techniques.

Early on I was interested to discover that the Chinese used this kind of community organization as a means of political control. Before I became disabled, I had hoped to have a chance to see how it worked. I was asked to bring an [American] group of family therapists to consult with people who were doing this kind of family consultation at the community level [in China]. I was interested to see if their methods were really therapeutic or mainly politically manipulative. When a network becomes formally organized and becomes politically manipulative, you've got another institution. You no longer have a "network" then.

C.F.: What is the biggest misconception that professionals have about network therapy?

C.A.: Their direct association of network therapy with crisis intervention. Ross Speck's concept of utilizing the family network in times of crisis I thought—and still think—is only one application. My feeling is that the concepts of the invisible, unorganized, unpoliticized network exist almost everywhere and that people who don't have such [network] ties are really in trouble. I've outlined other applications of these ideas in presentations, but it's only now that I've retired that I'm finding time to write them down.

> *"My feeling is that the concepts of the invisible, unorganized, unpoliticized network exist almost everywhere . . . people who don't have such ties are really in trouble."*

T.L.: It sounds, then, that what is left for you to do is to further illustrate the normative characteristics and uses of networks.

C.A.: Yes, to move these concepts toward a more healthy focus by showing the many ways people are very important to one another.

STORYTELLER

T.L.: Carolyn, you have been invited to study in a number of outstanding departments at the forefront of cross-cultural training nationally and internationally. However, there are a number of students interested in cross-cultural study who, because of family obligations or financial constraints, may not be able to take advantage of such programs. How would you suggest that they develop research and counseling skills for work in culturally diverse settings?

C.A.: Regardless of what students want to do or how they want to go about it, they need the "union cards" and the skills. They should take advantage of the programs that are available to them in their area. A student can get the fundamental credentials that permit entrance into the field at any state university. Workshop and conference participation will provide additional and wider opportunities. And, of course, students must read widely. The unique applications of basic viewpoints and skills to cross-cultural situations have to be developed specifically anyway. I believe that knowing local culture well and having the required [psychological training] skills can be a real advantage in practical situations. The problem [students' limitations regarding finances and mobility] you pose is a real one for many students who have visions of what kind of world they would like but don't yet realize that their goals have to be accomplished a step at a time.

This situation reminds me of a consultation I once did with traditional tribal leaders (see Attneave, 1974). The tribe had received a grant for incorporating [the work of] traditional medicine people with a staff of hospital professionals. They were faced with nonrenewal or discontinuance of funds because they refused to submit records accounting for their use of the money. After several hours it became clear that the non-Indian funding agency had a cultural expectation (and "need") for numerical data to meet their concepts of "accountability." The tribal leaders, on the other hand, viewed the grant as generosity on the part of those more fortunate. To be expected to render an "accounting" was like asking people what they had done with gifts they had received at a "give away."

Then a new metaphor emerged. The tribe still depended on hunting for much of its subsistence. The best hunters [in the tribe] were not merely good marksmen nor did they exploit the game or its habitat. Instead, the hunters took time to learn how deer, rabbits, even buffalo and fish experienced the world—how the hunted animals thought, what was important to them, as well as what the animals needed. Mutual respect [between hunter and the hunted] evolved. The question was then raised: "Suppose the dollars of the grant are what you are hunting?" Now the tribal leaders could understand the processes of funding and understood accountability in a very different way. Members of both cultures developed a new and mutual respect; cooperation was now possible.

Perhaps students who find that the ideal situation isn't available should look at their academic and in-service training experience the same way. This would develop creativity and practical skills that can be useful later on. The problems of family, personal loyalties to culture, and even economic hardship are part of the context in which they hope to be helpful and useful—and so are educational opportunities and difficulties. We all need to learn to think and act like good hunters or fishermen! That metaphor has other aspects. Hunters often need to leave home for a while to follow game—so do gatherers of berries, roots, herbs—but there is a rhythm to hunting—it's not forever.

SYNTHESIZER IN AN AGE OF SPECIALIZATION

C.F.: *What strengths and weaknesses do you find in our profession?*

C.A.: In every place I've worked, there's always been involvement in a variety of disciplines and background that required integration skills. There are times in the academic world when the idea of working together and learning from one another is a vision. There are times like now when academic competition is so cutthroat that the vision is distorted. When that happens, too much energy is spent on who's going to get the credit for what, who has the most power, the most grant money, or the most space. Those who participate in that arena simply have to learn to ride along with it. In spite of this, there are always some who are good teachers, and many who offer and share their skills. Occasionally, there are people in universities who learn from one another. Then it can be exciting.

T.L.: *You see the lack of collaboration and the competition then as major weaknesses of the field?*

C.A.: That's how I see it.

T.L.: *But what, then, do you see to be positive aspects of our field?*

C.A.: I guess probably that things still happen (laughs). Actually students are a great source of strength. As I think about the students I've had, I am struck by their individuality and their variety. At one time there were five state directors [of services] of the blind who had been, at one time or another, my students. Many of my students were ethnic minority students or physically disabled students or older women returning to school after raising families. My students became people who taught: people teaching in nursing, people teaching in social work, people in education, people in speech therapy and in the arts and humanities. If we could get 'em all together, we'd have a whole university, but (laughter) the number [of students] in any one department would seldom have been enough to establish a critical mass within a department.

I resisted the idea of setting up a little shop of my own, in which everybody who had the same interest and the same ideas would try to expand or complete the work I started. I was much more interested in helping people find their own paths, discover what they wanted to work on in their own way. So that in some ways my influence, if you want to call it that, has been diffused over a very wide area, rather than through a whole formal sequence of progressive studies in just one line of research. Maybe, in the long run, my widely divergent activities and those of my students have created better chances for survival—like dandelions, not little cultivated plants in a garden.

C.F.: *How do you think others would answer the question of Carolyn Attneave's contribution to the field?*

C.A.: Frankly, I sometimes wonder (laughs). I suspect it would depend on where and how their ideas intersected with mine, because the people who are interested in the social network applications have very few ideas of the cross-cultural interests. The people who are interested in family counseling sometimes have some idea of the cross-cultural emphases, but most of the time they look at it in different ways as they compare them to their own systems and ideas. And few of either are interested in changes in women's education or in the study of value orientation. We haven't even touched on medicine men and women, priests and clergy from several denominations, journalists, and anthropologists like Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead. It's hard to know who is influencing whom when one works with, learns from, and disagrees with, so many different people in so many different contexts. There's a creative potential in being a broker between specialists that I enjoy, but perhaps it's most successful when other people incorporate what they need from my work into their own.

> *"It's hard to know who is influencing whom when one works with, learns from, and disagrees with, so many different people in so many different contexts."*

WISE MOTHER OF THE TRIBE

[*Interviewers' note:* In a telephone interview with Dr. Stanley Schneider of the National Institute of Mental Health, who has worked with Carolyn over a period of years, he aptly described her as a "wise mother of the tribe." He continued, "Her qualities of assurance, caring, and sound judgment stand out. In my view, and I realize this isn't possible, all American-Indian young people, college students especially, should seek her out for guidance in learning about their cultural identity. Carolyn's caring quality would most certainly help guide them, not only in helping them survive their academic work, but later in life. Her self-assurance would surely rub off [on them]."]

T.L.: *What would you most like to be remembered for?*

C.A.: I don't know (laughs). I really don't have any idea. I haven't quit doing things just because I've retired. Making the basic concepts of network theory and its broad application more explicit needs to be done. I'm working on publishing things in that line. Now, too, I have a golden opportunity to be on the other side of the fence and let people, who are almost totally unaware of my professional status, know of some of the problems and their solutions that can be accomplished by an ordinary member of the community. I don't think about how I'll be remembered. I think about what I have to do next, and when I'm going to have time to do it (laughs).

T.L.: *Besides the professional activities you're still involved with, what more leisurely activities do you engage in during your day-to-day life?*

C.A.: I like folk songs and folk music. You know, I did dance at somebody's 80th birthday party last month. After all, if she, 80 years old, could dance the Hora, I certainly couldn't be left out. (Laughter) Folk music is my daughter Dorothy's music specialization. She gives workshops and concerts in that area, as well as teaching music theory courses at times for the Music Department at the University of Oregon. Her official position at the university, however, is as a reserve librarian.

And I enjoy, oh, just visiting with people, to know their stories and who they are and where they've been. My son Phillip lives in the area. He is an electrical engineer for the district inside and surrounding Seattle. I consult with him more frequently now as I learn to use the computer he set me up with.

Slowly I'm getting acquainted with young people again. I have been largely cut off from them [children] because my professional work these past 15 or 20 years has been at the adult level.

[*Interviewers' note:* As our interview was coming to a close, Carolyn sat back and looked out intently behind her house from the picture windows that line her breakfast nook.]

C.A.: One of the things I enjoy is the "natural history relationship" with plants and animals. That wild meadow down there—most people would tear their hair out because they would think that's no way to keep a backyard. But it's really fascinating to watch the ebb and flow, the rhythm of nature, really, that occurs.

I appreciate the church community, too. It's interesting to shed the responsibilities of teaching pastoral counseling and be just a layperson in the parish. Perhaps there will be more to do there, or maybe it's just a centering connection that will help keep a balance in life. One thing is certain: I won't just fade out of life, but retirement is a new context for me to explore.

[*Interviewers' note:* Carolyn is more than "just a layperson in the parish." Among the Hopi, women like Carolyn have been chosen as "keepers of the fire" in honor of their wisdom, sensitivity, and concern for the specialized aspects of religious ceremony. In her personal and spiritual life, as in the retribalization concepts she advanced, Carolyn continues to carefully "tend the fire," rendering and illuminating the dynamic unity essential in healing.]

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In Memory: Rene A. Ruiz

DAN ROMERO, SUSAN MILLER SILVA, and PATRICIA STEVENS ROMERO

> On December 13, 1982, a heart attack claimed the life of *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* Book Review Editor Rene A. Ruiz at the young age of 53. His death was unexpected as he was in good health. With his death, his friends have lost a witty and charming man of high ideals and moral integrity.
>
> (Padilla, 1983, p. 137)

This Life Line recognizes and honors the contributions of Rene A. Ruiz, or Art, as he preferred to be called, who forged recognition of Hispanic issues in the counseling profession. Curiously enough, many contemporary readers of the *Journal of Counseling and Development* may not recognize his name. His lack of recognition in the profession, despite a productive career, parallels the obscurity of many Hispanic counseling professionals who are largely invisible, with their cultural worldview ignored or misunderstood in the professional literature and their contributions to the profession only faintly perceived.

Yet Art Ruiz researched and wrote extensively on the inadequate delivery of mental health services to Hispanics and other ethnic groups. He also championed the need to consider cultural variables in counseling, promoted an understanding of the heterogeneity of ethnic groups, and was a role model for fellow Hispanics in the field as he pressed for their recognition.

The terms *Hispanic, Chicano, Latino, Mexican-American, and Spanish-surnamed* are used interchangeably in the text. The terms we use reflect Ruiz's own evolution of terminology and parallel that of society's in the 1970s. Originally, Ruiz used the term Spanish-surnamed as an identifier. He also used terms such as Chicano and Mexican-American to refer to the population that historically traced its heritage to Mexico. In the mid-seventies, he used the term Latino as a generic reference, and later in the decade, Hispanic, as it became popular. These last two labels reflect, in part, the heterogeneity of the population, since no single identifier is universally acceptable. Some of the most spirited debates involve which terms are appropriate to use, the historical, political, and personal meanings of the terms, and what subgroups might legitimately be included in the population.

This Life Line remembering Art Ruiz is divided into four sections. The first section discusses contributions made by Art to the fields of counseling and psychology. The second section, a historical review, briefly presents highlights of Art's life and career. The third section remembers Art through anecdotes that illustrate his personal style. The final section looks both to the past and the future, reviewing some of the critical issues he raised and examining implications for future directions for the profession.

PROFESSIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

A pioneer in a movement promoting cross-cultural counseling and Hispanic scholarship, Art Ruiz was a major contributor to counseling. He served as a catalyst for the profession to begin addressing the unique needs concerning Hispanics in counseling and psychology. He was a scholar, producing three books, fifteen book chapters, and more than thirty professional articles. He believed in collegiality and participated in more than twenty scientific and professional organizations. He was a role model for young professionals and instrumental in the development of Hispanic professional groups. He served as a review editor or as a member of the editorial board for five professional journals, including *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* from 1976–1978. He was active as a faculty member over the course of three decades.

Some two decades after Ruiz began his career, his contributions may be overlooked or may seem obvious because many no longer quarrel with the need to view counseling practices from a cultural perspective. At the forefront of cross-cultural psychology, Art Ruiz enhanced the profession's understanding of psychology for Hispanics by posing questions and challenging contemporary practices. Summarized below are contributions made by Ruiz during his career:

1. Ruiz initiated research to study Hispanic ethnic identity in counseling, particularly acculturation and assimilation issues.
2. He was one of the first to recognize cultural heterogeneity in counseling Hispanic clients.
3. He was one of the first to write about the barriers faced by Hispanics seeking mental health services.
4. He was a pioneer in identifying counseling issues facing elderly Hispanics.
5. He was an early advocate for improved testing and assessment procedures used with Hispanic clients.
6. He initiated data analysis procedures to document the underrepresentation of Hispanic professionals.
7. He was an early advocate for counselor training to address the unique counseling concerns of Hispanic clients.
8. He developed a professional network for Hispanic mental health providers.

Art Ruiz challenged the profession's awareness of counseling issues for Hispanics by identifying some of the cultural factors that influence the counseling process and documenting the magnitude and nature of mental health needs of Hispanics. He was one of the first to describe the role that ethnic history and culture play in influencing a client's worldview and behavior. And he conducted some of the earliest research in ethnic identity in Hispanic children. While acknowledging the shared characteristics of Hispanic culture, Ruiz was one of the first to identify heterogeneity as a key component in counseling.

> We maintain that Latinos may be thought of as members of a single cultural group in the sense they share historical similarities in language, values, and tradition. Second, we simultaneously maintain that this Latino culture group is highly heterogeneous, and that for some purposes, should be

> conceptualized as an aggregate of distinct subcultures, each possessing a recognizable pattern of unique traits. Third, we believe that information on ethnohistory and culture is important for non-Latino counselors who need to be able to differentiate between members of different Latino subcultures. (Ruiz & Padilla, 1977, p. 402)

Ruiz used the concepts of acculturation and assimilation to describe the complexity of heterogeneity among Hispanics. Acculturation was viewed as the process by which a group of people give up old ways and adopt new ones. He described assimilation as "the extent to which an individual enters a given culture and becomes a part of it" (Ruiz, 1981, p. 195). Assimilation is influenced by how motivated individuals are to enter the host culture and the extent to which members of the host culture welcome or prevent assimilation. Ruiz wrote:

> The relevance of these two concepts as used here is that a given Hispanic may be very acculturated in the sense that he or she is conversant with the Anglo culture in terms of English influence, costume, diet, and tradition. Some very acculturated Hispanics, however, may simultaneously vary widely with respect to the degree of assimilation. Some may prefer and feel themselves a part of Anglo culture; others may reject it, and still others may retain a bicultural identification. (p. 195)

Ruiz was one of the first practitioners to describe the barriers faced by Hispanics in obtaining mental health services. He documented the extent that Hispanics were underserved in counseling, and he identified linguistic, cultural, and class barriers as well as inadequate outreach activities and inappropriate location of mental health catchment areas to serve Hispanics.

He was particularly interested in the practical outcomes of counseling that would influence adjustment and growth for Hispanic populations and recommended ways to increase self-referrals and enhance treatment. He lobbied for closer collaboration between Chicano scientists and Chicano practitioners in service agencies (Ruiz, 1977). The Hispanic elderly were of particular concern to Ruiz. He was among the first to articulate the mental health issues facing elderly Hispanics and to outline strategies for practitioners who provide services to them (Ruiz & Miranda, 1981).

Throughout his career Ruiz believed strongly in the importance of research in counseling Hispanics. He advocated for more specific constructs and valid measures of acculturation and assimilation and was an early critic of testing and assessment procedures used with Hispanic clients. He emphasized translation of tests into Spanish and called for more research on the appropriateness of testing for culturally and linguistically unique populations. Yet he was concerned that shallow research could perpetuate stereotyping. Even well-meaning research, he warned, could contain "a certain degree of misinformation concerning the 'true nature' of the Latino character" (Ruiz & Padilla, 1977, p. 403). He believed that without carefully validated research, it would be easy to perpetuate or create myths about counseling Hispanics. For example, to examine the myth of the "macho" male, he reviewed research related to egalitarianism within Hispanic couples and concluded that, when socioeconomic and educational levels were controlled, no significant differences were found. Thus he challenged the stereotype that Hispanic men are macho (Cromwell & Ruiz, 1980).

Prior to 1970, no data regarding the number of Hispanics employed in counseling professions were available. Using a data analysis procedure, Ruiz was the first to document the inadequate number of Hispanic psychologists. Feeling isolated within the profession, he analyzed membership patterns within the American Psychological Association (Ruiz, 1971). Of the more than 28,000 names on the membership list, he concluded that only 65, far less than 1% of the membership, were actually Hispanic. Deeply concerned about the small numbers, he held the profession accountable in part and argued cogently that professions and disciplines that require extended education have stifled Hispanic representation within their ranks.

". . . he analyzed membership patterns within the American Psychological Association . . . he concluded that only 65, far less than 1% of the membership, were actually Hispanic. Deeply concerned about the small numbers, he held the profession accountable . . ."

He was an early proponent of appropriate training for counselors and psychologists who deliver services to increasingly heterogeneous Hispanic populations. Arguing for greater efforts to increase the number of Hispanics in training programs, he predicted that the serious underrepresentation of Latino practitioners would continue and advocated a short-term solution: ". . . teach Spanish and Latino culture to non-Latino counselors, and teach counseling skills to Latinos at the paraprofessional level" (Ruiz & Padilla, 1977, p. 408).

The networks he established contributed significantly to the professional growth of Hispanics in mental health associations. Ruiz became interested in networking when he began to document the severe underrepresentation of Hispanics with advanced degrees in the mental health field. At first he corresponded with the few Spanish-surnamed psychologists he could identify. He had concluded by this time, however, that a surname was not the best identifier of ethnic or cultural background and sought more precise means to identify others of Spanish origin.

He worked tirelessly to organize symposia and conferences that brought Hispanic psychologists together to discuss mental health services for Hispanics and the status of Hispanics in the profession. For example, one colleague noted that Art worked for nearly two years to secure seed money for a national conference of Hispanics in Southern California that led to the creation of the National Hispanic Psychological Association. His collaboration with other ethnic psychologists helped document the critical need for, and led to, the establishment of the APA Board of Ethnic Minority Affairs and Division 45, the Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues.

Ruiz deeply influenced the profession's understanding of psychological theory as applied to Hispanics and the potential for advancement of Hispanics within the mental health profession. His contributions ultimately live past his death and are seen in the work continued by many of his graduate students and colleagues.

HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS LIFE AND CAREER

Art was born in Los Angeles on May 3, 1929, and grew up in Southern California. His close friend Amado Padilla recalls how Art liked to say that his mother was a redhead from Hermosillo, Mexico, and his father a *manito* from Las Cruces, New Mexico. Art's father, born of German and Spanish/Mexican roots, may have been one of the earliest, if not the first, electrical engineer of Hispanic origin to graduate from New Mexico State University. This accomplishment, as well as the fact that Art's father held a steady job throughout the Depression, was a source of family pride.

La familia, the family, was prominent in Art's life. As for many Hispanics, la familia was not the nuclear family but included *los tios* and *las tias*, the uncles and aunts. In these early years Art developed a strong, lasting relationship with many members of his extended family. Art described the importance of the familial relationship and emphasized the cultural elements of celebration in a book chapter (Ruiz, 1980) in which he recounted the experience of attending his aunt and uncle's fiftieth wedding anniversary.

While growing up in Los Angeles, the primary language of the household was English, although both parents were bilingual in Spanish and English. The Spanish learned at home became a mixture of Spanish and English, or *Spanglish*. Colleagues recall that Art was fascinated by those around him who could "code switch" between languages without pausing. Bilingualism was a skill he aspired to master throughout his life.

Art attended high school at an all men's Catholic school in Los Angeles, lettering in wrestling. He graduated at 17 and joined the Army, serving time in Alaska until his discharge as a sergeant. Art returned home to attend Los Angeles City College and later graduated with a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of Southern California.

Art had a lifelong love of reading and writing. In fact, his sister's earliest recollection of Art is of him holding books. And Art's parents encouraged him to enroll in college, hoping he would study medicine. They felt strongly that their children should be well educated both as a matter of family pride and for the economic opportunity education offered. In later years Art became a family symbol, championing education for his children and the younger members of the extended family.

Art entered graduate school in clinical psychology in California, later transferring to the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, where he graduated with a Ph.D. in clinical psychology in 1963. The first stage of his career was as an academician, beginning as an instructor and later as assistant professor in the department of psychiatry at the University of Kansas Medical School.

During this time Art married Gloria Glasgow, and they became the parents of three daughters—Julie, Jana, and Jennifer. In Kansas City, Art administered the adult services program and was director of training in clinical psychology at the medical center. His academic career progressed in the mainstream of a traditional medical school.

He began to write professionally: a study of infant feeding and personality (Davis & Ruiz, 1965); factors influencing performance on nursing licensure examinations (Ruiz, Thurston, & Poshek, 1967); and models for group psychotherapy (Ruiz & Burgess, 1968). In addition, he co-authored a text on normal personality development (Wrenn & Ruiz, 1970).

He also developed a private clinical practice as a licensed psychologist. According to his family, Art was proud to provide free or low-cost services to Spanish-surnamed clients unable to pay full cost for psychological services. One daughter described many family conversations about the special bond he felt he had with underserved ethnic groups. He believed that he understood "where they were coming from," and he strove to meet unmet counseling needs.

Art savored the connections with his extended family and never forgot that his roots were in the Southwest. He kept close contact with la familia through extensive family visits to California and New Mexico. In 1967 Art returned to the Southwest as an associate professor of psychology at the University of Arizona in Tucson and remained there for three years.

In 1970 Art was appointed professor of psychology and director of clinical training at the University of Missouri, Kansas City. This era in his life marked the start of what could be described as his "Hispanic identity years." It was at this time that Art started his work documenting the number of Hispanics in professional associations. His intense involvement in these issues was expressed in his response to a request for more detailed information. He wrote: "It is tragic that society in general, and the Association in particular, has failed to attract a significant number of Mexican-Americans to the study of psychology" (Ruiz, personal communication, December 10, 1971).

At that time there was no network among Spanish-surnamed counselors and psychologists. There were few, perhaps less than a dozen, Mexican-American psychologists who had obtained the doctoral degree, with virtually no contact between them. A story related by a colleague demonstrates the lack of contact. Art wrote a letter to a fellow Spanish-surnamed psychologist praising and discussing his work in the area of acculturation. Acutely aware of the scarcity of Mexican-American psychologists, the author was so surprised to hear from another Mexican-American psychologist that he quickly consulted the APA Directory to confirm that Ruiz was truly an association member.

Ruiz began to identify and correspond with a small but dedicated network of Mexican-American professionals, taking a leadership role. In 1971 he was instrumental in the creation of the Association of Psychologists for La Raza, an early Chicano psychological association. During the early 1970s he was active organizing and presenting programs at numerous professional conventions on Chicano issues. He also worked to secure federal funding for research, conferences, and symposia that examined the Hispanic experience.

Ruiz realized that virtually none of the Latino psychologists interested in ethnicity and cultural issues had received formal graduate training in these subjects. Prior to 1970, cross-cultural counseling expertise and an understanding of cultural issues in research were not a visible part of traditional curricula. Art developed a sorely needed review of literature on Latino mental health that was the first monograph on the subject (Padilla & Ruiz, 1973). According to one of his close colleagues, this project meant a great deal to Art. He frequently remarked that the self-tutorial required to develop the monograph was a personal education in Latino mental health not available in his formal graduate training or in his establishment years in Kansas. He vowed that university students and practitioners would not be deprived of the knowledge of diversity, and he worked hard for inclusion of the Latino experience in academic programs and in professional development training.

During the 1970s Art averaged more than six articles, presentations, or invited addresses annually. Much of his writing moved beyond the primary need to identify the Latino in society and the profession using demographic information. Articles focused on counseling and therapy (Ruiz & Padilla, 1977; Ruiz, Padilla, & Alvarez, 1978); delivery of mental health services to Hispanics (Padilla, Ruiz, & Alvarez, 1975; Ruiz, 1977); and theory building and empirical research studies (Brand, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Rice, Ruiz, & Padilla, 1974; Padilla & Ruiz, 1975; LeVine & Ruiz, 1977; Kent & Ruiz, 1979).

> *"He vowed that university students and practitioners would not be deprived of the knowledge of diversity . . ."*

From 1977–1979 Art often worked in Los Angeles as a visiting research psychologist and scholar with the Spanish Speaking Mental Health Research Center, an informational clearinghouse and research center founded to examine the mental health needs of Hispanics. His work in Southern California also provided him with the opportunity to visit his parents and other family members living there.

These identity years may have been a time of personal reevaluation for Art. It certainly was a period of major life changes. In the early 1970s Art divorced, and toward the end of the decade, both his parent died.

In 1980 Art was named professor and director of counseling and educational psychology at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces. Thus, he returned to the city of his father's birth. According to a colleague, the department was looking for a chair who would exert national leadership and visibility in the study of ethnic issues in counseling and psychology. To this end, Art encouraged ethnic faculty to become more involved in the profession as researchers, reviewers, and editors. He encouraged his graduate students to complete and submit articles and book reviews to journals. He also published book chapters on counseling Hispanics (Ruiz, 1981; Ruiz & Casas, 1981) and outlined mental health issues among the Hispanic elderly (Miranda & Ruiz, 1981).

Art remarried in July 1981. He shared with his wife Ruth Thomas his plans to complete his career at New Mexico State University. He hoped to retire at the end of the decade but planned to continue his clinical practice, write books, consult, and cultivate his rose garden. These plans, sadly, were ended with his unexpected death in 1982.

ART RUIZ: A PERSONAL GLIMPSE

To gain a full sense of Art Ruiz as a person, one must look beyond lists of accomplishments and publications. Interviews with his colleagues, friends, and family helped to bring into focus the person in the professional. All with whom we talked were eager to participate in this project and were generous with their time and memories. We are especially grateful for their heartfelt reflections, realizing it can be painful to look back at a life that ended so abruptly.

An avid amateur photographer, Art staged an intriguing self-portrait that we think reflects his struggle to come into his own professionally. It is a double exposure, with one faint image of Art Ruiz watching a second Art. The second figure, clearer but not fully developed, poses in a doorway, smiling and confident. The intent of this section of the text is to bring the personal side of Art Ruiz into sharper focus.

It is a testament to Art that so many people seem to brighten when speaking of him. We heard the same warm praises in conversation after conversation. Nearly everyone mentioned Art's sense of humor. He is remembered as someone who was always fun to be around. Friends and colleagues recalled how he used humor to help others feel comfortable. His humor had the effect of disarming people and often helped to smooth out difficult relationships between individuals. "His wit and charm were especially needed during the turbulent period between the late 60s and mid-70s," one colleague noted.

He was a man of eclectic interests. An avid film buff, Art loved to watch and discuss films and to play trivia games that tested his knowledge of them. He also appreciated books and art and started his own collection of Mexican art in the 1970s when he was living in Los Angeles. In the later years of his life, he refined his interests in photography.

One friend describes Art as "a connoisseur of good things," and that definitely included good food. Art enjoyed dining in fine restaurants and reveled in his ability to identify spices and herbs and speak with authority about how the meal had been prepared. During the Las Cruces years he developed into a gourmet cook. "When Art cooked, he was into spectacles," his wife Ruth Thomas recalled. Art's photographs of turkeys, stuffed fish, and other dishes reveal his obvious pride in his culinary creations. He liked to entertain and to prepare elaborate meals for guests. Once, for a dinner with the Dean and his wife, Art planned to make croissants. He was a perfectionist, and the process took longer than anticipated. The croissants were delicious, Ruth recalled, when they were finally done—long after the dinner was over. Everyone laughed, and the croissants became dessert.

Many found him fascinating and a real charmer. Ruth recalled that when she first met Art he seemed to be "holding court." He always had intricate *cuentos* or stories to tell.

Art is also remembered by many as being politically astute. Early in his career, for example, he consciously chose to work at a medical center to be more marketable, according to one close associate. And, when he knew he wanted to move on in academia, he set himself the task of writing six articles and a book in one year. "He knew what was expected in the academic system," one friend commented. Years later at Las Cruces, recognizing the value of solidifying academic and student service administrative relationships, he approached the vice-president for student affairs, offering him an opportunity to teach courses in the department. The collaboration Art initiated continues today.

He continually challenged both students and colleagues to make professional contributions. He encouraged many to write articles and reviews. More than twenty of his doctoral students published at least one book review under his guidance. Juan Franco recalls that Art's encouragement convinced him to apply for a position on the *Journal of Counseling and Development* Board of Editors. One former graduate student, Elaine LeVine, recalls that Art seemed to know every project his students were working on and enjoyed finding and sharing relevant research to help them refine their work. He enjoyed teaching as a form of social contact and held classes spellbound as he "magically" integrated the applied side of clinical work with the theoretical. Most importantly, Art gave students his time and attention. He was likely to respond to a student's paper with pages of notes, including thought-provoking questions and encouragement for further work.

Juan Franco recalled that Art constantly sought unique solutions to common problems. A simple exchange of curriculum vitae, suggested by Art, helped the faculty in the departments of counseling and psychology at New Mexico State University see that they had much more in common than they previously assumed. The exercise opened a window for improved communication.

Art was the prototype of a cultural broker because his personal style allowed him to travel in many different circles and be accepted in different worlds. He could be as comfortable at a sophisticated dinner party as he could be working with clients at an alcoholic treatment center. Perhaps the key is that he was an extremely social animal, as Amado Padilla points out. He took

"Art was the prototype of a cultural broker because his personal style allowed him to travel in many different circles and be accepted in different worlds."

great pride in bringing people together, acting as an advisor to some, a mentor to others, a senior statesman to still others, and a friend to all.

CONTRIBUTIONS IN RETROSPECT

Because examining the needs of Hispanics as professionals and clients in counseling is a relatively new phenomenon, an understanding of the trailblazing efforts of Art Ruiz must include an examination of the current status of those issues with which he was concerned.

Ruiz accurately predicted the difficulty of Hispanics reaching parity in professional memberships with respect to their representation in the general public. A look at most professional groups today would reveal that the underrepresentation of Hispanics in professional associations that he identified continues. For example, the American Association for Counseling and Development (AACD) reported approximately 57,000 members in Spring 1988, with less than 800 identifying themselves as Hispanic. This represents approximately 1.4% of the association membership. In contrast, Hispanics have been identified as the fastest-growing ethnic minority population in the United States and are conservatively estimated to represent 7% of the U.S. population. If we look carefully at membership patterns, it is disappointing to note that no AACD division has more than 150 Hispanic members (Schieb, personal communication, April 8, 1988). And, of the more than 250 committee representatives identified in the *Journal of Counseling and Development* in February 1987, less than five have Spanish surnames (American Association for Counseling and Development, 1987).

A hypothetical example is striking. Suppose AACD set a goal of reaching parity in the number of Hispanic members by the year 2000. Assuming the Hispanic population represents 10% of the U.S. population in the year 2000 and conservatively allows for an annual 2% growth rate in AACD membership, to reach parity, approximately four of every ten members accepted by the association in the next 12 years would have to be Hispanic. Given that Hispanic mental health workers are more likely to be paraprofessionals and less likely to affiliate with national organizations, the association would be hard pressed to meet such a goal. We believe Ruiz would challenge the association leadership to determine and publish action plans for increasing Hispanic membership, despite growing attacks on affirmative action.

As we prepare to enter the 1990s, we believe Ruiz would be pleased by the increased attention to research in counseling Hispanics. He might be concerned, however, that current approaches to counseling Hispanics potentially could perpetuate stereotyping and generalization and lead to cookbook techniques as an easy solution to a complex problem. As a practitioner, he would probably be interested in the application of research to the delivery of counseling services to Hispanic populations. Unfortunately, as one colleague put it, he might be disappointed that incorporation of cultural expertise in the training and supervision of counselors and practitioners has been slow and that counselors providing services for Hispanics have not fully integrated the knowledge and skills necessary to effectively and credibly counsel Hispanic clients. If Art Ruiz were to comment on the status of Hispanics within the counseling profession, he would find his work unfinished and incomplete, surmised a close colleague.

Reflecting on the meager number of Hispanics obtaining advanced degrees in counselor training programs, he might contrast these with the growing number of Hispanic paraprofessionals who provide counseling services. The Third World Counselor Association in California, for example, draws up to 500 members to annual meetings. Yet few members belong to traditional professional associations. Many Hispanic paraprofessional health care providers may lack advanced degrees or may lack knowledge about professional associations. Many are skeptical that the information and networks gained from membership would assist them in providing services to Hispanic clients. Ruiz might argue that a dualistic mental health provider system of nonethnic professionals and ethnic paraprofessionals will continue to develop until graduate programs successfully attract and matriculate ethnic mental health care providers. Interaction between these groups may be limited because of a lack of credibility between them. He would, in all probability, attempt to develop a dialogue between these diverse groups.

EPILOGUE

When we looked at the many photographs of Art provided by his family and friends, we saw that he often wore a hat, and we were reminded of Chicano relatives and friends who wear hats in their daily lives. We attached both a conscious and subconscious meaning to the importance of hats to Chicano males. When we asked whether the prominent hat was a cultural expression, a close colleague quickly set us straight: "He wore a hat because he was balding." We were quickly reminded about the ease with which we all may stereotype, based on our perceptions and worldview. Clearly Art Ruiz showed us that Hispanic counselors cannot be stereotyped.

In his closing tribute to Art Ruiz, Amado Padilla described his unique impact on the profession:

> He worked to unite people of different colors, from different parts of the world, and who spoke different languages. He was certain in his commitment to the underserved and sought to communicate this commitment to others regardless of their color of skin, ethnicity, or language. His humanism was his contribution to his students and colleagues. (Padilla, 1983, p. 140)

"His humanism was his contribution to his students and colleagues."

At memorial services for Art Ruiz in Las Cruces, New Mexico, Amado Padilla ended his eulogy with:

> Our friend has passed on. He would not want us to mourn [,] rather he would want us to laugh with him about how he touched our lives in some small way. *Aqui en la tierra de su padre te digo adios amigo mio.* (Here in the land of your father, I say goodbye my friend.) (Padilla, personal communication, February 21, 1988)

A memorial fund for Hispanic students has been established in the name of Art Ruiz at New Mexico State University to provide financial assistance for the next generation of Hispanic counselors and psychologists.

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PART VI

Early Administrators

Pioneer Administrators: Leadership Through Action

MARY J. HEPPNER and P. PAUL HEPPNER

The men and women that make up this entire book were influential in building and shaping the profession of counseling; perhaps nowhere is it more tangibly evident than in the life stories of those who served in administrative roles. The range of their administrative projects is broad in scope and impressively large in magnitude: finding support for new buildings, founding professional organizations, setting standards for training and practice, developing ethical guidelines, and working with legislators to fund training institutes. The adage "leadership is action—not position" is certainly exemplified in the articles that follow. It is clear that these administrators had an abundance of energy and enthusiasm for the profession that pushed them to action—a drive that caused many of them to work 60 and 70 hours a week, to build and create, to make things happen. It is also clear that the early administrative pioneers in this section, as well as others in other sections, had a powerful impact on the profession, which underscores the influence of their professional roles.

The men in this section worked in different arenas of influence: Bedell establishing training standards through the NDEA institutes, Shaffer helping to found APGA and serve as first president, Stripling setting standards for counselor education programs, Darley helping to shape the Minnesota "point of view," and in turn Callis and Magoon spreading the Minnesota perspective in the development of counseling centers and counselor training programs at Missouri and Maryland. Although their spheres of influence differed, a number of similarities are evident in their careers. By way of introduction we will identify four common themes to highlight some of the beliefs and characteristics that composed the fabric of these early pioneers in counseling and development. First and foremost is their vision for what the profession could be and their overwhelming excitement and devotion to the tasks of making that vision a reality. Second, there is an altruistic sense of working for the good of colleagues, students, and the profession that seems central to their professional identity and sense of mission. Third, these are all men who lived their beliefs and did not shy away from difficult professional issues. And finally these are pioneers who understood the importance of the scientist-practitioner model and the utility of combining research and practice.

> *We were going to make Counseling Psychology the greatest thing that ever happened.* (John Darley)

Embedded in the six articles that follow is a sense of excitement. These were men who not only had a vision for what the profession should be, but had a tremendous excitement and sometimes overwhelming devotion for making it happen. Darley, in helping to build the Minnesota program in the 30s and 40s, commented, "It was a terribly exciting period. We worked our tails off. We would work 50, 60, 70 hours a week; we expected to do that" (Heppner & Ness, 1985, p. 229). Shaffer, while building APGA, commented, "I spent many Saturdays and Sundays typing our agendas, committee reports, committee assignments, and mailing labels because we didn't have much clerical help" (Kuh & Coomes, 1986, p. 617). But even with these long hours and sometimes menial tasks one gets a sense that these men's vision of the field warranted this kind of time and energy. These pioneer administrators seemed to be high achievers, devoted to the task. Rather than viewing this work as overload, they seemed to view it as life-enhancing. Magoon put it well when he said, "Work does not have negative connotations as something to be started late and ended early. It is invigorating and not depleting" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 8). The men in this section made things happen and continually were looking for better ways and innovative technologies for this new profession. This perspective seems to have kept them thriving throughout their lives. As Magoon noted, "Innovation involves renewal and is the antithesis of burnout" (O'Neil & McCann, p. 15).

> *If you start out with the premise that tomorrow ought to be better than today, then you work to contribute some way to make it better.* (Tom Magoon)

A second common theme in the six interviews that follow is a deep and abiding mission to work for the good of others, be that students, colleagues, or the profession as a whole. In reviewing the testimonials from students and colleagues about these early pioneers, it is evident that an altruistic mission is woven through the life stories of these men. For example, referring to service to students, Kris Ludenia said of Bob Callis: "He took our individual talents, taught discipline, and challenged each of us to develop uniquely" (cited in Greer, 1990, p. 392). In service to colleagues, Shaffer said: ". . . my most significant contribution was helping colleagues advance in the field professionally and develop personally, encouraging them when they were down, or encouraging them to find something personally meaningful in the field" (Kuh & Coomes, 1986, p. 618). And regarding service to the profession, Magoon said: ". . . being a professional means paying your dues through service to your profession, and given an opportunity to serve, you should do your damndest" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 9). Helping others achieve their goals, forging the way for students and the younger members of the profession, and being mentors played a major role in the character of these pioneers, and this has had a lasting effect on the profession.

> *My security or sense of well being has come from trying to do the right thing and knowing I've tried rather than ducking the issue.* (Robert Shaffer)

Another theme in the following articles is that these administrators held strong beliefs and were willing to act on those beliefs. They were willing to take strong stands at times when that was important to the field. Darley exemplified this perfectly as he discussed the development of Division 17 of APA as a separate division from Clinical Psychology within the American Psychological Association. "We had to stand on our own feet; there had to be a Division of Counseling Psychology" (Heppner & Ness, 1985, p. 230). Moreover, these pioneers seemed to be able to manage the many sensitive administrative issues and maintain a sense of personal integrity; they were often perceived to be honest and forthright. For example, "I have never known anyone who was a better administrator than Jack Darley. For one thing, he never lied. Not once" (Heppner & Ness, 1985, p. 228). Others remarked on the congruity between belief and action: "I do think Bob (Stripling) has tended to live what he believes" (Haight, 1988, p. 318). Even though these actions were not at times the popular choice, "I have enjoyed the challenge of trying to accomplish certain things in my life even though not all my friends and colleagues were unanimous in their opinions about whether or not they should be accomplished" (Haight, p. 324). Although these were all men of power in their own spheres of influence, they also seemed to be men who used their power constructively with vision and caring. In the words of Bedell, "Some people believe that power destroys. My opinion is that power used morally is enhancing and can improve the common good" (Bourne, 1988, p. 142).

> *If your research doesn't result in practice your research is not good, and if your practice is not based on research, your practice is not good.* (Ralph Bedell)

From the early empiricism of Minnesota to the need for accountability, evaluation, and professional accreditation standards, the early administrators demonstrated the importance of both research and practice. Darley established a significant training and research program at the Student Counseling Bureau at Minnesota. Magoon, while directing a service-oriented counseling center, maintained an emphasis on data gathering as he developed the National Counseling Center Data Base. Those like Stripling who were concerned with the development of accreditation guidelines for the profession also argued for more thorough data collection on which to base accreditation decisions. Likewise, Shaffer, in the arena of student affairs administration, argued for the need to evaluate programs in an age of accountability: "I'm convinced that student affairs professionals have made a difference, but we have not established criteria against which our achievements can be measured. We have taught evaluation for years, now we ought to apply it" (Kuh & Coomes, 1986, p. 621). In short, the early pioneer administrators were pacesetters, innovators, and in the vanguard of the profession. We can attribute much of where we are today to their early wisdom and leadership. Despite some personal and professional hazards involved with administrative positions, many of our pioneers served well in these influential and powerful roles.

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Making Ideas Work: Ralph Bedell and the NDEA Institutes

BONNIE BOURNE

Ralph Bedell and I had been good friends for years. Now I had a chance to interview a man whom I had known as a friend, mentor, and international scholar. I remember when I first met Ralph. My husband and I were preparing to go to Thailand—our first experience of living and working in another country. Ralph was consistently encouraging and positive, and he offered his international expertise. Later, he and his wife, Myra, came to Thailand, where the four of us lived and worked together in our little Thai house for 2 months. That experience either makes best friends or worst enemies of people. We are best friends.

The 6-hour interview was conducted in 3 sessions. During the interview Ralph covered many topics, weaving past and present and interjecting bits of his philosophy on each topic. Talking with Ralph, I felt as though I were experiencing one of the most significant periods in the history of guidance and counseling.

From 1958 to 1966, Ralph Bedell directed a federally funded national program of institutes that greatly improved the quality of training offered to secondary school counselors and teachers preparing to be counselors. Through his direction of the institutes, Ralph was responsible for marked innovations in training, such as an introduction of practica, that are still in current practice. The institutes were created in post-Sputnik 1958 with the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which authorized the funding of approximately $6.75 million annually to support the expansion and general improvement of the guidance services operating nationally at that time. The U.S. Congress granted funding on the condition that the institutes would be located at state universities but would be operated separately from academic programs and would focus on training, not research. For maximum effectiveness, the institutes' programs varied in length. Long-term institutes lasted an entire academic year and were targeted at students preparing to be professional guidance counselors. Short-term institutes were designed to supplement the knowledge of teachers who were already working as guidance counselors but who had no previous training in counseling. These programs were called institutes to designate federal support for special instructional programs with a specific purpose to be taught at selected institutions with unique faculty for certain qualified students.

The purpose of this interview is to document information about the influence of the National Defense Counseling and Guidance Institutes on the history of counseling through the perceptions of Ralph Bedell, a key person of that era. Another goal is to gain a clearer sense of the person who guided the program, Ralph Bedell.

An octogenarian, Bedell pursues many interests. He is active in professional organizations. He writes and consults. He gives a considerable amount of time to his college fraternity, Sigma Tau Gamma. He coaches and counsels the Thai graduate students at the University of Missouri; he uses the telephone to keep in contact with his many friends and colleagues across the country. He and Myra entertain frequently in their home. They travel extensively for business and pleasure. Their recent travels include trips to England and Scotland. They have just returned from their third trip to Thailand to further help the Prince of Songkla University with the Teacher Education project.

The Bedell home is filled with mementos of their many trips throughout the world. They have a talent for picking unusual items that uniquely reflect certain cultures. Ralph has many interesting collections, including his Captain Cook artifacts, his ivory elephant collection, and his cannibal forks. His collections from his years in the South Pacific stimulate many interesting and colorful stories about his experiences. It is indeed a pleasure to spend an evening with the Bedells.

A typical evening with Ralph and Myra starts with one of Ralph's finest dry martinis or another drink of choice. Ralph is quick to share his secret for good martinis. He keeps a pitcher full in his freezer. According to Ralph, a good martini is one that does not freeze in the freezer.

The entire evening with Ralph and Myra is filled with interesting conversation, laughter, good food and drink, and often classical music from Ralph's excellent collection. The Bedells are good company. They are vivacious, colorful, and fun to be with. They obviously love the finest things in life and they love sharing with their many friends.

Bedell was raised an only child in a small town in northern Missouri. Hale, Missouri, was the kind of town where people knew each other well. He remembers spending many of his childhood hours in the pharmacy where his father and uncle worked. The pharmacy was a central meeting place. Most good things and few bad things went through there, according to Ralph. He watched his father and uncle deal with complex people problems in a way that would keep the store going and also leave the dignity of individuals intact. He remembers his father saying, "Ralph, don't embarrass the customer. Don't ever argue. There's a way to do things and still leave dignity." Ralph believes this to be a very important principle in working with people and has practiced what he learned behind the counter of the drugstore throughout his career.

Ralph attributes his political savvy to his father. He remembers being out in a horse and buggy with his Republican father, beating the bushes and distributing political posters for Republican candidates. He further developed his political abilities when he was an undergraduate at Central Missouri State

Teachers College, where he successfully led other members of his fraternity in political activities.

Early in life, he developed a love for science and especially physics. His scientific investigation skills have served him well in solving problems and making decisions throughout his career. He has had a rich and extremely varied career. He was the 16th person to receive a PhD degree with a major in education from the University of Missouri (1932). He co-authored a well-known general science textbook (Bedell & Watkins, 1932). He was secretary general for the South Pacific Commission between 1955 and 1957. He was creator and chief negotiator for the joint teacher education project between Prince of Songkla University in Thailand and University of Missouri.

Ralph is a life fellow of the Explorers Club of New York City. The Explorers Club, founded by Admiral Peary when he came back from the North Pole, admits people who do unique bits of exploration. Ralph was admitted after he made an educational study of Suriname in 1953. The State Department asked him to do the study because Suriname is one of the richest sources of bauxite in the world, and the State Department was concerned about the lack of stability in the Bush Tribes. The study was the basis for Ralph's admittance to this prestigious club as a fellow.

Because of his wide variety of talents, it is no surprise that Bedell has had such an impressive and diverse career background. He has a reputation for getting jobs done and doing them well, regardless of how difficult they may seem. He knows how to take the big picture and implement it. He is skillful at taking research and integrating it into practice. He is a diplomat. He knows how to identify where power is and to work with that power to accomplish goals. He is a master of human resource development. He has an uncanny ability to assess where people are and to start at that point with them. He knows how to delegate, and he is not afraid to tackle new jobs and new ways of doing them. He knows how to take risks. He is a skilled program administrator. He is a master at networking. He is good at filtering the important from the unimportant and prioritizing accordingly. Finally, he is extremely positive. I have never been around Ralph when he was not exuberant. His wife, Myra, points to his kindness as his most endearing characteristic. She says that she has never know him to say or do anything that was not kind. Ralph loves people and enjoys working with them.

Throughout his career, Bedell has been recognized for his many professional contributions. He received the Award for Outstanding Contributions to the profession in 1967 and 1984 from the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision; the Citation of Merit for Outstanding Achievement from the University of Missouri Alumni Association, 1979; and the Award for Assisting in Developing Teacher Education for Southern Thailand, 1986, from the Prince of Songkla University, Pattani, Thailand. He was given the Distinguished Alumnus Award from Central Missouri State University, 1973. He received a special award for contributions to counseling from the Missouri Guidance Association in 1970 and the Distinguished Achievement Award from Sigma Tau Gamma, where he has used his skills to further the development of young men.

PREPARATION FOR DIRECTING THE INSTITUTES

***B.B.:** Ralph, what experiences prepared you for directing the institutes?*

R.B.: Well, my first experience was at Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville, Missouri, where in 1934 I established what I believed to be the first counseling center in any teachers college in the United States. I gained a lot of insight from that.

***B.B.:** And you went to the University of Nebraska from there?*

R.B.: I went to Nebraska as a professor in educational psychology in 1937–38 and left there in 1950, but as you know, I took 4 years out to become a naval officer in World War II.

***B.B.:** What did you learn from your time in the navy?*

R.B.: I was much interested in aviation, and at Nebraska, I, with two other people, supervised the writing of what I believed to be the first high school textbooks in aeronautics (Bedell, Sorenson, & Wise, 1942). My undergraduate major in physics and mathematics made aeronautics come easily to me. So, with the navy, I worked on developing an organized program that would produce competent aviators. The next assignment I had there was to be put in charge of textbooks. There were no textbooks, so I was put in charge of planning the books, setting them in relationship to the program, and getting them written, illustrated, and published.

***B.B.:** How did this prepare you for directing the institutes?*

R.B.: This may seem far removed from NDEA Institutes, but I learned how to get things written, how to get accepted, and how to move through the bureaucracy to handle money. Money was easy to get in the navy, but you had to account for it. I had to make judgments about how to use my resources, who to talk to, how to put it together, and know somehow in my own mind when I had what I was looking for.

***B.B.:** That's what you did at NDEA.*

R.B.: Yes, and it was good preparation. In 1955 I was in the U.S. Office of Education. I had gone there via the American University in Washington, where I was in charge of graduate work in education and psychology, and the commissioner of education had asked me to come in to do some special work in connection with Harry Truman's Point Four Program.

***B.B.:** What was the Point Four Program?*

R.B.: The Point Four Program was described for the first time in the fourth point of the second inaugural address by Harry Truman. In his fourth point, Truman proposed to put his country into the position of providing aid for countries that needed further development. This was different from the Marshall Plan, which provided aid to countries that were recently defeated.

***B.B.:** And what did you learn from working in the Point Four Program?*

R.B.: Well, I learned for the first time what it is to work with a person who is trained in a different culture. And the outcome of this was that the South Pacific Commission asked me to become secretary general and be the administrative head of that organization. Now here I learned something else. I learned to give people a problem they could understand, and we went to work on it. I also learned to break the problem down into manageable pieces. This was another skill I used in the NDEA Institute program. And I'll always remember one thing. I learned this very early in the game and I learned it from Frank Wellman, long before he ever came to his present position. He was a graduate student of mine and, in our seminar at the University of Nebraska, he made a remark that has stayed with me forever. He said, "Bedell, remember that no matter who you talk to, that person is doing the best he can with what he has." This gave me a whole attitude toward approaching situations and people. It helped me to sit down with people and say, "Now let's examine why you are doing what you

> *"Bedell, remember that no matter who you talk to, that person is doing the best he can with what he has."*

are doing, and how you might be able to do it differently." This approach is fundamental to counseling.

B.B.: *Ralph, can you share some of your philosophy and the keys to your success?*

R.B.: If you are going to get things done, you have to learn to work with politicians. You have to learn how to compromise. The second thing I would mention is the importance of doing research that results in practice. Ever since I studied psychology with Max Meyer at the University of Missouri, I have believed that if your research doesn't result in practice, your research is not good, and if your practice is not based on research, your practice is not good. That's a good philosophy and I've tried to practice it. I owe very heavily to my graduate education at the University of Missouri, to Max Meyer and also to Walter Saupe, T. W. H. Irion, Charles Germane, and E. G. Williamson at the University of Minnesota.

NDEA INSTITUTES

To gather other perceptions of the NDEA Institutes program and Ralph's leadership, I asked Frank Wellman and Robert (Bob) Callis for some comments. A research specialist in Washington at the time, Frank Wellman had written the first draft of the Education Act, which was later to become the guidance and counseling part of the National Defense Education Act. He worked closely with Ralph. Bob Callis had served as director of several institutes at the University of Missouri and as consultant to the program.

> *". . . if your research doesn't result in practice, your research is not good, and if your practice is not based on research, your practice is not good."*

About the program, Bob Callis said:

> NDEA Institutes set a model for counseling and guidance that has not been exceeded since. They helped to standardize the counselor training programs. A great transition occurred in counseling and guidance as a result of the institutes. The institutes themselves required a high level of intensity and emotion. The best professors were needed for them. Not all professors could function in this kind of situation. They also established supervised practicums in the programs. It was really a revolution in counseling.

Of Ralph Bedell, Wellman said:

> He was very politically astute . . . very diplomatic. He worked to stimulate people. His political astuteness and flexibility in the interpretation of the intent of the institutes led to the opportunity to come up with new and innovative ideas. The program itself opened doors and people began to look at what was possible in guidance and counseling.

B.B.: *I'm interested in your early personal involvement in the institutes program. Could you talk about that?*

R.B.: Well, it's a long story. The National Defense Education Act was passed in 1958, and early in 1959, I become director of the National Defense Counseling and Guidance Institutes Program. That culminated for me about a quarter of a century of practice, theory, and work in counseling and guidance in the United States. Part of my career I spent in Washington, D.C., but the bulk of it was in Nebraska, where I was a professor of educational psychology.

B.B.: *What was happening in the world that might have led to the creation of the NDEA Institutes program?*

R.B.: In 1957 the Russian Sputnik went into orbit. The Sputnik convinced the greater population of this country that the Russians had enormous power. At the time that Sputnik was visible, the U.S. Office of Education had a plan before the Congress for federal aid to education. President Eisenhower was a great believer in education. He believed that improvements in education could come through more and better counseling for students in schools. Also, Congress developed a habit of subsidizing several kinds of programs shortly after World War II in the Point Four program and in various kinds of international programs. That led to Congress subsidizing certain kinds of domestic programs. Now it seemed reasonable that Congress would subsidize a program that would enable the country to find "able" people who would be trained to become leaders for America's future.

> *"He was very politically astute . . . very diplomatic. He worked to stimulate people."*

B.B.: *The word* able *means something special, doesn't it?*

R.B.: Yes. This is a bit of verbiage here that is not too well understood by many counselors. The National Defense Education Act uses the term *able students* to describe the target population. Many of our counselor friends read this to mean that we were dealing with the highly intelligent only because the word *able* is not a part of the ordinary psychological dictionary. It is a political term. In politics you are "able" if you can do a job. And if you can't do the job you either need more training or you are not "able." Congress specified in their introduction to the law that "able" people are necessary to the national defense. They funded it because they justified it in terms of defense. Congress is responsible for defense, but nothing is said about education in the constitution. Able was a term that everybody could work with. I would work with it because it shifted the power to local control. Local programs could make the judgment decision about who was "able." It was not a judgment based on past academic achievement, of what people had accomplished, but a judgment based on what they were capable of.

B.B.: *So the point you are making is that we need to pay attention to words that may have different meanings for politicians.*

R.B.: Yes, indeed. If there is any advice to my counselor educator friends here, I would suggest that they widen their vision a bit, learn to read the words as politicians read them. This is a bit hard because you have to plow through quite a bit of boring political documentation to pick up these meanings. And if you think political documentation is boring, let the politicians tell you what they think of educational documentation.

> *"If there is any advice to my counselor educator friends here, I would suggest that they widen their vision a bit, learn to read the words as politicians read them."*

B.B.: *So the mood of Congress and the country was right for passing the National Defense Education Act.*

R.B.: Yes, because they pointed philosophically to the relationship between the educated citizen and United States defense.

B.B.: *Let's talk about the purpose of the program.*

R.B.: Our purpose was to enhance and improve counselor education programs throughout the country rather than simply to support existing programs. The best development of new programs will be done by the counselor educators and educators in the field. My job was to set guidelines to help them do that.

B.B.: *Who were the key players in this program?*

R.B.: My immediate supervisor was Homer Babbage, whom I learned to know, love, and admire. His father had been governor of Connecticut. Homer later became president of the University of Connecticut. His PhD is in history. I learned very quickly that historians understand and can manage counseling and people very effectively. I also found that I was working with Frank Sievers. Frank was director of Part VA, the other part of the National Defense Education Counseling and Guidance Act (I worked on Part VB). His principal assistant was Frank Wellman, who later became a professor of education at the University of Missouri—Columbia. Another important member of the staff was Dolf Camp, who had been director of guidance in the state of Arkansas. His position was unique in that the government for the first time had someone who was to try to improve the effectiveness of the private schools without spending money that would violate the constitution. Finally, there was C. Harold McCully, who became my number one academic staff man. He was the man who established counseling centers in the Veterans Administration.

B.B.: *Did you have other staff that you would like to mention?*

R.B.: There were literally about 100 people who were influential with the institutes. It would take too long to mention them all, but I do want to mention a few: Dugald Arbuckle of Boston University, Robert Matheson, Dorothy Sebald, Arnold Buckhiemer, Leo Goldman, Lee Issacson, Lou Schertzer, Herman Peters, Paul Clifford, Victor Yanatelli, and many others.

Victor Yanatelli ran counselor institutes at St. Peters College in Jersey City, New Jersey, and he is one of the most magnificent guys I have ever met in my whole life. He's a Jesuit priest. Robert Stripling not only directed institutes at the University of Florida, but he encouraged other faculty members to become experts, and they later directed institutes. He was frequently asked to be a consultant in the institutes. He was requested by directors. I encouraged this because it was good cross-fertilization.

I had a good administrative assistant, a woman by the name of Juanita Allen, who came to me as a senior stenographer. When I interviewed her, she was very hesitant in working with me because it was a new program. Sometimes new programs can be risky because if they fail, your job goes with it. I soon recognized that she had extraordinary talents. She became my administrative assistant and actually administered the clerical part of this program. There were enormous clerical activities that had to be done and done accurately. She was good at all that stuff, and relieved me of a tremendous amount of details. She had the hottest desk in Washington.

One day Ralph Carli came by and said, "Ralph, I wonder about Juanita. I see she is using both hands and she is talking; does she do anything with her feet?" She handled it all with what looked to be great ease.

Among other things, we had very good rapport with the staff because that kind of talk went on continuously and we all worked hard and there was complete trust among us. I think it was because we had a common understanding of what we were trying to do and we knew rather well how to do it. The pressures were so great to get something done that you did not have time to do anything but do it.

As the program grew, I needed to increase my staff, and I needed staff to work with prospective and actual directors of institutes. This meant that I needed competent counselor educators who knew and understood what we were doing and could explain it and work effectively with other counselor educators who were uninformed about our program. So I surveyed my good friends around the nation who were generally in charge of counselor education programs.

B.B.: *When you say "surveyed," how did you do that?*

R.B.: I used the telephone. I was encouraged to do that. It was fast and personable.

B.B.: *So, who were some of your recruits?*

R.B.: One of the first who was recruited was Robert White, from the University of Minnesota. Another man who succeeded him was Richard Riordan, a graduate of Michigan State University. Roderick Hilsinger, Michigan State University, followed and negotiated with institutions for about a year. Another was William Cash. All of these men were very effective. Bill always said, "Look, no credit, my name is Cash." He was Black, highly educated, sophisticated, and one of the best workers I have ever seen. When McCully died of cancer in 1965, Cash filled the vacant post.

PUBLICATIONS

B.B.: *There were a number of publications that came out of this program, weren't there?*

R.B.: Yes, because I quickly found out that there was more misinformation than information about the program. So I needed another group of assistants who could write for publication because we had to prepare documents to explain the program. Leona Tyler, counselor educator, was one of the experts who wrote reports. In her report (Tyler, 1960), she described what went on in 50 institutes and detailed the theory and the practice of each institute. I have never had a federal document that was any better than what she did. Her opening chapter was the big picture, in which she wrote one of the best surveys of counselor education that I have ever read by anybody. This document was circulated free of charge throughout the country. I think something like 5,000 copies were circulated.

Loren Townsend, dean of the College of Education, University of Missouri—Columbia, surveyed a group of summer institutes. Being an administrator who was highly trained in psychology, he wrote about the administration of the institutes (Townsend, 1965).

Later, George Pierson, an educator specializing in sociology and administration, wrote a book titled *An Evaluation of Counselor Education in Regular Session Institutes* (1965). He was thoroughly grounded in counselor education, as well as anybody I have known. One reason he was selected was that he was close enough to the field to understand and yet far enough away to have an objective viewpoint. His book includes a 4-page bibliography that will be very interesting to anyone who wishes to pursue the background and sources of counselor education.

The book that you know and still see was done by C. Gilbert Wrenn. I asked Wrenn if he would be willing to examine how counselor education was meeting the challenges of the changing world. *Counseling in a Changing World* (1962) was the title. It is one of the books that is responsible for improving sharply the quality of counselor education in the United States.

THE WAY THE INSTITUTES WORKED

B.B.: *Let's talk about the way the institutes worked.*

R.B.: There were two kinds of institutes: short-term, or summer institutes, and long-term institutes, which were the regular session institutes. A number of people who had been partially trained benefited from the summer institutes, but people who had little or no training needed a full year of training. This was so every counselor in the United States had at least one full year of graduate training in counselor training as a foundation for working in the field. Another goal was to see that at least one-third of the training was in supervised practice. In each institute there were approximately 30 students in groups of 10 or 15. There was one staff member for each group. Additional staff members were used for special purposes with each group or with the entire number of enrollees. All of the money had to be spent on the students. The students worked with four or five faculty members during the course of the year.

Each director was required to write a technical report at the end of the institute. The institutes were very different from each other. Some directors emphasized supervision techniques such as one-way vision screens, whereas others focused on closed circuit television, observation of the person in the practice situation, and tapes. These differences were encouraged as long as they improved what was being done.

***B.B.:** So you gave them a lot of flexibility to be innovative as long as they met the general requirements.*

R.B.: Yes. I want to mention an important point here. The directors of the institutes were required to have a good relationship with their deans and presidents. Every contract had to have the approval of the president of the institution as well as the director. Of course, one of the benefits was that presidents throughout the country became familiar with counselor education. Also, counselor educators learned to talk to deans and presidents in ways that deans and presidents could understand.

***B.B.:** So, again you are emphasizing how important it is to talk to those in power, whether they be politicians or administrators. How many of the directors did you have contact with previously?*

R.B.: Very extensive. I had been in national meetings and I knew practically every counselor educator in the country of any promise. There weren't that many of us then, you know.

***B.B.:** So these were men and women that you knew, and they knew you?*

R.B.: Yes, I had been to every National Conference perhaps—maybe 12 to 15 years, except the 2 years I was in the Pacific.

MONEY

***B.B.:** Let's talk about the financial appropriations. What kind of guidelines did you have for that?*

R.B.: Well, I asked Homer Babbage, "What kind of guidelines do we have?" He said, "Ralph, you have anywhere from 2½ to 10 million dollars, whatever we can squeeze out of the Congress each year. You've got to make it and I have to approve it and we are in business." I said, "What ideas do you have?" He said, "The best idea that I have is you tell me what you want." That was the principle that was in the administration from the beginning.

So my first job was to think through, "How can you use this federal money to improve the education of people in counseling and guidance?" The responsibility for spending money always weighed heavily on me. Almost no one questioned what I did with the funding as long as the auditors' figures came out. The auditors came out every once in a while and made sure I was spending the money where it was supposed to be spent. A lot of people think in terms of not wasting it. Of course, I tried not to waste it, but I also tried to make it do good. The first academic school year, we funded institutes at the University of Michigan and Teachers College of Columbia University. Because it was not passed until August of 1958, the school year had already begun and we were only able to fund two. The following summer (1959) we funded 50 institutes, and they were written about in Leona Tyler's book (1960). The first few years, Homer Babbage and I decided we would spend it for quality in the institutes because that was what the law said. After a while we learned that we had to give more attention to developing locations, so we asked to put institutes where they would develop as well as those that were already doing superior jobs. And from the very beginning, Homer and I decided to find ways to encourage people to turn out counselors without federal money, because we knew that it would be cut off eventually. And it proved to be true. In 1967–68, the funds began to dwindle because the Congress was interested in something else.

***B.B.:** And what kind of guidelines did you have for evaluating the proposals and funding the institutes?*

R.B.: Actually, we used a very simple system. There were at least 10 applications for every one that was funded. I invited expert counselors from throughout the nation that I felt were competent to preview and assess the quality of proposals. Usually about a dozen people would evaluate the proposals. I would ask each member of the review panel for a description of one proposal. Then they evaluated each proposal as a team. They were to come up with three stacks: one stack—must fund, one stack—should fund, and one stack—worthy of development. If there was enough money, all were funded. However, there was never that much money. The average long-term institute cost about $200,000 to $300,000; others ran up to $500,000. One cost a million dollars. Short-term institutes averaged about $50,000 each. The process that we used for funding served the additional purpose of acquainting key people throughout the country with the best thinking of counselor educators, as shown in the proposals.

***B.B.:** Did you have people get angry with you for not funding their programs?*

R.B.: Oh, yes.

***B.B.:** Because some who applied for money did not get funded?*

R.B.: Yes, and they figured that the guy up there didn't know a good program when he saw it—yes, they blamed it on me. And I regret that very much, but what I tried to do was to point out the reason they were rejected.

***B.B.:** Talk about the relationship that you had with Congress. Did Congress play a big role in telling you how the money should be spent?*

R.B.: Well, one of my main responsibilities was to keep my friends on Capitol Hill informed about what we were doing. I remember Homer Babbage saying, "Ralph, you've got to tell the Congress. They don't know anything about this either." And Homer arranged various kinds of committee hearings and interviews. He was very good at this. I would gather up papers and go up to the Hill. Sometimes I would go alone and sometimes Homer or others would go with me. But when we got through, we had support in both the House and the Senate, and the key people understood what we were doing. And that was the first time in my life that I realized the need for political support for any good thing you're doing. But I did learn to work with politicians, and I learned that they are very sensible and very interested in learning. I think that all counselor educators dealing with governments, state or federal, would do well to keep in mind that what the political administrators are really looking for are people who can get the job done.

At one time, Congress felt that we had in our students an excessive number of young people who had little life experience in comparison with the kinds of things they were attempting to discuss with their clients. It was very difficult to recruit married people with children because economically they could not afford to drop out. Consequently, the Congress put in the law a provision that every enrollee was entitled to $75 a week. Every dependent would get $15 a week. These were handsome sums at that time. It was more than they were making in the schools in which they were working. This gave a tremendous power to the directors of the institutes.

IMPACT ON COUNSELING

B.B.: *Can you talk about some of the major impacts of the institutes on counseling?*

R.B.: Well, when I started, I went to the office of statistics in the U.S. Office of Education and said, "How many counselors do we now have enrolled in colleges and universities in this country during the academic year studying full time to become counselors in guidance and personnel?" They said, "We don't know because we do not catalog anything less than 300 and there are less than 300." So I knew I had to start from zero. Ten years later, in 1967, there were around 10,000 people who had a full year of graduate preparation in a counseling and guidance program and the production rate of counselors for the entire country was estimated at 2,000 annually. I recall that when we started the typical counselor training consisted of one summer session. I can illustrate the increase well at my own institution, the University of Missouri—Columbia. In 1967, when I left the Office of Education and became a professor at the University of Missouri—Columbia, there were graduated that year more than 300 people with master's degrees in counselor education.

B.B.: *That was very impressive, Ralph.*

R.B.: It's damned impressive. Recently, when I attended the annual meeting of the American Association for Counseling and Development (AACD), I asked the people who had been educated or had been in some way involved in the NDEA Counseling and Guidance Institutes to stand up. About one-fourth of those present stood up. This was about 20 years after the program was closed . . . a striking demonstration of the continuing effect of the institute.

> *"I think that all counselor educators dealing with governments . . . would do well to keep in mind that what the political administrators are really looking for are people who can get the job done."*

B.B.: *What about the impact on counseling practica and curriculum?*

R.B.: When we started, we said we would generally require supervised practica in short-term as well as long-term institutes. For the short-term institutes, generally about a fourth of the time was spent on practica, and for the long-term, at least a fourth and sometimes more. I said very little about how they should be done. What I said was, "Let's put in a practice component, and let's see if we can get feedback as to how effective the practica is, if even for a short period of time."

B.B.: *And was it?*

R.B.: The definition of success is that it "stuck." When NDEA came in almost no counseling programs in the country included practica. Now they all have practica.

B.B.: *And curriculum?*

R.B.: I told the institutes that I would not tell them what courses to teach, but I wanted an outcome that would ensure that the person who got through the institute could be a good counselor in a school. This gave them a lot of flexibility, but the patterns were remarkably constant throughout the country. There were the usual courses, and then there was some work in sociology, behavior sciences, and things of that kind. This was done by the directors in response to trying to emphasize the whole person.

B.B.: *The institutes certainly did influence the direction the field went in training in the years to follow.*

R.B.: Absolutely, and that general program is still here.

B.B.: *You had a great group of mentors.*

R.B.: Yes. Another major reason why the institutes became so rich in innovative programs that worked was that only general criteria were required to be met instead of stated specified content. My theory was to educate counselors who not only understood counselor education but who knew what they were doing and why they were doing it, and had every reason to expand their knowledge and skills.

B.B.: *What was it like to be powerful?*

> *"My opinion is that power used morally is enhancing and can improve the common good."*

R.B.: When I first learned that I was going to direct the program, I had much deep thought. I said, "Bedell, the first thing you must do is not to behave or talk as if you have power." And I always tried to use rational approaches to solving problems. I am not afraid of much of anything. I've been too close to too many things to get scared. And I got help when I needed it from whomever I needed it from. I tried to respect people and be open . . . to see how we could work together. I tried not to use power to enforce any kind of rules or procedures. Of course, there are always a few people who were manipulators. These people approached me with the attitude of "What do we need to do to get money out of this guy?" The people who were the worst offenders were not the counselor educators, but the presidents of institutions. I never had any superior or senior officer in the Office of Education to counteract my judgment. I think this was because I tried to keep the commissioner informed. Some people believe that power destroys. My opinion is that power used morally is enhancing and can improve the common good.

THE FUTURE

B.B.: *Ralph, do you have any thoughts about the future?*

R.B.: Well, I have a crystal ball—maybe it is broken and cracked, but I've got one and I like it. NDEA came into existence because there was a generally recognized need for educating people who could deal with what was then called advanced science. But today, right now, we have one of the greatest needs this nation has ever seen or perhaps will ever see, certainly in all of its history, for educating people that can deal with modern technology. We need to figure out how we can have the kind of people who can understand this technology. We need people who have the attitudes that are necessary for human survival and who know how to live with each other, how to love each other, how to give to each other of themselves. And I hope that we can develop some kind of support for this. I think that the support mostly may have to come from the localities, but let it come from wherever it will come—it is very much needed.

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John G. Darley: The Minnesota Man

P. PAUL HEPPNER and ERNIE NESS

John G. Darley has been associated with the University of Minnesota for over 50 years, pioneering new frontiers in counseling psychology and in professional organizations such as the American Psychological Association (APA). His dedication to the university and to the "Minnesota point of view" in counseling (Patterson, 1973) has been pervasive; it is clear that the heart of this man belongs to Minnesota. When Minnesota's traditions and history in this area are listed, the major names are Donald G. Paterson, Edmund G. Williamson, and John G. Darley. In the 1920s and 1930s, theirs was the research most frequently cited. Darley is the last survivor of this triumvirate. His influence has been so broad that it is difficult to document all of his contributions. By way of introduction, we highlight some of his accomplishments. But to provide a more personal picture of him, we present throughout the article perceptions of "Jack" Darley as seen through the eyes of his colleagues and friends.

Jack Darley has authored or co-authored more than 145 monographs, books, technical reports, journal articles, and book reviews in the fields of counseling psychology, social psychology, psychometrics and psychological testing, and higher educational administration. He was instrumental in developing psychology at the University of Minnesota in the 1930s and 1940s. He has been dubbed "one of the original Minnesota empiricists" (D. P. Campbell, personal communication, 1978) as well as one of the early "greats in what was then called student personnel work" (P. E. Meehl, personal communication, 1978). He has received numerous awards and honors, including the E. K. Strong Memorial Medal for Research in Vocational Interest Measurement (1966), the American Personnel and Guidance Association Research Award (1953), and the Division of Clinical Psychology Distinguished Contribution Award (1958).

Darley has made substantial contributions to the field of counseling psychology. Early in his career he worked with Donald Paterson and E. G. (Ed) Williamson to define the field of counseling psychology and to pioneer procedures and techniques involved in counseling. For example, he and Williamson wrote *Student Personnel Work: An Outline of Clinical Procedures* (1973c). In this book they attempted to provide systematic treatment of the counseling process by describing the six essential elements of the process: analysis, synthesis, diagnosis, prognosis, treatment (in the interview), and follow-up. His contributions to the measurement of abilities and interests were classics at the time. *Men, Women and Jobs* (1936), which he wrote with Donald G. Paterson, was an overview of the work of the Committee on Individual Diagnosis and Training of the Employment Stabilization Research Institute. The *Minnesota Inventory of Social Behavior* (1937a) and *The Minnesota Inventory of Social Preferences* (1937b), both written by Darley and Ed Williamson, provided two measures of the social personality structure of college students. Darley's 1941 monograph on the Strong Vocational Interest Blank first introduced a form of pattern analysis of primary and reject interest patterns and related vocational interests to various aspects of personality development. It was the forerunner of the more significant volume he wrote in 1955 with Theda Hagenah, a graduate student of his, titled *Vocational Interest Measurement: Theory and Practice*. Additionally, he "worked to establish a very significant training and research program in the Student Counseling Bureau at the University of Minnesota" (L. H. Lofquist, personal communication, August 6, 1984).

Throughout his career, Darley also has facilitated the development and achievements of others. For example, he has had a direct impact on numerous graduate students at the University of Minnesota, many of whom later made major contributions to counseling psychology. A former student of Jack's, Leona Tyler (personal communication, 1978), expressed her appreciation to Jack this way:

> You have been a dependable part of my whole professional career. I can't imagine what it would have been like without you. You were the one who got me started in counseling. Remember? One of my most vivid memory pictures is of those weekly staff meetings in Eddy Hall, you strolling around the room with your foot-long cigarette holder, flicking ashes into one container after another while you tossed out flippant remarks and highly insightful comments on the case being discussed. I remember also an interview of yours I listened in on, in which your profound kindness and acceptance of a very troubled, schizoid girl made a great impression on me. It showed me what counseling was all about. Your combination of a light touch with a deep compassionate effort to understand and help became the core of my counseling ideal.

From 1959 to 1962, he left Minnesota to serve as the executive officer of APA. There he became involved in a number of issues, such as state versus federal responsibilities. He was also very instrumental in obtaining a new building for APA. An APA staff member recalled Jack's personal style:

> As a long-time staff member here, I am asked from time to time to talk to new employees about APA's history, with special reference to the Central Office. A natural segment of this is a brief description of the Executive Secretaries (later Officers). I always cite Jack as the one who was best at using his staff. This characteristic was most evident when the Board of Directors met; we were all expected to be on our toes when an agenda item covered matters in our bailiwicks, and Jack would literally point to the appropriate staff member and say something like "So-and-so has the answers for that item." He, of course, *did* know, for he had an amazing capacity for keeping track of both major *and* minor routine activities, but was a "delegator" par excellence.
>
> For a number of years he chaired our Committee on Relations with Psychiatry—and they were the years when the relationship could get pretty nasty. I staffed that committee and attended its meetings, many of them true confrontations and frankly brutal at times. He kept his sardonic sense of humor throughout, and psychology never lost face! (J. D. Hildreth, personal communication, July 17, 1984)

In 1963 he returned to Minneapolis as chairman of the Psychology Department at the University of Minnesota, a position he held for 12 years. Again, Jack was instrumental in obtaining a new building, this time for the Psychology Department. At the time of his retirement, many faculty members recounted incidents in which Darley facilitated their arrival in Minneapolis, in the department, and later in their careers at the University of Minnesota. Paul Fox provided some understanding of Darley's commitments to his faculty. He reflected on arriving at the old train station in Minneapolis as a new faculty member:

> Hot, tired from traveling through the night, a bit uncertain at a new place, glasses knocked askew while trying to support the oversized woman ahead who had fainted; all this while sliding slowly upwards on the escalator into your view. And, remembered best, the warmth of your welcome to us, and your tact and calm at the situation, as if it were perfectly natural to arrive in such a disheveled state. Later on—your kindness and generosity to us as house guests while Nancy and I looked for a place of our own, and, over the subsequent years, your unfailing courtesy and thoughtfulness to me in the department.

Another faculty member commented on the outcomes of Jack's administrative efforts for the department:

> I have never known anyone who was a better administrator than Jack Darley. For one thing, he never lied. Not once. He often said, from the very beginning, that if I wasn't smart enough to ask the right questions, he did not feel it incumbent upon himself to inform me of events that might be of personal concern to me. But if I asked, he would not lie. And he never did. Jack Darley has stood with me in every crisis I've ever experienced, personal or professional. If one ever finds oneself in a foxhole, one would want Jack Darley for company. (E. S. Berscheid, personal communication, August 6, 1984)

In the interview below, Darley acknowledges that he "fell in love" with the University of Minnesota, and his work for that institution has been a labor of love. Upon his retirement from the university, President C. Peter McGrath (personal communication, April 10, 1978) wrote to thank Darley for his

> unbending commitment and devotion to the university. . . . I have been impressed not only by your devotion to the university in all of its manifestations, but by your reasonableness and your fundamental caring for your department, your college, and the totality of this incredibly complex university.

What else is important in understanding the personality and perhaps the essence of Jack Darley? Friends use these words to describe him: "tough tenderness" (E. S. Bordin, personal communication, May 3, 1978); "complete forthrightness" (R. O. Collier, personal communication, May 12, 1978); "eloquent and witty spokesmanship" (B. A. Kirk, personal communication, May 1, 1978); "an eloquent, fiery administrator (R. G. Loper, personal communication, May 2, 1978); "a brilliant man. . . . Do you know I've always felt a bit inferior to you?" (G. Wrenn, personal communication, May 9, 1978); and "You always helped. You always encouraged. You were always there." (A. B. Pratt, personal communication, May 9, 1978). Finally, a colleague in chemistry described Darley as "a retiring psychologist who cuts a mean figure at the Faculty Dancing Club, on the floor though not up on the table" (B. Crawford, personal communication, May 10, 1978).

The 4-hour interview was conducted on July 30, 1984, in Jack's condominium off Nicollet Avenue in downtown Minneapolis. He had white hair, a deep voice, and a small frame. I (Heppner) had met him only once before, during a job interview at the University of Minnesota. After the colloquium presentation, someone came up to me, pointed to Jack in the back of the room, and said, "That's Jack Darley." Upon meeting him now, we briefly chatted, had a leisurely lunch, and then, as Jack said, "got the show on the road."

EARLY YEARS

***P.H.:** What was your childhood like?*

J.D.: I was born in Pittsburgh in 1910 and we moved to New York City in 1918. My father went down to Florida to recoup the family fortunes in the Florida land boom in the 1920s. He returned in 1927, the year I went off to college. My mother supported us essentially by teaching bridge, by telephone magazine solicitation, by selling corsets, things like that. She always expected I would be a stockbroker or a naval academy graduate and would support her. It didn't quite work out that way. Anyway, my father died in the summer of 1928 as a night clerk in a fourth-rate hotel in New York. That summer I had been abroad as a companion to a small child from a large New York family. All he wanted to do was play ping pong. I played ping pong on the Aquitania and every place we went in Europe. I finally bullied him into going to the Rodin museum in Paris.

***P.H.:** How about your college life?*

J.D.: I went to Wesleyan University in 1927 as a New York Alumni Scholar; nobody in my family, if I remember correctly, had completed college. I did more damned things as an undergraduate at Wesleyan; I was president of everything. I was editor of the newspaper, editor of a humorous magazine. I tried to drink my way out of college in my sophomore year and I almost succeeded. I remember Dean Nicholson looked at me one time; he said "Mr. Darley, would you recognize any member of the faculty from whom you were taking a course?" He was from Nova Scotia, a very tough dean. I said, "I don't think so, sir." That's why I majored in psychology. It's the only A I got that year.

***P.H.:** You ended up in Minnesota for your graduate work. What attracted you to Minnesota?*

J.D.: I started at Wesleyan the same time as a new faculty member came there. His name was Theos Langlie and he had been one of Donald Paterson's PhDs at Minnesota. At the end of my undergraduate work, I never expected to go on to graduate school. I didn't even know what it was. Langlie arranged for me to get a research assistantship at Minnesota in what was then the Employment Stabilization Research Institute (ESRI). So I went out as a research assistant and Donald Paterson (Pat) became my advisor. Early in 1932 Pat said, "Now you're going to take your master's degree." I said, "Yes, sir." I took my master's degree in 1 year and I wrote a thesis on the Bernreuter Personality Inventory. And then he said, "Now, you're going to stay on for your PhD." And I said, "Yes, sir." So I stayed on, and I fell in love with the University of Minnesota.

"I was involved in counseling because Ed Williamson and I had a wonderful relationship."

***P.H.:** What was the Employment Stabilization Research Institute?*

J.D.: The ESRI was funded by three different foundations. One of its goals was to try to help people who were being fairly well destroyed by the depression. I was assigned to the St. Paul Employment Office in my 2nd graduate year as a psychological examiner; we tried to get people either into retraining or back on jobs. The ESRI was a fantastic operation in many ways: in terms of test standardization, in terms of trying to figure out how good the tests were, what the intercorrelations were, what the whole psychometric substrate would be in studying human behavior. The ESRI was probably quite fundamental to what later became student personnel work at Minnesota; it had a good deal to do with the kind of psychometrics that seemed to many of us at Minnesota to undergird counseling.

MINNESOTA IN THE 1930s AND 1940s

P.H.: *What was your relationship with Donald Paterson like?*

J.D.: He was superb. Pat was really an amazing human being. First of all, he was a superb editor. Many of my early articles and the book *Men, Women and Jobs*, I co-authored with Pat, who was the senior author. He made me write them. He and I would sit there and he would teach me to write. I had an English minor so I could write some, but it was not up to his standards. His students hated Pat for 1 year (but only for 1 year) after they got their degrees because he really worked us over. He had terribly high standards and was terribly honest.

P.H.: *You did a lot of work with Ed Williamson. What was that like?*

J.D.: It's funny, in the early days he and I were practically brothers, and I was younger. He was one of Pat's first students. His earlier publications were superb. Some of the things he and I did together were superb. We had masses of data; this was the beauty of the whole thing. I was involved in counseling because Ed Williamson and I had a wonderful relationship.

P.H.: *Did you ever feel any competition with Williamson in regard to Pat? Did you feel any tension?*

J.D.: No, I don't think so, because Ed had gotten his degree in 1931. I didn't come out as a graduate student until 1931. So there was no competition, no seeking attention from father, if that's what you're saying, by two brothers. Of course, Pat had been terrifically supportive of Ed in helping set up what was first called the University Testing Bureau and later the Student Counseling Bureau.

". . . we were going to make counseling psychology the greatest thing that ever happened."

P.H.: *What was it like when you, Ed, and others were on the forefront of the counseling and student personnel field in the 1930s and 1940s?*

J.D.: Ed Williamson and I were sure we were writing the new Bible. In other words, we were going to make counseling psychology the greatest thing that ever happened. As I go back now and read *Student Personnel Work: An Outline of Clinical Procedures*, I find that it is thunderingly naive as a book, strangely enough. It is also the case that the book probably triggered Carl Rogers's critique of the Minnesota point of view as directive. For some reason we were labeled as terribly directive. In part this was Carl Rogers's attack, really an attack on the University of Minnesota. How Rogers arrived at his nondirective points of view, I have never been clear. It seemed to Ed, to me, and to others that the label directive was sort of pejorative. We hadn't earned that title and it seemed to us that Carl Rogers was throwing away most of what we all thought we knew about human behavior in those days.

P.H.: *I'm struck with reading some of the titles back in those days, for example, Williamson's 1939 book,* How to Counsel Students. *In some ways I think that reflected the counseling psychology profession at that time. It's almost like a prescription or recipe: "Here is how to do it."*

J.D.: Well, our first book was highly medically oriented. I discovered when I went back and read it a few years ago that we talked about analysis, synthesis, diagnosis, prognosis, treatment, and follow-up. It was very heavily oriented toward the medical model, which I have decried ever since when I had to deal with psychiatrists, but that's another question.

P.H.: *Was that an exciting period for you?*

J.D.: It was a terribly exciting period. We worked our tails off. We would work 50, 60, 70 hours a week; we expected to do that. It made it a little hard on your marriage, but that's the way we did it. We started out with a very naive assumption that if we could take a student who was getting Ds and bring him up to getting As and Bs and Cs, we would reduce overall student mortality. Well, the faculty always kept one jump ahead of us because you don't reduce student mortality with a student personnel program. The faculty is going to distribute grades essentially on a normal curve regardless of the level of abilities of the students. So we fairly quickly gave up the naive idea of reducing student mortality. And we began to concern ourselves with what good we could do for an individual student, not what good we were going to do for the institutional setting.

Upon Jack's retirement from the university, Lorraine Williamson (personal communication, May 8, 1978), wife of Ed Williamson, reflected on those earlier years:

> I have many fond memories of the days when you were a member of our family. Ed really did feel like your older brother. . . . And those multitudinous hours you and Ed spent away through the night talking, arguing, complaining, and damning—whatever the events were that were on your minds at the time. I would listen, entranced, but finally give up to go to bed—only to get up at 2:00, 2:30, 3:00 A.M. to hear your voices still at it.

P.H.: *You mentioned earlier to me that you fell in love with the institution. Could you say more about that?*

J.D.: The University of Minnesota was probably the most exciting place I have ever been; it was when I came here and it continued to be. I worked in the university's General College for 3 years, and we did a wonderful series of studies there on student problems. My first wife worked with me that year, 1935 to 1936. Because of the nepotism rule, she was fired by President Lotus Coffman the moment it was known that she and I were going to get married in August 1936. He called her into his office and he fired her personally. He did not kid about the nepotism rule in those days. But we had a wonderful atmosphere; we had minimum barriers to communication across departments and colleges here at Minnesota. You could make an agreement over the telephone, you never had to write a letter, your word was your bond in that sense.

"The University of Minnesota was probably the most exciting place I have ever been . . ."

In many respects, the field of counseling and student personnel work was dominated by the University of Minnesota in those early years. This domination was referred to facetiously by William C. Cottle (personal communication, April 20, 1978) when he recalled an early reference to the triumvirate of Paterson, Williamson, and Darley:

> My first and very lasting memory of you was the course I took with you at Syracuse in the summer of 1945. . . . I still chuckle over Milt Hahn's introduction to your first presentation at

> Syracuse. . . . He said to faculty and students, "At Minnesota in the area of vocational psychology we consider Donald Paterson the Father, Williamson the Son, and John Darley the Spirit, the latter who has descended upon *us* this summer."

THE WAR YEARS AND DIVISION 17 BEGINNINGS

P.H.: *You were a psychologist with the U.S. Naval Reserve in World War II. What impact did that have on you?*

J.D.: I had been hell bent to demonstrate everything by applying psychometrics, individual differences, and all that. But World War II made kind of a social psychologist out of me because of our experience with air groups on board aircraft carriers. Nearly all the psychologists in uniform in the early days of World War II started out by developing selection and classification tests for military personnel. This was an understandable evolution of the work of psychologists in World War I. But as we began to look at the performance of naval aviators on board carriers *in combat* in World War II, other forms of behavior became more important. We would see entire air groups grounded by flight surgeons for total breakdown of leadership, and it suddenly dawned on several of us that the important relationships were the social structure of the air group. Something happened between the time of selection and combat that had nothing to do with psychometrics anymore. It had everything to do with the interpersonal interactions of the members of this tightly knit group, where life and death depended on it. On carriers, the standard formation was a lead plane and a wing plane; if you did not trust your wing man or he did not trust you, that flight was not going to be very successful. We had a very simple sociometric question: "With whom would you be willing to fly wing?" "Who would you never want to have fly wing with you?" So it was the war experience that made a social psychologist out of me.

P.H.: *What did you do as a psychologist in the war?*

J.D.: My first assignment was as a research associate on an NDRC project at Camp Murphy, Florida. I ended up specializing in airborne radar. We had some real problems with radar operators and navigators. I remember going out in the first operational flight of a B-24. The task was to fly 180 miles straight east out of a New Jersey air force base and turn around to fly 180 miles straight west. We got thoroughly lost. Somehow we ended up to hell and gone in Florida someplace. How that happened I will never know. The thing we did on that project was to develop pictorial achievement tests for the selection and training of radar operators. In other words, here is what the radar scope shows you. You are going X miles an hour in this plane and you can see the coastal line. This could be a bombing plane or a fighting plane. Where are you? Then we gave them a multiple-choice question. This was a superb testing idea. These questions worked quite well in differentiating levels of radar experience in operators.

". . . the war experience . . . made a social psychologist out of me."

P.H.: *After the war, you came back to Minnesota and started getting involved in APA and other professional organizations. What was happening at that time?*

J.D.: A lot of things were happening at that time. In 1946 Carlyle Jacobson was chairman of a committee to discuss the feasibility of setting up a specialty diplomating board, the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology (ABEPP). I served on that committee for a year and then became the secretary-treasurer of ABEPP for a 4-year term from 1947 to 1951. Several of us felt that clinical psychology and counseling psychology were still to be differentiated in terms of clientele, methodology, technique, and how you deal with people. So we fought to keep counseling psychology (we called it counseling and guidance in those days) as an independent specialty under the first ABEPP. Our job was to provide diplomas in clinical psychology, counseling psychology, and industrial psychology. Also at that time (1946), the first state law governing psychology was passed in the state of Connecticut. The important thing then was to keep the identity of counseling psychology distinct from clinical psychology.

"We had to stand on our own feet; there had to be a Division of Counseling Psychology."

P.H.: *How was Division 17 created? I know you wrote the bylaws for Division 17.*

J.D.: Did I? [chuckles] Well, in 1937, the American Association for Applied Psychology (AAAP) was established at the APA meetings that were held here in Minneapolis in the summer. That group (AAAP) and the APA came back together again about 1945 and had four divisions: Community, Clinical, Industrial, and one other, Consulting. APA had not been divisionalized as it has now become. I was still in uniform and was a representative from AAAP to the Policy and Planning Board of APA. Gary Boring was the chairman and put the APA and AAAP back together again. We created what I believe to be the extended divisional structure of APA. Several of us felt that there had to be a division of counseling psychology in the new APA. It had to have an identity of its own, so you had to have a division of counseling psychology even though all the clinical psychologists kept telling us, "We can do better what you do." And I kept saying, "No, you can't do better what we do." We could not be absorbed by APA's Division of Clinical Psychology. We had to stand on our own feet; there had to be a Division of Counseling Psychology. And this was what motivated nearly all of us to bring the division into existence. Once we established the importance of the division within the new APA structure, Ed Williamson, who in a sense had made counseling psychology, had to be the president of the division. And I succeeded him because I'd been secretary-treasurer and vice president of it. I succeeded Ed, yes. I think that was the only time when I refused to give a presidential address. I said, "I have nothing to say at this meeting."

APA EXECUTIVE OFFICER

P.H.: *From 1959 to 1962 you were the executive officer for APA. What were those times like?*

J.D.: They were a little hectic. The executive office can only lead if there is a clear consensus as to where APA has to go or should go. There was never that kind of consensus during that period of time. We had to create the bureaucracy in a nonpejorative sense that would hold APA together. This was especially needed because there were all kinds of centrifugal forces in APA; the most important were the federal versus state responsibilities, the science versus the profession, and the biological versus social. These were the three centrifugal forces that kept spinning within APA from 1959 to 1962 and thereafter. They're still not entirely settled. There were relatively few state associations, but they grew terrifically from 1946 on and increasingly sought to take care of the professional aspects of psychology. They were the ones that would push for the passage of state laws, they were the ones that would fight for reimbursement of psychological services without medical approval; they had to do that. The APA had to publish this huge "stable of journals," and that was a complicated issue too.

P.H.: *What other problems did you run into as an executive officer?*

J.D.: Although the assumption is that most of the ethical cases would involve seduction of clients in psychotherapy, they actually involved lousy tests for commercial purchasers. I had to work very closely with the Committee on Ethics. One thing that disturbed me when I got to APA was the fact that the Veterans' Administration (VA) was paying for the work of the Committee on Accreditation. We had to accredit VA agencies. They were paying us to accredit, and I said, "This is immoral, illegal, and fattening. We can't do this. We have to find money elsewhere for this function of accreditation," and we did. We found it from the National Institutes of Health and other federal agencies so that the VA could not be accused of buying accreditation from APA by virtue of the fact that they were putting the money into it.

P.H.: *You also were involved in obtaining a new building for APA, right?*

J.D.: We were living in a very, very old building over on 16th Street Northwest. I hope it still stands; it was falling down when we were there. We needed a new building, everybody knew that we needed a new building, but nobody had done anything about it. So I signed off, mortgaging my life on a $1.1 million purchase for the property on which the new APA building stands. I interviewed all these architects and everyone kept asking who I was going to choose. I finally said, "You know it's slightly harder than choosing a mistress, because they're going to be with you longer." We had a superb architect who still has his architectural offices in the top of the present APA building.

An APA staff member confirms that Darley's 3 years as executive officer were hectic and exhausting, but also something more.

> Our 3 years at APA remain precious: exhausting years—for you were a strict taskmaster; ever-so-rewarding years—thanks to your inspiration; sometimes exquisitely painful years as we struggled with the problems of psychology. I remember so well your impassioned speeches in behalf of that big APA. But I remember as fondly your compassion for the little fellow. I was proud to be working for someone who showed the same deep respect for the building custodian as for the APA president. (Catherine Hoch & Erasmus Hoch, personal communication, May 9, 1978)

PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS

P.H.: *You have been instrumental in obtaining a new building for the Psychology Department. Could you comment on that?*

J.D.: We were in a terribly old building. We had some people housed over in the medical school. We had people spread from hell to breakfast. I wanted them all in one building. The State Board of Health occupied the end of our building. Stan Wenberg, then the university vice president, got the legislature to approve a bill for the remodeling of the old State Board of Health and an addition to psychology. It's all a long story, but this became Elliott Hall. Designed by Len Parker, it's a handsome building.

P.H.: *You had more than 20 PhD students (e.g., Roberta Armstrong, Theda Hagenah, Godfrey Hockbaum, John Holland, William Stevens). Did you perceive yourself as a mentor to them?*

J.D.: I guess the term had not been invented in those days. My first PhD was John Holland. I figured that my role with him and with other graduate students was to get them ready in terms of coursework for the very difficult preliminary examinations that the department requires of all students. Then I let them find a topic that made them excited. My job was to let them run with it, find resources for them if necessary. Some of these could be fairly expensive in terms of cost of test materials and things like this. So my job was to help them get the job done. It never occurred to me that I was anybody's mentor.

Upon Jack's retirement, several former students reflected on what his mentoring meant to them then and now:

> Some of your early research and thinking was a major key to my typology. Your critical eye and concern with data lives on in this student, and your concern with good writing has also been assimilated. . . . You wrote once (commenting on a draft of my thesis) that "the *N*s come and go like the ocean waves. . . . Why don't you pick out a number you like and stick with it?" Following your example, I hand my students used English texts and say, "Why don't you learn to write?" (J. Holland, personal communication, May 8, 1978)

> I can still remember your interpretation of my Mult: "Well, you're sure not neurotic. . . . Your M-F is in the right place. . . . A little schitzy—but that's all right. . . . Now, what does Pa stand for?" A model of succinct interpretive skills! And then there was the time you muttered, "You'll probably *get* the PhD—you're just ornery enough to do it." That meant more to me than actually getting it. Jack, they just don't make advisers like you anymore. Or teachers. Or administrators. Or researchers. Or people. (V. M. Schletzer, personal communication, May 8, 1978)

> Throughout my 3 years at the University of Minnesota you were the kind of faculty advisor for whom every student wishes. You provided excellent guidance, subtly effective but never authoritarian. You stood by me and helped me when I ran into problems. You stood by me when I faltered in my dissertation research, which was critical of theories then dominant in the Department of Psychology, and encouraged me to persist in my experiments against critical attitudes of other faculty members. Thanks to you I did, and it proved to be the right decision. Knowing you, the knowledge of having contributed to the success of generations of students and having earned their gratitude will be even more meaningful to you than your own significant direct contributions to the field of psychology. Being a professor myself now, I try to be to my students what you were to me. So, I hope, that by my emulating you, further generations will benefit indirectly from what you have done for me. (G. M. Hochbaum, personal communication, April 18, 1978)

P.H.: *What was the most difficult thing you had to do?*

J.D.: I think it was when University President Malcolm Moos decided that he would create the vice presidency for student affairs. Stan Wenberg and I had to go over to tell Ed Williamson (he was dean of students) what was happening and that he would not get that position. We had to tell him, "Malcolm Moos is going to do this, you're not going to like it, you're not going to like the choice, but you're going to have to live with it." Ed Williamson could not countenance that decision. I think that was probably the toughest thing I ever had to do.

P.H.: *When you look at the counseling profession, what would you say would be the greatest strength or the greatest weakness of it?*

J.D.: The major place where counseling psychologists can make the greatest contribution is in institutional settings at the level of higher education. I am afraid that its greatest weakness is its constant bitching about its identity. I don't think there's anything that Division 17 can do about this because it still does not speak with a unified voice, nor has it ever really worked out its relationship with APGA (AACD). But why fight this identity issue any more? Some counseling psychologists will engage in a private practice, more so than used to. How they define their private practice, I don't know. When I had my contract written out recently in Anoka, Minnesota, as a contract employee, they had me listed as a clinical psychologist. I said, "No, I will not sign this contract; I'm not a clinical psychologist." Immediately they rewrote the contract, and I'm just a licensed consulting psychologist rendering certain kinds of diagnostic services. I don't think there is anything the counseling psychologist can do to improve the definition of the field, nor do I think it's important.

". . . why fight this identity issue any more?"

***P.H.:** Maybe we should just forget about it.*

J.D.: Forget that and do the best job we can in whatever setting will accept us. I am somewhat opposed to psychologists hitching their wagon to a medical school, or a school of business, or a dentistry school, or anything like that. In the last analysis, these are stronger professions, and when the chips are down their professional identity supersedes anything else. I have seen too many psychologists hemmed in or ultimately destroyed when they attach themselves to another profession. You know, it's funny. The Division of Clinical Psychology finally gave me its Distinguished Contribution Award in 1958. George Kelly, my old colleague in the navy, wrote: "You are the only person who would never admit that you were a clinical psychologist. You would never allow yourself to be called a clinical psychologist." That citation appears somewhere in the *American Psychologist* for that year.

***P.H.:** Do you think of yourself as a pioneer?*

J.D.: Well, I guess I was. Whatever it means to have entered the development of a field early, if that makes you a pioneer, yes, I was a pioneer. But if anybody had asked, "Are you a pioneer?" back in 1932, I would have said, "What do you mean, am I a pioneer? I'm 22 years old, I'm working my tail off, it's exciting. What more can you do?"

". . . my reason for liking administration was the fact that I could make things possible for people . . ."

***P.H.:** Looking back at your career, do you have any regrets?*

J.D.: No, I don't think so. While I was associate dean of the Graduate School I also wanted to be dean of the Graduate School, but that wasn't going to come to pass, so I took the APA job. I had a chance, when Dr. Wilson was president at Minnesota, at the academic vice presidency. I would have loved that job. I think I could have done many things for the university. But I have had a wonderful life at the University of Minnesota, actually. I was a very good administrator. I could buy affection from the people who worked with me and for me by making things possible for them. It was not what I would call a warm family relationship by any means, but it was satisfying. It finally dawned on me that much of my reason for liking administration was the fact that I could make things possible for people and I was very successful at it. I was substituting the product of administrative skill in getting people what they needed to be productive, which was the closest thing I might have known to family affection. In this way, my experiences at Minnesota meant a great deal to me as more than "work."

***P.H.:** How have you experienced your own aging process?*

J.D.: I guess I've been lucky to be in fairly good health all my life. I didn't like retirement worth a damn. I think I've done fairly well, though. I'm 74 now. My present wife is 22 years younger than I am and she's a workaholic. I'm still fascinated by my two children. My daughter Janet is a demographer and sociologist at the Research Triangle in North Carolina; her PhD was from Johns Hopkins. My son is chairman of psychology at Princeton; his PhD was from Harvard. Every so often he tells me what to do; I appreciate it and then I go on about my business. He's a much better psychologist than I am. The greatest personal satisfactions I've had are probably through my remarriage and the careers of my two children.

***P.H.:** What would be the greatest compliment that another professional could give you in terms of your career?*

J.D.: That "he made things happen."

That "he made things happen" is quite evident. A faculty member at Minnesota aptly reflected just that:

> Jack always did exactly what he said he was going to do, and how and when he said he was going to do it. If he said he was going to deliver, he delivered! *How* he somehow managed to accomplish the things he did (e.g., our building), I certainly never knew, and I think few others did either. Jack's ways and means were always somewhat of a mystery. But, of course, one never had to worry about "how" because one could be sure that if he said it was going to be done, it would be done. (E. Berscheid, personal communication, August 6, 1984)

SELECTED READINGS

With E. G. Williamson. *Student personnel work: An outline of clinical procedures.* (1937). New York: McGraw-Hill. This was an exciting book at the time. We talked about analysis, synthesis, diagnosis, prognosis, treatment, and follow-up of students. Perfect medical analogue. Looking back, it was terribly naive.

The structure of the systematic case study in individual counseling. (1940). *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 4,* 215–220. What I tried to do was to say, "Look, if you're going to do a thorough case study, here are the areas of an individual's behavior that must be in the study: ability, achievement, personality, health."

Testing and counseling in the high school guidance program. (1943). Chicago: Science Research Associates. This was a book I was fairly proud of then. I had been at Fort Collins, Colorado, trying to teach counseling psychology to high school counselors. I finally put the whole thing together in this book. It included why you must use tests, what the tests are to measure, a very rudimentary chapter in statistics, correlation, significance of mean differences, and then a description of what the counseling process is like.

With T. Hagenah. *Vocational interest measurement: Theory and practice.* (1955). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. This followed the earlier "Clinical Aspects and Interpretation," which was a little monograph published by the Psychological Corporation. Theda, who did her thesis under my direction, got a perfectly representative sample of entering students in the three major colleges—the Institute of Technology, the College of Liberal Arts, and the Institute of Agriculture. We needed a representative sample of students to study the use of the Strong normative data, the development of the concept of primary interest patterns and reject interest patterns. This was a major publication on interest measurement at the time.

With M. P. Crawford. Growth and allocation of resources within the APA. (1962). *American Psychologist, 17,* 465–474. This dealt with the annual budgets of APA. We examined how APA had grown in terms of budgets over the years from 1946 and what proportion of that budget was based on dues, journal subscriptions, what proportion of the expense went to the support of journals, professional activities, and so on. Everybody was screaming about the growth of the central office. We demonstrated that the central office had not used up any more resources, proportionally, than it had in the earlier years. This was important at that time because everybody was bitching about the fight between the science and the profession within APA.

With E. L. Hoch. A case at law. (1962). *American Psychologist, 17,* 623–654. A Black man named Jenkins had broken into a house in Washington. He robbed and killed somebody. The judge who heard the case threw out all of the testimony of the psychologists who were testifying for the defense. I was asked to go in as a friend of the court at this point. I talked to our lawyer and he said, "Jack, every verdict that this guy hands down gets overruled by a later court, wait and see." The later court overruled, but the government decided again to attack the testimony of psychologists as not being admissible. Why the government decided that, I could never figure out. At that point we went in as a friend of

the court and wrote a fantastic court brief; we won in Judge Bazelon's court later that year. The article describes the history of that event.

The substantive biases of counseling psychology. (1964). In A. S. Thompson & D. E. Super (Eds.), *The professional preparation of counseling psychologists: Report of the 1964 Greystone Conference.* New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, Bureau of Publications. This is where I began to say that counseling psychology is always going to be low on the totem pole. Don't worry about it, just do your work.

Personality theory as related to counseling psychology. (1972). *The Counseling Psychologist,* 3(2), 82–87. I said, "Look, there is no such thing as personality theory, no single theory. So if you are going to get into this morass, you have to know something about it. But there is no one theory that is going to help you."

Psychology: Science? Profession? (1976). *In Report of the Proceedings of the Vail Conference on Levels and Patterns of Professional Training.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association. We have never decided what to do with a master's degree in psychology. My more hellbent colleagues believe it ought to be ruled out. There is a terrific amount of evidence that most of the work of a psychologist in any community is done by people with master's degrees. I tried to address that problem. I tried to tackle four major issues in professional psychology in this particular article, which opened the conference.

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Editors' Note. This interview is based on edited transcripts of audiotapes that are housed in the AACD library.

P. Paul Heppner *is an associate professor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Missouri—Columbia.* ***Ernie Ness*** *is a doctoral intern in Counseling Services at the University of Missouri—Columbia. The authors gleaned many of the perceptions of Jack Darley from a series of letters written to Darley upon his retirement in 1978. Those letters, along with a complete bibliography of his professional work, are in the archives of AACD.*

Robert H. Shaffer: The Quintessential "Do-Gooder"

GEORGE D. KUH and MICHAEL D. COOMES

Will Rogers once said, "I never met a man I didn't like." A variation of that sentiment describes Robert H. Shaffer. Everybody who knows Bob admires and respects him. For over five decades—as a counselor, dean of students, faculty member, professional association leader, and international consultant—Bob has pursued a simple but important goal: to encourage the personal and professional development of those with whom he has contact. Throughout the world are thousands of former students, staff members, and professional associates—all of whom he considers friends—who have been touched by Bob's enthusiasm and commitment to human development and who are working toward similar goals.

A native Hoosier, Bob earned a baccalaureate degree from DePauw University, where he was a Rector Scholar and played quarterback on an unbeaten, unscored-on football team. After college, his interest in serving others took him to New York City and the executive staff of the Boy Scouts of America. In addition to scouting work, Bob found time to work on a master's degree at Teachers College, Columbia University, and a PhD at New York University and to court his wife, Marjorie (Marge) Fitch. Bob could not turn down an opportunity to return to his home state and, in 1941, Marge left her promising career as a fashion writer to accompany her husband, a newly appointed instructor and counselor at the Indiana University (IU) School of Business.

In the decade after his return from military service in 1945, Bob's potential for leadership in the counseling and student affairs field was recognized in Indiana and nationally. In 1948, Bob was elected secretary of the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and was appointed associate editor of the *Personnel and Guidance Journal*. In 1951, Bob was elected the first president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA). By 1955, he was full professor of business and education and dean of students, after serving as assistant and associate dean. Such notable achievements usually reflect accomplishments over the course of an entire career. But Bob had much more to do.

Along with Kate Hevner Mueller and Betty Greenleaf, Bob developed a master's-level preparation program in student affairs administration that is considered one of the best in the country (Sandeen, 1982). He directed the master's program twice, from 1969 to 1972 and from 1979 to 1981, and he directed the doctoral program in higher education administration between 1972 and 1979. He got to know, by name, every international student who studied at IU during the 1950s and 1960s. From 1969 to 1972, he was the editor of the *NASPA Journal*. Bob's unwavering belief in the valuable contributions of the fraternity system to the quality of life on a residential university campus was instrumental in the establishment of the annual Interfraternity Institute (a week-long seminar for fraternity professionals) and the Center for the Study of the College Fraternity.

In recognition of these and many other accomplishments, Bob has received numerous awards and honors. In 1969 he received two special awards, one from APGA acknowledging his meritorious service as the association's first president and another from the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) for distinguished service. He is the first recipient of NASPA's Scott Goodnight Award for distinguished service as a dean (1973). His alma mater, DePauw University, awarded Bob an honorary LLD degree in 1976.

In 1979 he received ACPA's distinguished professional service award. His fraternity work was recognized with the Lambda Chi Alpha Order of Interfraternity Service Award, the distinguished service award of the Fraternity Executives Association, the Silver Medal for Distinguished Service from the National Interfraternity Conference, and the Robert H. Shaffer Award—named after him—granted annually by the Association of Fraternity Advisers to an individual who has made noteworthy contributions to the quality of fraternity life. He also was honored in 1982 by the National Campus Activities Association for his contributions to the campus activities field.

Bob has received plaudits at home as well. Shortly after concluding an unprecedented 15-year term as dean of students, he was elected secretary of the Indiana University Faculty Council. For a former administrator to be elected by faculty members to such a prestigious position is quite unusual and reflects the academic community's high regard for Bob's work and character. In a recent alumni survey, Shaffer was one of the five most frequently mentioned professors. A portrait of Bob hangs in the Indiana Memorial Union, a permanent tribute to Bob's successes in enhancing the quality of student life at IU. In May 1985, Indiana University conferred on Bob its highest distinction, an honorary doctorate.

Bob's 16- to 18-hour work days added an additional dimension to the challenges of raising a family. In a feature article in the *Saturday Evening Post* ("This Is the Dean Speaking," 1956), Bob said, "In common with other men who've caught a bear of a job by the tail, I'm scheming to make their [his sons, Jim and Bruce] acquaintance while they're still boys" (p. 104).

According to his son, Jim, Bob was successful—thanks partly to the machinations of Marge:

> Mom worked hard to rearrange the family's schedule—to her inconvenience—in order to provide Dad with opportunities to interact with us. . . . Dad devoted his life to helping others achieve their potential, me included. I remember asking him how he would know if he was doing a good job. He said his success would be reflected by the achievements of those he had

> worked with. I got an idea of how he was doing when a business trip took me to Philadelphia at the same time that the NASPA Convention was in town. I walked into the convention and said, "Hi, I'm Jim Shaffer and I'm looking for my father, Robert Shaffer." In the short time it took to locate Dad, at least 10 people explained to me how respected Dad was in his field and how fortunate they were to have been acquainted with him. (J. Shaffer, personal communication, May 16, 1985)

Those privileged to know Bob as a mentor or colleague are well aware of his abiding interest in their personal and professional welfare. His rich, diverse experiences as a student affairs administrator and professor and an almost contagious zeal, vitality, and sense of humor have kept him in demand for professional development workshops during what was supposed to be retirement from active service in 1981. His appointment as acting dean of students at the Indiana University—Northwest campus in Gary in 1983–84 made a prophet of an anonymous guest at Bob's retirement party: "Nice party, Bob. See you at the office on Monday."

Bob's impressive array of honors and awards belie his self-effacing nature. He cares deeply about colleagues and students, and he has lived his life according to one simple credo: "Do good whenever an opportunity is presented." Indeed, Bob Shaffer is the quintessential "do-gooder."

As with the other pioneers in guidance featured in this series, space limitations preclude chronicling all of Bob's contributions to the counseling and student affairs field. In an effort to preserve for posterity Bob's integrity, character, and unflagging spirit, we talked with him and his wife of 45 years, Marge, about the meaning of his chosen vocation, the importance of professional associations, and his contributions to the student affairs field. In preparing this article, we relied on some insights into Bob gleaned from working with him for 10 years and on the dozen scrapbooks Marge meticulously kept as a record of their lives together.

THE EARLY YEARS

G.K.: *Your work in counseling and student affairs administration spans five decades, from the 1930s to the 1980s. What stands out in your mind when you think about your formative years as a student affairs professional?*

R.S.: Louis H. Dirks was the dean of men when I was an undergraduate at DePauw, and he became a very good friend. My junior year, he called me into his office after returning from the NASPA meeting, which was NADAM (National Association of Deans and Advisers of Men) in those days. He said each member agreed to talk to some young man in college about going into the field. "So," he said, "I want to talk to you about that. You're my man."

From my graduate school days, I remember my mentor, Harry D. Kitson. Kitson was from Mishawaka, Indiana, where I went to high school. I had never heard of him, of course, when I was in high school. But when I finished college, a friend learned I was going to go to New York to work with the Boy Scouts of America. He said I should look up Harry Kitson. So when I went to New York, I had a letter of introduction from my Mishawaka friend to present to Dr. Kitson, a professor at Teachers College, Columbia. Although we became friends, I obviously did not want to do poorly in his class, and I always felt I had to live up to his high expectations.

Kitson appointed me to the editorial board of *Occupations Magazine*, although I probably had no right to be on the board at that age. So just by chance I had an opportunity to work with a journal. I later learned that Kitson was a professor of psychology at IU for 6 years before he went to Columbia. His area of expertise was vocational guidance, and my master's degree was in vocational guidance, not student personnel. I also studied under Alice Lloyd Jones, Ruth Strang, and Roy Anderson at Teachers College. My major professor at NYU was Robert Hoppock. I believe I was his first doctorate.

When the war broke out in 1941, many of the people who were leaders in our field went into war service. Some served with great distinction, such as John Darley and Dan Feather, who worked in aircraft crew selection. But in 1946 everybody realized that the guidance movement needed to be broadened; maybe the personnel work during the war even contributed to it. I myself was a personnel consultant, as they called it, MOS of 290, which meant that I was supposed to help in the testing and assignment of personnel.

The postwar period was just great, a lot of growth. In fact, many people do not realize how rapidly American higher education expanded to accommodate the thousands of students and faculty members returning from the service. Indiana University doubled its enrollment twice in about 3 years. We started semesters in the middle of the traditional semester time period because large numbers of veterans and professors were returning at about the same time and wanted to start college. We used church basements for classes and for social events. We even postponed the start of the semester for 30 to 40 days in the fall of 1946 to complete the construction of some temporary barracks. Under President Wells's leadership, IU was very proud to say it never turned down an Indiana resident veteran because of space. We took them and somehow met their needs.

With this larger influx of new students at virtually every institution in the country, orientation became very important. I got interested in the movement and participated in the organization of the National Orientation Directors Conference.

After the war, most personnel workers believed that we needed to broaden our base. At the Columbus, Ohio, convention, which I think was the first following the split between the National Vocational Guidance Association (NVGA) and the American College Personnel Association (ACPA), there was general agreement that an umbrella organization was needed.

CREATION OF THE AMERICAN PERSONNEL AND GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION

G.K.: *You mentioned that after World War II, some perceived a need for an umbrella organization of counseling and personnel workers. What were the circumstances surrounding the creation of APGA and your election as the first president?*

R.S.: The concept of APGA as an umbrella organization became attractive then because guidance personnel, even NVGA members, realized that guidance was becoming broader. Until the Second World War, vocational guidance dominated the counseling and personnel field because we were coming out of the depression, so retraining and replacement counseling was very important. But the number of groups that could benefit from counseling increased. For example, until APGA was formed, school counseling did not have a separate professional organization. School counselors belonged to NVGA or to the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDAC).

From about 1948 to 1951, a Unification Committee existed. When the committee met, say in Baltimore or Chicago, they invited regional leaders of ACPA and NVGA to the meetings to sell them on unification. I became involved in Unification Committee work in 1948 in my role as secretary of ACPA. Another influential group was the Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations, a federation of representatives from NVGA, ACPA, NASPA, NAWDAC, and other organizations. The council agreed that it should be dissolved and supported the Unification Committee's recommendation that an umbrella membership organization be created.

It was questionable whether anyone really wanted to be the first president of APGA. Either Gilbert Wrenn or Donald Super could have been selected had they been candidates. But both were so busy writing books and speaking that neither could take on the organizational detail work required in the first years of operation. But my good friend, Jesse Ruhlman of the University of Southern California, and I finally agreed to be candidates. Jesse had worked very hard on the Unification Committee and had coordinated the Los Angeles meeting. She probably should have been elected for that reason alone. The Unification Committee conducted the election from Washington, D.C., by mail ballot; I was elected.

> *"It was questionable whether anyone really wanted to be the first president of APGA."*

G.K.: Did you ever wonder if APGA would be a viable organization?

R.S.: I sure did! We didn't have any money and I thought we might go bankrupt before we could really get started. I think we operated on a budget of only $7,000, and practically all of that came from NVGA as we transferred people and their money from the NVGA payroll to the APGA payroll.

The budget was so tight at the beginning that I remember once at an early planning meeting for the second APGA convention in Chicago (what would have been at the end of the 1st year of what was then called PGA—Personnel and Guidance Association), the officers couldn't even afford to eat. We went to the coffee shop of what was then the Stevens Hotel (now the Conrad Hilton), and big Charles O'Dell (who was at least 6'4") had to squeeze into a booth with six others while we ate hamburgers to save the organization a little money. That may have been the low point because we weren't sure whether the organization would survive financially until the convention.

Willa Norris, the assistant executive secretary of NVGA, became the executive secretary of APGA and organized the national office. Nancy Shivers, the NVGA office manager, became the managing editor for the new *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, which was formerly *Occupations Magazine*. When Willa left for Michigan State, Nancy took over the Washington office and did an outstanding job. Frank Fletcher from Ohio State, the third president of APGA, was the first treasurer and did yeoman work in setting up the books, keeping accounts, and knowing whether we had any money at all! Money was in such short supply, he literally had to delay writing some checks until the end of the month to pay bills. Once Frank asked Willa Norris and Nancy Shivers not to cash their December checks until January. In the early years we had to rent office space from the American Trucking Association. I couldn't believe it when APGA later bought the building on New Hampshire Avenue, which, of course, has been a wonderful real estate deal for the association.

G.K.: When did you think APGA would make it as the umbrella organization for personnel and guidance workers?

R.S.: Thanks to the support from the leaders of the various groups, by the first national meeting of APGA in Los Angeles in 1951, I thought APGA would make it if we could somehow manage our early cash flow problems. Cliff Erickson, the president of NVGA at the time (and my roommate at the Los Angeles convention), and Donald Super (the first APGA president-elect), because of his stature and leadership in the vocational guidance movement, were able to consolidate the support of many of the 3,200 NVGA members. Gilbert Wrenn and Ed Williamson, who were very influential among the 700 to 800 members of ACPA, also were strong supporters.

There were many others who were instrumental in making APGA viable. Charles O'Dell was helpful for two reasons. First, he was very large in stature, an imposing physical presence. Second, and more important, he represented the Employment Service, one of the best organized nonacademic guidance organizations in the country, and he helped persuade his constituents of the importance of APGA. Many NAWDAC leaders, such as Anna Rose Hawks of Columbia, Eunice Hilton of Syracuse, and Hilda Thralkill of Louisville, provided a lot of helpful advice. Although NAWDAC did not join as an organization, some of these women later held individual memberships in APGA.

G.K.: Was there any vocal opposition to the establishment of APGA?

R.S.: Not really, but there were a lot of people who thought an umbrella membership organization would be unworkable. The American Psychological Association (APA) was just beginning to evolve into its divisional structure, and we attempted to model APGA after what APA was trying to do.

Most of the reluctance was associated with a fear of losing one's professional identity. Harry Kitson, my own mentor, wanted vocational guidance to be paramount in the guidance movement and said that if we did away with NVGA, he would organize another similar organization. So one of my priorities was to make certain that each division had a particular function and identity. My major contribution was introducing the concept of administration in higher education to APGA as I was instrumental in organizing what became Commission I of ACPA—Organization and Administration of Student Affairs. That attracted some NASPA members to APGA, I think.

M.C.: The unification of counseling and personnel organizations under the APGA umbrella did not bring NASPA or NAWDAC into the fold. Why not?

R.S.: Some didn't want to associate with college professors; others didn't want to be with activity types. The deans of men and deans of women were close-knit groups; each had a very high degree of loyalty.

One of my more embarrassing moments occurred at the NAWDAC meeting in Chicago while I was APGA president. I was still trying to get NAWDAC to come into APGA, and Anna Rose Hawkes, the NAWDAC president at the time, invited me to attend the NAWDAC banquet, which was formal. So I rented a tuxedo, because in those days I sure didn't own one. However, I brought only brown shoes to the convention. I'm probably the only APGA president ever to wear brown shoes to a formal dinner. A lot of my friends said they didn't notice but they sensed my discomfort, and some still remember me as the dean in the tux with the brown shoes!

In any event, we organized a commission on women's affairs in APGA in an effort to respond to women's concerns and created Commission I of ACPA to attract some of the deans of students. Ed Williamson was a great help on the latter, as he was a leader among the younger deans of students. It's interesting that about 10 years later, Williamson became the president of NASPA, but in the early 1950s he was the archenemy of the NASPA rank and file. They saw him as too theoretical, a threat to the tradition of practical approaches to campus problems.

***G.K.:** As the first president of APGA, what kinds of things did you do?*

R.S.: I was president for 2 years, 1951 to 1953. Being president just took a lot of work—appointing committees, writing (in those days the telephone wasn't used very much) to get people to serve on committees and to make reports. I spent many Saturdays and Sundays typing out agendas, committee reports, committee assignments, and mailing labels because we didn't have much clerical help.

I invested a lot of energy convincing others that APGA was a viable organization. In the early days we had a lot of rivalry between proponents of vocational guidance, testing, administration, practitioners, and college teachers. To get people involved, we created more than 20 committees, each involving maybe as many as 8 to 10 people. During the first APGA convention in Los Angeles, we involved as many as 300 to 400 people on these committees. This was intentional, to increase the number of people who had a stake in the success of the organization.

We turned one of the first mass meetings into "buzz" groups. We said, "Everybody in the first and second rows turn around and meet six or seven people and start talking about these issues." We had literally several hundred people who were pretty mad at each other talking about the issues. They were put in a position where they had to participate whether they liked it or not. I was not going to run an organization that members did not feel a part of. Although people probably don't remember that now, I think a lot of people were impressed that the leaders wanted them to be involved. I think that established the philosophy of the association, which has pretty much endured.

APGA got off to a good start, I believe, mostly because we involved people and dealt responsively with organizational and operational problems. We didn't entertain many theoretical issues that first year or two because we just had too much spade work to do. So it was a case of getting people together and selling them on the concept of a broadly based organization devoted to counseling and personnel work.

THE DEAN OF STUDENTS

***G.K.:** Compared to the 1950s, the 1960s was a pretty difficult period for deans of students.*

R.S.: At first, I continued to act as I did in the 1950s, like an old-fashioned dean. When students would come in with "challenges," as they were calling them, or outright demands, I was often ego involved and assumed a defensive posture rather than responding like a professional. It took me 2 or 3 years to catch on to this.

I remember the first time I met with the officers of the Organization for University Reform (OUR), which was advised by Louis Stamatakos (now professor of higher education at Michigan State University) and Sandy MacLean (vice-president of student affairs at the University of Missouri—St. Louis). These OUR guys were bright but I can remember thinking, "You're going to reform what?" "You're going to do what?" One of their early reform proposals was to do away with the dean, something in which I was obviously ego involved! But it wasn't until I began to sense that society was changing and that these young people—rightly or wrongly—were different that I began to see my work as a profession.

The critics of that period said, "Shaffer, you just give in" or "Trouble is you waste too much time talking to them—tell them a few things!" Of course, telling students (and critics!) to jump in the lake lowered the blood pressure for an hour or two. But very quickly another problem arose. At the conventions during that period we debated whether the dean had to reestablish his or her authority before dealing with radical student leaders. Of course, many of my colleagues across the country spent their careers trying to establish their authority. Calling out the national guard, calling the police, or using force was doomed to failure in those years because students wouldn't give up.

But I enjoyed my job; it was fun in ways. The organizers were always one step ahead of me, which was annoying. But they usually came into my office to tell me what they were going to do. In fact, the few times we had really bad episodes were when they didn't warn us and we couldn't prepare—not to prepare to stop them but to be prepared to handle the incident appropriately and to avoid violence. If the police were caught short-handed and some police officer were really exhausted, it was really hard to refrain from laying a club on somebody who was calling him all sorts of obscene and profane names.

***M.C.** Some deans have said that they were ordered to have someone infiltrate student organizations to find out what was going to happen next.*

R.S.: We didn't have to do that at IU. We had staff members openly attend those meetings. In fact, when I was a student, I was a member of both the Students for a Democratic Society and the original Student League for Industrial Democracy, two activist organizations of their era. Obviously, as the dean of students, I wasn't involved in those organizations, but I continued to receive their bulletins. So spying just wasn't necessary. Later on, about 1965 or 1967, I think, some outside agitators came on to some campuses and encouraged secret actions and violence. But at IU, we didn't need to obtain information surreptitiously because students told us what was going to happen.

But it seemed I was working all the time. People laugh when I say that, but every night (weekends included) one or more militant groups would be out. So I would be up until 2:00 or 3:00 A.M. and then go to work at 8:00 A.M..

M.S.: That's true. But it is also true that Bob and chancellor Herman Wells (president of IU from 1937 to 1962) were the most visible administrators on the campus. Everybody knew Wells and Shaffer, so if they had a problem they knew someone they could call. And a lot of them did call, and it was just fine—Bob loved to straighten them out. And their parents would call, townspeople would call, and so on.

During the 1960s the phone calls began to get tougher to deal with. Callers would say that students were communists and radicals; why did Bob let them do this or that? Then he'd get calls from parents; some thought he was too tough and some thought he wasn't tough enough. And all this time he was trying to hold a dialogue with students so he could get their point of view. I went to pick up Bob after work once and he and a student activist leader were sitting on the steps of his office eating ice cream cones, just having a good talk. That was Bob!

But I could usually expect him home for dinner at about 5:45. After dinner, he would go back to the campus; he always had some kind of meeting. If it wasn't a student group or committee, it would be a faculty committee. But those years really were wonderful.

***G.K.:** What impact did the Vietnam war have on your role as dean of students and on your personal life?*

R.S.: It had a lot, of course. Vietnam was a hot issue at IU in that we were then and we remain a rather conservative state. The war became related to issues of Black students' rights and opportunities. And protestors focused on the university as an agent of the establishment. But as I told a group one day, "Okay, I'll stop the war tomorrow. Now what do we do?" They were demanding that things be done that you couldn't do, such as getting faculty to declare absolute nonsupport of the war effort. As you know, to get university faculty to agree on or do anything in a short period of time is next to impossible. And then my son, Bruce, was killed in Vietnam. That changed the war for me because I was so personally involved.

M.S.: Bob was attending the APGA meeting in Las Vegas when the army informed us that we had lost Bruce. I knew when I saw the man coming that something terrible had happened. He asked who I was and if any other relatives were nearby. Jim, our oldest son, was doing graduate work in business at IU at the time. But I said, "Tell me what you have to tell me." He wouldn't until Jim arrived. Then I had to call Bob and tell him.

R.S.: Bruce debated whether to be a conscientious objector or to volunteer for the service. When he chose to go, I supported him in that decision. I supported Senator Vance Hartke, who voiced opposition to the war in 1965 or 1966, but I can't remember exactly when I favored the withdrawal of U.S. troops. In any event, my son's death didn't change my work much. Students who were opposed to the war had great sympathy for me, and these students were my friends anyway. But as a servant of the university I often had to oppose them in their demonstrations and declarations.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDENT AFFAIRS PROFESSION

G.K.: *What have been your most important contributions to the student affairs profession?*

R.S.: That's really hard. I think possibly my most significant contribution was helping colleagues advance in the field professionally and develop personally, encouraging them when they were down, or encouraging them to find something personally meaningful in the field. I saw many emerge as national leaders—Jim Duncan at Texas, Lou Stamatakos at Michigan State, Dave Ambler at Kansas, Phyllis Mable at Virginia Commonwealth and now Longwood, Keith Miser at Vermont—and I should quickly add that there are many others who also have distinguished themselves, but space does not permit me to list them all.

> *". . . my most significant contribution was helping colleagues advance in the field professionally and develop personally, encouraging them when they were down, or encouraging them to find something personally meaningful in the field."*

Betty Greenleaf, my colleague in the Dean of Students Division and in the College Student Personnel Administration preparation program, and I wondered at times if some of our students were going to get through the program. Betty supported more rigorous admission standards for the graduate program. She once told me, "Don't admit anyone in my absence!" I suppose she would argue that I tended to ignore a candidate's academic record and relied too much on my own intuitive evaluation of an applicant. But I stand on our record because IU has had many strong graduates who were not outstanding students as undergraduates but who have emerged as outstanding student affairs professionals, and it has been very rewarding to have been a part of their development.

I feel strongly that paying attention to and providing support for individuals are keys to professional growth. I spent many hours with individuals because I believed in working with them. I was sometimes criticized for that, but I found it most rewarding, and I probably would not change if I had it to do over.

Another thing I hope I contributed is solid staff training. I'm really proud of that. I believe most of the people who worked at IU believed that they had my support and encouragement to better themselves, even though at times it meant real sacrifice and a fear of losing them. I'm very proud of our people, and I think most of them feel that their time there was rewarding and growth producing.

I advise staff directors to support the development of staff in whatever areas the staff member seeks fulfillment and to not attempt to make every staff member look and behave the same way. I have told young staff members that if they have a supervisor who doesn't support individual growth, they should form their own support groups. We used to have a Saturday morning support group at Indiana; we would meet in one of our homes, have coffee, and discuss a new book or something. Not everyone liked that, of course, and some former staff members still joke about those Saturday morning meetings, but for others they were very important.

I always tried to recognize and reinforce the person on my staff who differed with me. Other staff members sometimes wondered why I put up with such an S.O.B. But a staff member who challenged my thinking was a useful reminder that people see things differently. I would go out of my way sometimes to tell young people after a staff meeting, "Thanks for what you said," just so they knew that they were okay and were valuable staff members.

G.K.: *You have referred to mentors as "friends." You seem to enjoy the same kind of relationship with your former students.*

R.S.: That's true. Even E. K. Fretwell of Teachers College, who was a famous early writer on extracurricular activities in public schools, became a friend in the sense that he knew my Boy Scout work and encouraged me to write papers on related topics. Since then I have regarded students as friends and colleagues who are searching for knowledge and teaching me too. I have no quarrel with the concept of mentoring, but in professional work and graduate school friendship should be the motivating force, not fear or a relationship based on power or expertise.

G.K.: *You have made some contributions to the literature that are considered classics, one of which is* Personnel Work in Colleges and Universities *(1961), the book you co-authored with Martinson.*

R.S.: Bill Martinson and I drafted that book in about 60 days. It wasn't a classic; we were trying to explain the personnel movement to the layman. We wanted to get it out fast and we did. We had a lot of arguments about how we were going to say things; he was more of a theoretician than I and probably more scholarly. He also was a good editor, and we had a lot of fun working on that project together.

An earlier paper on communication that I really think is close to a classic is, "Student Personnel Problems Requiring a Campus-Wide Approach" (Shaffer, 1961). When I went to the IU—Northwest campus in Gary as acting dean in 1983, I used some of the ideas from that paper. We had a lot of staff meetings and encouraged liaisons with all academic departments because student affairs cannot afford to operate in isolation. I'm afraid some staff people today prefer to avoid the faculty on the student affairs committee and think it's a waste of time to go to faculty council meetings. The farther we are removed from those groups, the more isolated we become. We have to be more assertive and actively contribute to the work of some of these committees.

M.C.: *This sounds similar to things I've heard you say about creating community on campuses. Can you expand a little about what you mean by community?*

R.S.: I grew up in a little Hoosier town called Pittsburg, a village of 300 to 400 people; I knew everybody in town, everybody in town knew me, which had its advantages and disadvantages, of course. The reason I'm so interested in creating a sense of community in college is because in a community, everyone knows, or at least thinks they are known by, everyone else; therefore, there is considerable pressure to always be on one's best behavior. That doesn't mean students will always do everything "right," but maybe they will recognize that somebody knows and cares about what they are doing and say something or perhaps correct them. It's almost impossible to be anonymous in that situation. The pressure is on students to do their best—out of class as well as in class. This is why I have tried to create a feeling of community in any group of which I was a member, because I believe the attention and support of colleagues and peers is a very powerful socializing influence on the college campus. The people with whom one interacts can help one achieve beyond one's limits.

If student development is one of our primary goals, we must get support for it. We can't afford to allow the campus to muddle along as a federation of autonomous and often independent, loosely coupled units that seem to have nothing in common. This is contrary to the whole idea of a university. The common denominator must be a sense of community—shared values, pride, and a sense of purpose that is the foundation for higher learning and personal development.

> *"We can't afford to allow the campus to muddle along as a federation of autonomous and often independent, loosely coupled units that seem to have nothing in common."*

We don't want students to go into the business world, for example, without being challenged to consider or think about the obligations and responsibilities the business community has to the rest of society. What should an educated person do when a business enterprise, like Union Carbide, is so important but is so dangerous that literally 2,000 people can be wiped out? Of course, this can happen in nuclear plants . . . it could happen. So I think it's critical that interaction occur between students of all majors and faculty of all disciplines and that they learn to communicate with each other using a shared, critically examined core of values that defines the community.

M.C. How do you facilitate the development of a sense of community?

R.S.: We had a rule that somebody from our staff would attend a faculty lecture or seminar just so other faculty members would know we were interested in what they were doing as opposed to always being too busy. The second thing is to serve on committees that have varied purposes and composition of members. The third thing I encouraged was having faculty from different disciplines working with us. At Indiana, we had faculty from sociology and history working with us and got some of their students involved in student affairs research. I once went to a sociology professor—who is now a very good friend of mine—who was surprised that we were interested in the things he was doing.

We also tried to develop a sense of community through the 10 residence centers on the campus, with the notion that each center should develop its own personality. We tried various things: business majors in one center and music majors in another (which didn't work at all), and 1st-year students in another. We tried various things so that people facing similar challenges would be surrounded by others in similar circumstances. The key to making these experiments work was having energetic, committed staff members willing to work long hours in orienting new students, involving them as much as possible, and helping them create some common bond.

G.K.: Sounds like Sandy Astin's (1984) theory of involvement.

R.S.: I'm convinced that's the right track. I tried to do that. When someone on our staff was upset or frustrated with something, I would put them on a committee or task force to work on the problem. Whether it was a new rule about residence halls or parking regulations or who went to conventions—which was a tough one (we didn't have enough money to send everybody so we tried to divide equitably)—I said work it out, find a solution, make a recommendation.

STUDENT AFFAIRS WORK YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

M.C. In what ways has student affairs work improved and how has the field changed for the better?

R.S.: Well, one of the things that has changed for the better is recognizing the importance of evaluating what we do and documenting whether we make a difference. I'm convinced that student affairs professionals have made a difference, but we have not established criteria against which our achievements can be measured. We have taught evaluation for years, now we ought to apply it.

I think we are more professional now and use principles from organizational theory and organizational development more frequently. In the old days, if a student did something you didn't like, then he was a traitor. I hate to admit it, but I would often say to a good student-friend, "What were you thinking of? You've let me down!" I'm sorry now to have used that approach, but nevertheless that is what I did.

> *"I'm convinced that student affairs professionals have made a difference, but we have not established criteria against which our achievements can be measured. We have taught evaluation for years, now we ought to apply it."*

Student affairs staff people are as eager and as extremely competent as they've always been. As a group, students in our preparation programs have some of the highest personal and academic qualifications of any single group of students I've seen anywhere. I would stack them up against law or MBA students any time. I hope we're not just attracting "hot shot" leaders who are personally persuasive, but that we're also emphasizing professionalism and developing a body of knowledge that can be used and be useful in the field.

But I am troubled because salaries in student affairs and human development work are not keeping pace with other fields. Student affairs staff people are not paid what they're worth. I have to be honest with the competent young people with whom I talk about having alternative professional careers in mind, whether business or social services, which I think are going to be emerging fields in the next 25 years and will pay accordingly.

To me, this is the critical frontier of academia. I'm afraid the prejudice of the academic mind will never allocate the resources to student affairs that the field deserves. People pay lip service to the importance of the students and meeting their needs and all that, but because developing the mind and the intellect is a primary goal, I think most budget makers are biased against allocating resources to the so-called "extracurricular" and residence halls. Oh, they want things to be in good shape, they want good public relations, and they want to help students stay in school, but when it really comes down to the dollar, I'm afraid as a group faculty and administrators feel that it's money taken away from the academy's main purpose, cultivation of the intellect. We just haven't been able to convince the academic community that our work also contributes significantly to students' intellectual and academic achievement.

G.K.: *Is it possible in the next 25 years that this pessimistic condition you've described can be changed for the better?*

R.S.: I don't know about the time period. It's possible if we use evaluative techniques and our professional knowledge to articulate what the field is about and challenge the assumption that anybody can do our work. I continue to be uneasy with the typical faculty member's belief that a college can be administered by any professor who chooses to leave his or her field for a couple of years, serve as an administrator, and then go back to his or her discipline.

We need to interpret for ourselves what we are doing, how to demonstrate it, and how to communicate it to nonbelievers, to the "infidels" as I call them. The fact that I use that term shows that I have not divorced my ego from this work. I'm still ego involved, pitting the believer against the nonbeliever as opposed to using professional judgment and demonstrating that a dollar invested in student affairs does this and that, which is demonstrably better than a dollar invested in some other activity.

G.K.: *You mentioned ego involvement and inferred that being ego involved may not be appropriate for student affairs work today. Such an approach probably wasn't appropriate in the 1960s either, but, nonetheless, that's the way you were.*

R.S.: The issue is really about commitment. I definitely was committed to the field of individual development, and I believed—and I still believe—that any individual in this world, to make a significant contribution, must also contribute to the development of others, whether it's religious beliefs or any other value domain. Administrators in complex enterprises such as colleges or universities today cannot survive mentally if they're challenged, tested, or required to devote 24 hours a day to the job. We must learn to get a little distance from our work. Maybe I say that because I was too committed. In retrospect, I recognize I didn't see enough of my family in the 1960s when they were growing up. Sunday morning was the only time I had off. I don't think that's realistic for the future, but also I don't think you can go the other direction and just be a "cool-hand Luke" administering a bureaucracy. Those people who do that are quickly identified and lose credibility and interest.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

G.K.: *What role did your family play in your career?*

R.S.: Marge supported me because she and I believe in and value the same things. We believe in individual involvement. I think the kids wondered what in the heck their dad was doing some of the time, particularly my younger one, Bruce. Once I was raising hell about something at home during the time he was a young radical in high school. He told me, "Don't bring your problems to me." In retrospect, I know he was questioning his role as a leader, and I should have recognized this and offered help to him. When he led a strike in the local high school, it was actually news to me. In my idealism, I thought a father and son should be close enough that no matter who I was, he would have told me, "Dad, tomorrow I'm leading a strike." But he kept it from me—and very cleverly, I might add.

G.K.: *Marge, as you look back, what do you think the kids would say about Bob's high level of involvement in and commitment to his work, which kept him away from home so much?*

M.S.: When Bob *was* home, the boys spent all of their time with him, telling him everything. Ours was a very active household; we were not in a rut, there was no routine, and things were different all the time. They were always included in our entertaining, and we did a lot of that. We started out having all the residence hall staff for dinner once a year; when the group got too big, we would invite just the heads of the units. Later, when Bob got into international work, we had all the foreign students out to dinner. When the number of foreign students increased, we entertained by countries. We would have the Thailand students one night, the Afghanistan students another night, and so forth. And the boys met just about every foreign student who came to dinner.

Bruce and Jim particularly enjoyed our summer vacations that we took together as a family. Jim still talks about our trips to Mexico, how much fun we had and the unusual things that happened. The boys were a part of it all, and they really enjoyed it.

G.K.: *Bob, how would you characterize your life?*

R.S.: I've tried to make my life positive and interactive, almost assertive. I can't just stand back and be an observer. I get my zest out of having a difference of opinion with someone. I try to involve myself in important issues. I am always trying to learn about a new field, or a new part of the world, or a new issue.

My security or sense of well-being has come from trying to do the right thing and knowing I've tried rather than ducking the issue. "For whom does the bell toll?" It tolls for me. I guess I get my peace of mind out of trying to do the right thing, even though that means my own life may be a little less peaceful. In retrospect, I wish my life had been more peaceful at times, but I don't think I can ever find peace in that sense (although I've read Norman Vincent Peale and all that stuff). To some extent, this is a function of the times and may be exacerbated in the role of a college administrator. The world and the campus will never be uneventful or completely at peace. Life is more open now than when I was growing up. People who worry about "privacy"—and I'm not criticizing them—or worry about being bothered are fighting a losing battle. Our lives are not going to be private anymore. We are always going to be influenced by external events, whether it's an industrial accident in India or a war in the Middle East or an economic policy at home that seems to affect a particular sector of society unjustly or a change in campus policy that upsets students, parents, faculty members, or student affairs staff people.

> *"My security or sense of well-being has come from trying to do the right thing and knowing I've tried rather than ducking the issue."*

G.K.: *What do you think Bob Shaffer will be remembered for?*

R.S.: Realistically, of course, I won't be remembered. I would like to be remembered as an individual who helped others be better than they would have been if they hadn't met me, hadn't studied under me, hadn't worked with me, or hadn't been involved with me in some activity.

Second, I hope that I'll be remembered for taking an interest in the individual, not letting the institution and its bureaucracy be

> *"I would like to be remembered as an individual who helped others be better than they would have been if they hadn't met me . . ."*

more important to me than the individual. That meant at times I was perceived as easy or soft. I've often said, "If nobody will defend him, by God, I will," and I did. So I've kept thieves and drunks and others in school when they shouldn't have been. But I'd rather give a guy another chance than say, "You're out."

What will I be remembered for? Very little, probably, other than maybe as a person who helped others. I've just written 10 letters of recommendation, all for the same man who never studied or worked at IU. I feel that I should help anybody, anywhere, because it would pay off both for the world and for me. I'll help anybody.

Noteworthy Events in the Career of Robert H. Shaffer

1928–32	*Mishawaka High School (IN)*
1932–36	*DePauw University, Greencastle (IN)*
1936–41	*Executive staff, Boy Scouts of America, New York*
1939	*AM awarded, Teachers College, Columbia*
1940	*Married Marjorie (Marge) Fitch*
1941	*Instructor, School of Business, Indiana University*
1942–45	*U.S. Army, World War II (Pacific Theater)*
1945	*PhD awarded, New York University*
1945–55	*Assistant and Associate Dean of Students, Assistant and Associate Professor of Business and Education, IU*
1948–52	*Associate Editor,* Personnel and Guidance Journal
1951–53	*President, American Personnel and Guidance Association*
1955–69	*Dean of Students, IU*
1959, 1961	*Agency for International Development and State Department Consultant, Bangkok, Thailand*
1964–66	*Vice-President, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators*
1965–66	*66 Chairman, Council of Student Personnel Associations*
1967, 1970	*AID Consultant, Kabul, Afghanistan*
1969–72	*Editor,* NASPA Journal
1962–81	*Professor of Business and Education, IU*
1969–72	*Chairman, Department of College Student Personnel Administration, IU*
1970–81	*Dean, Interfraternity Institute*
1972–79	*Chairman, Department of Higher Education, IU*
1976	*LLD awarded, DePauw University*
1979–81	*Chairman, Department of College Student Personnel Administration, IU, Executive Director, Center for the Study of the College Fraternity*
1981	*Professor Emeritus, IU*
1983–84	*Acting Dean of Students, IU—Northwest*
1985	*LLD awarded, IU*

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Year of Article: 1988

Robert O. Stripling: A Man Dedicated to Standards and Accreditation in Counselor Education

DONALD A. HAIGHT

Robert O. Stripling (Bob) is a prince of a person. This I first learned as a beginning doctoral student. It was then, also, that I first became aware of the impact of this man as a professional and as a human being. Bob was my doctoral committee chairperson, and he was a taskmaster. I never worked so hard on anything as I did on my dissertation, and completing it was a painful experience. Yet, as I rewrote each chapter several times, Bob was patient, frequently encouraging and supporting me. Also, he supervised three of my practicums and my internship experience in counselor education at the University of Florida. These were the highlights of my education.

Despite his busy schedule, Bob was always accessible and welcomed me. His keen perception and his ability to help me gain insights into my clients has given me an important tool for my own supervision of practicum students. Because of these experiences with him when I was a doctoral student, and because he continued to correspond with me over the years, writing about Bob was something I wanted to do. My plans to interview him led to a sabbatical for that purpose. With a semester leave, I prepared to spend a month in Gainesville to work with him.

As I drove from New York to Florida, I was apprehensive about how the interviews would go. I was not sure whether I would be able to capture on paper the qualities of a man I admired. I was also apprehensive because several crises had occurred in my life during the year that had just passed, and I was uncertain about how this would affect our work together.

When I arrived in Florida, I called Bob, who invited me to his home that morning. There I had a chance to visit with him and his wife, Dot. I felt warmly received, which helped me feel more confident.

During the following 2 weeks, Bob and I met many times for interviews in his office in the College of Education at the University of Florida. Our discussions covered many areas in addition to the interview below. As we met, some of those sessions were quite supportive for me; Bob was sensitive to my needs and gave of himself to help me work through the residue of the personal crises I had experienced.

During the times between our interviews, I took the opportunity to interview others in the College of Education who had known Bob over the years. After conducting these interviews, I began to realize the contribution that Bob has made to the University of Florida as well as to the counseling profession. For example, Bob was chairperson of the building committee that was largely responsible for the $7 million addition to the College of Education affectionately known as the "back porch." The dean of the college, David Smith (personal communication, October 1983), had high praise for Bob, noting his international contributions, as well as his local, state, and national contributions, and his continuing interest in education even after his retirement. Dean Smith noted in particular that Bob was always willing to devote his best to a task, whether it was large or small or whether it directly benefited him.

Bob started his career as a social studies and English teacher in Sneads, Florida. Two years later, in 1941, he became a counselor in the child guidance clinic of the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School at the University of Florida. He also was responsible for organizing the student personnel office in the College of Education. Thus, he had the opportunity, before going into the service during World War II, to learn something about counseling practice at both the elementary-secondary and college levels. After World War II, until his retirement in 1980, most of his time and energy was devoted to counselor education. As a counselor educator during this almost 40-year period, he became a national and international leader in the profession. He has been influential in the development and passage of national legislation, such as the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in 1958, that has had a major impact on the practice of school counseling and counselor education around the country.

He also is recognized as having been the single most influential person in the achievement of several milestones in the development of the counseling profession (Shertzer & Stone, 1980). In 1959, Bob and Willis (Bill) Dugan, then a counselor educator at the University of Minnesota, wrote a 5-year plan, later adopted by the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES), for the development of standards of preparation in counselor education. During this 5-year period, Bob became chairperson of the ACES National Committee on Counselor Education Standards. This committee drafted the *Standards for Counselor Education in the Preparation of Secondary School Counselors* (American Personnel and Guidance Association [APGA], 1964), which were accepted by ACES in 1964. Bob was later appointed chairperson of the committee that merged the three sets of standards for preparing counselors at the elementary, secondary, and college levels into one statement—the *Standards for the Preparation of Counselors and Other Personnel Services Specialists* (APGA, 1977). These standards were adopted by ACES in 1973 and by APGA in 1977. After the 3-year study of a national committee, again chaired by Bob (who also was the principal writer), ACES, in 1977, approved the first standards for advanced preparation adopted by the profession—*Guidelines for Doctoral Preparation in Counselor Education*. These entry standards and advanced guidelines were published by APGA in 1979 under the title, *Standards for Preparation in Counselor Education*.

Bob also played a significant part in the development and application of the procedures for accreditation in the counseling profession. He served from 1978 to 1980 as the first chairperson of the ACES National Committee on Accreditation. This committee later became the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP) (in affiliation with the American Association for Counseling and Development [AACD]). He also served as co-writer and editor of the first *Accreditation Procedures Manual for Counselor Education*, published by ACES in 1978.

Among his more than 70 articles, book chapters, and books, he co-authored the book, *Counseling, A Growing Profession* (Loughery, Stripling, & Fitzgerald, 1965). His articles and reports reflect his continuing interests in counselor education and school counseling but also branch into other areas, such as the role of professional associations, career decisions, computers, community colleges, and legislation. In addition to his writing and his work on many professional committees, Bob has been a consultant in almost every state in the United States, in more than 70 colleges and universities in this country, and in 27 countries abroad.

Bob has received widespread recognition and numerous awards. In 1965–66, he served as the president of ACES. In 1974, the University of Florida awarded Bob its highest academic rank, Distinguished Service Professor. He also has been the recipient of the ACES Distinguished Service Award, the ACES Mentor of the Year Award, and the AACD Distinguished Service Award. In addition, the University of Florida has chosen to honor him by naming a room in the Counselor Education Department the Robert O. Stripling Seminar Room. On the wall in the middle of the room is a beautiful water color portrait of Bob, painted by the nationally known portrait artist, Ann Manry Kenyon of Jacksonville, Florida. When he retired, Bob was given the University of Florida President's Medallion in recognition of "distinguished service to the university."

Having already noted the awards and recognition that Bob has received, I believe it would be helpful for readers to know how some leaders in the counseling profession have perceived him. For example, the late Arthur A. Hitchcock (personal communication, February 16, 1973), formerly a professor at the State University of New York at Albany and past executive director of APGA (1955–66), and one who had a close working relationship with Bob during the late 1950s and the 1960s, made the following comments:

> I place [Bob] among the three persons who have been most influential in the development of guidance and counseling in the United States. I feel competent to make the judgment because of my national view of guidance during its great developmental years. He may have been the most influential; certainly he is among the top three.

Ralph C. Bedell (personal communication, February 23, 1973), professor emeritus at the University of Missouri and former head of the Counseling and Guidance Institute program in the U.S. Office of Education, is the person with whom Bob has been most closely associated professionally since the late 1950s. Bedell said the following about Robert Stripling:

> His continuing work in the improvement of counselor education programs has brought tremendous gains to counseling and in the process [Bob] has established counselor education at the University of Florida that is preeminent in the United States. I am aware of some of [Bob's] accomplishments in related areas such as his advisement to the administration of the Peace Corps, and I understand from my friends in that activity that his leadership was outstanding. [Bob] has an unusual sense of human relationships which has contributed greatly to his nationwide acceptance by his peers. His integrity is impeccable. He has shown a lifelong commitment to the improvement of humanity through education.

Bruce Shertzer (personal communication, February 19, 1973), former president of APGA and professor at Purdue University, noted that Bob "is a highly competent, true professional who works not to advance himself but to advance the profession." Phelon J. Malouf (personal communication, February 20, 1973), professor emeritus and former chairperson of the School Counseling Program at the University of Utah, commented that "Bob is the personification of the southern gentleman. His warm southern drawl and his gracious and friendly manner please both individuals and groups."

Bert L. Sharp (personal communication, February 11, 1986), counselor educator, dean emeritus of the College of Education at the University of Florida, and, perhaps, the former doctoral student with whom Bob has been most closely associated over the years, noted the following:

> I do think Bob has tended "to live" what he believes. He practices what he believes and teaches to the best of his ability and within external constraints that are imposed upon him. (This statement is written in the present tense because I think he continues to live as he taught—guided by his sense of moral and ethical values of the highest standards). I observe that he behaves, teaches, and counsels as he taught others to do likewise.

Experiences such as writing my dissertation, completing my practicum and internship experiences, and interviewing Bob during my sabbatical leave helped to create the image I have of him. It is not his fame or his widespread influence that draws me to him. Bob has been sensitive to my needs, encouraging me and helping me grow. His ability to help me see clearly the needs of the counseling profession and his significant contributions to the profession are the reasons I hold him in such high regard.

PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

D.H.: Bob, what were some important events or experiences in your upbringing that have influenced your life?

R.S.: I am the baby of eight children. My papa, a Methodist circuit rider in the West Florida—South Alabama Conference died when I was a year old. When he died, Mother was offered a home "for life" in rural southwest Alabama by the Methodist Church Conference, but she took part of her financial resources, including an inheritance from her parents, and purchased a home for us in Montgomery, Alabama, where, she said, "her children could have better educational opportunities." Three of my brothers, including two who were twins, and two of my sisters were old enough to have been my parents. My brothers and sisters, along with Mother, provided me with all the love and security that a child could possibly need.

Later, when I was a young man, several of Mother's friends in rural southwest Alabama told me that they never thought that Claudia Stripling and her eight children would "make it" in Montgomery. It was her love and determination that caused us to succeed. Mother's strength of character and strong Christian faith have been the cornerstones of my inheritance.

D.H.:*You and Dot have had a successful marriage for over 45 years. How and when did you meet her, and what has been her role in helping you establish your career?*

R.S.: I met Dot in May 1935. Mutual friends had arranged for us to have a blind date for an afternoon of picnicking and boating at a fishing village south of Tallahassee, Florida. I shall never forget this first meeting. When we drove up to her home in Tallahassee, a half-block from the Florida State University campus, she was standing in the yard talking with friends. She had on a pale pink and blue printed voile dress and a wide brim straw hat. I was completely captivated (and still am) by her delicate beauty.

Our five grandchildren call Dot "Nana." Last year our youngest grandchild, Catherine, was asked by her kindergarten teacher to name the most beautiful person she knew. Without hesitation, Catherine said, "Nana!"

Intertwined with Dot's beauty is a quietness and a strength of character that has made her a strong positive influence in both my personal and professional life. With each passing year I appreciate and love her more. We are each other's best friend. Nothing is more wonderful, to me, than time spent with her, and some of our most precious moments together are spent with our children and grandchildren.

Dot taught kindergarten and elementary grades before we were married and during the early years of our marriage. For several years, she continued to do substitute teaching as a way of keeping up with her profession. She is an artist who paints with oils. Most of her paintings are of flowers and nature scenes. She is an excellent genealogist, and we have spent many pleasant hours together in libraries along the eastern seaboard of the United States as well as in England tracing the history of both our families. To us, it is an exciting hobby from which we also learn more about American and English history.

D.H.: *I have heard you say that one of the most important contributions that you and your wife could make to your children would be in the development of sound values and a good education. Would you say more about that aspect of your life?*

R.S.: Dot and I have always felt that the greatest contribution that we could make was to provide the very best environment for our children, to provide opportunities for them to test their own values, to help them benefit from their own as well as our experiences, and to reach their own decisions about priorities in life. We're very thankful that, so far, our children have achieved quite a bit. Our son, Bob, is the senior member of his own law firm here in Gainesville. He is a past president of the Academy of Florida Trial Lawyers and is currently a member of the Board of Governors of the Florida Bar Association. In addition to his success in the legal field, he has contributed to our downtown redevelopment by building two office buildings in the last 10 years, one a New Orleans design and the other a Williamsburg design. Bob and his wife, Recie, have three boys. Our daughter, Carolyn, a former teacher, and her husband, Albert B. Jolly, Jr., live in Spartanburg, South Carolina, where he owns a very successful architectural firm. They have two daughters.

D.H.: *You have had a successful career as one of the most effective leaders in our profession. You have traveled throughout the country and the world. And at the same time, you have had a successful family life and contributed to your community of Gainesville. These achievements must have been accompanied by many pressures and stresses. How have you and Dot coped with them?*

R.S.: It was difficult at times, especially when Bob, Jr., and Carolyn were teenagers. I was away so much, and Dot had many problems to handle on her own. We did, however, try to spend as much time together as possible, including weekends at the beach and short vacations in the mountains of North Carolina. Also, my consulting and summer teaching provided opportunities to be together as a family. By the time Bob and Carolyn entered college, we had been in most of the states of the union. Now we often talk and laugh about our experiences in different parts of the United States. I think being together as a family and letting our children know that they always came first in our lives meant much to them as well as to Dot and me.

D.H.: *You started your career as a social studies and English teacher and then switched to teaching geography. A few years later, you became a school counselor and then a counselor in the undergraduate counseling office in the College of Education at the University of Florida. What made you decide to enter counselor education?*

R.S.: At the time, there was an obvious societal need for counseling services. As I was planning for my doctoral studies at Columbia University, the dean of our college at the University of Florida helped me identify three possibilities. I could get my degree in secondary curriculum and perhaps become chairperson of that department, I could get my degree in counseling and develop that area of the college program, or I could take the opportunity I had to receive a fellowship at Clark University and earn a PhD in geography. I chose the area of counselor education because I believed that it was more compatible with the things I wanted to do. I felt there was a need to organize high quality counselor education programs for the preparation of counselors to help meet the needs of students and their parents in elementary, secondary, and higher education programs.

D.H.: *Were there experiences in your earlier education that contributed to your thoughts about the need for counseling?*

R.S.: I think that there were few opportunities in the elementary and secondary schools I attended to talk to anyone or to have a chance to explore career opportunities. I was impressed at both the University of Alabama, which I attended for 1 year, and the University of Florida by the deans of men, by their availability, and by the ability of their office staff to work with students. I became good friends with Darbney Lancaster, the dean of men at the University of Alabama. When I entered the University of Florida, I had the same opportunity with Dean of Students Robert Beaty and Associate Dean Edward Price. We became good friends, and I have many pleasant memories of my experiences with them. In retrospect, I realize that this was my first introduction to student personnel and counseling. I liked what I observed, although I was not very much aware of those feelings at the time.

D.H.: *Who have been the people in your peer support system over the years, both at the University of Florida and elsewhere, and what role did they play in your career?*

R.S.: During the early 1950s, when I was chair of a committee to develop a proposal for an administrative structure for counselor education in our college, I gained much support from two of my colleagues in the Foundations of Education Department, Hal G. Lewis and Vynce A. Hines. Our college was growing rapidly, and we had our usual number of "power grabbers" who wanted to control everything. Vynce, Hal, and I, with a lot of firm but gentle support from our dean, J. B. White, were able to steer a course that resulted in the formation of the Department of Personnel Services (now Counselor Education). This gave counselor education an equal status with all the other departments of the college, a position that proved to be invaluable in the development of counselor education at the University of Florida.

During this period, Arthur Combs joined our faculty, and he helped me, more than any other person, conceptualize in writing our content program for counselor education, which was approved by the Graduate Faculty Council. Shortly thereafter, Ted Landsman joined us and provided, through the years, strong support for a quality program, including both subject content and supervised practice. Later, Robert Myrick and Joe Wittmer added greatly to our program.

I was delighted in the early 1970s to have Harold Riker transfer from his position as director of residence living at the University of Florida to full-time teaching in our department. I had known Harold since the late 1930s, when we were student assistants at the University of Florida Student Union.

These people, as well as all the other faculty members in our department, provided a support system that made it possible for us to grow professionally and continue to work toward the improvement of counselor education in our country. We supported each other; I could not have wanted a more ideal working environment. Working on a day-to-day basis with my colleagues in counselor education at the University of Florida was the highlight of my professional career.

Among those outside the university who provided emotional support, intellectual stimulation, and motivation during the 1960s were Ralph Bedell, Arthur Hitchcock, Willis (Bill) Dugan, Bill Erpenbach, Dugald Arbuckle, Garry Walz, and Walter Johnson. I shall never forget them. It was an exciting time, and I had fun working with them.

COUNSELOR EDUCATION

D.H.: *One of the things you said you wanted to do was to motivate your students to achieve professionally and to be sound professionals. Would you be more specific about the ways you do that?*

R.S.: First, I believe that, in a professional sense, you should try to be a role model for your students; this is perhaps more important than anything else. Second, students need to be provided with a variety of insights about our society, as well as the place of the educational enterprise and of counseling in our society. At the same time, students in entry-level counselor education need to more clearly understand their own personal identities. As they gain understandings and skills, they need to develop their professional style and identity. In summary, I would say that one of the primary goals in counselor education is to help students develop enough personal and professional reinforcements to withstand the negative aspects of the environments in which they work. I have often told students that they should be able to go into a work setting and contribute in such a way that, by the end of several weeks or months, the environment of that setting would have improved and the consumers of that setting with whom they worked would be getting better quality help.

> *". . . one of the primary goals in counselor education is to help students develop enough personal and professional reinforcements to withstand the negative aspects of the environments in which they work."*

D.H.: *One of the things that many of us have heard you say is that you cannot develop a professional counselor in a 1-year entry-level program. Will you please elaborate on this?*

R.S.: The 1-year graduate entry preparation was established in the 1940s. Since then, the world has become much more complicated, and our knowledge base has greatly increased. There are more freedoms and more choices, and daily living has become, in a psychological sense, much more complex. Also, many new and important strategies for counseling and other helping relationships have been developed. It is impossible in a 1-year graduate program to provide all the theoretical knowledge, concepts, understandings, and skills needed for an entry-level counselor. Our counselor education faculty at the University of Florida recognized this some 15 years ago, and, after intensive planning over a 2-year period, we established an entry program of 60 semester hours plus a full-time internship program of one full term. We had many dire predictions form our colleagues in other departments and from people in the central administration that we would lose students. Our contention was that a better quality program would attract a larger number of better qualified students, and that is what happened. Our enrollments increased, and we had better students applying for the program.

D.H.: *Students are attracted to quality programs.*

R.S.: Yes, I don't think there's any question about it.

D.H.: *How unique is the University of Florida's program with respect to the development of counseling and consultation skills?*

R.S.: As you know, I am retired now and cannot speak as a representative of the current program. But I think it is safe to say that, over the years, our counselor education faculty has wanted all students to leave the entry program with two skills in common: counseling and consultation. For the last 15 or more years, we have provided some supervised practice for all entry-level program students in consultation and much more counseling supervision than is required for many doctoral programs in counselor education. In addition to these two common skills, students select other areas of concentration to prepare them for the specializations and job settings of their choice.

D.H.: *I understand that you have said that "school counselors, as a group, have generally failed to provide quality guidance and counseling programs in the schools." Also, you have said that "this failure is primarily because of the failure of counselor education programs." Are these statements accurate?*

R.S.: Yes, I think this is particularly true at the secondary school level, and it is equally true in many parts of the country at the elementary school level. Counselor educators have not provided school counselors with the understanding, knowledge, and skills needed to cope with the problems facing elementary and secondary students and their parents. Entry-level counselors, especially, cannot withstand the negative aspects of the school system. They are soon "chewed up" by the bureaucracy. They cannot provide the kind of help school administrators and teachers expect. This is why administrators have not defended counselors more strongly when budget cuts occur. I think principals want their schools to improve and they realize that, in many situations, counselors are not helping them. If school counselors were performing like we write in the literature they should perform, more principals would fight for strong, well-developed programs. Principals do, however, want one or two counselors around to help with administrative routines. This is why you will find a counselor in most of the schools but you will not find a strong program of counseling and guidance services for students and their parents. I realize that it is very easy to criticize other people, and I know that school counselors are facing enormous problems, but I want to stress that my criticism is not directed at school counselors; rather, it is directed at counselor educators who tolerate weak entry-level counselor education.

> *"Counselor educators have not provided school counselors with the understanding, knowledge, and skills needed to cope with the problems facing . . . students and their parents."*

***D.H.:** Would you be willing to say that this is the single most important issue in our profession?*

R.S.: Yes, the reluctance of counselor educators to examine critically their own programs and to change them in light of the needs of those whom we serve in 1988. I realize that this is a harsh thing to say, but there is plenty of evidence throughout the country to indicate that program changes needed at the local institutional level have not been pursued vigorously enough. For example, of the 35 institutions considered by our accrediting council as of January 1, 1986, only 20 have been given full accreditation. The other 15 programs have been given provisional accreditation in one or more tracks (programs). There are, of course, many reasons why programs have not been given full approval; however, the important thing to keep in mind is that those programs that are submitted for accreditation are probably, as a group, the best programs in the country.

STANDARDS OF PREPARATION

***D.H.:** What were the circumstances, both in the profession and in the country, that led to the development of the first set of standards of preparation in counselor education?*

R.S.: There were at least three concurrent developments. The first was the concern among an increasing number of emerging counselor educators over U.S. Office of Education domination of both school counseling and counselor education in our country. Second, the National Association of Guidance Supervisors (now ACES) was sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education; thus, this group was not entirely free of government influence to make decisions that many believed were in the best interest of the growing profession. The third development that led directly to the national study of counselor education and the first set of standards of preparation in counselor education was funding made available through NDEA that enabled counselor educators to meet and plan a national program of counselor education. We should all feel indebted to Ralph C. Bedell, director of the NDEA Counseling and Guidance Institute Program, for his vision and creative leadership, which made it possible for us to accomplish our goal of developing a nationwide program of counselor education.

***D.H.:** Why was the domination of counseling practice and counselor education by the U.S. Office of Education a problem?*

> *"We should all feel indebted to Ralph C. Bedell."*

R.S.: There were two reasons. First, guidelines and policies for the preparation of counselors were made available through the U.S. Office of Education and not by the profession. Second, both state supervisors and counselor trainers, sponsored through the U.S. Office of Education, were primarily oriented in the direction of vocational guidance and counseling, which represented the needs of secondary youth. Little or no attention was paid to the counseling and guidance needs of elementary children and their parents. In addition, a number of state supervisors worked with certain cooperating schools and ignored the needs of other schools in their states.

***D.H.:** And this domination by the U.S. Office of Education also existed in the National Association of Guidance Supervisors.*

R.S.: Very definitely. It was only after much pushing and shoving that this organization decided to admit counselor trainers. It became the National Association of Guidance Supervisors and Counselor Trainers and served as the forum for much of the national debate concerning the needs of children and youth and the kinds of counseling and guidance services needed in the elementary and secondary schools of our country. It wasn't until the late 1950s that we were able to free ourselves from official sponsorship by the U.S. Office of Education, and we changed the name to the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision. I was on the committee to suggest the new name. These changes were not made without leaving scars.

***D.H.:** How did the plan for a national program in counselor education get started?*

R.S.: In 1959, Bill Dugan and I were in a hotel room in Chicago, and we started discussing primary needs to help our profession develop. A plan was already underway to provide a code of ethics, and we thought that the next step should be the development of standards of preparation. As we talked, I wrote on the back of an envelope, which I had in my pocket, a 5-year plan for the development of standards of preparation in counselor education. Bill and I envisioned these standards as being broad enough to prepare counselors to work in any setting in our society. Subsequently, I was very disappointed when the membership of ACES gave us a mandate to develop standards for the preparation of only secondary school counselors.

***D.H.:** What happened after the standards for the preparation of secondary school counselors were accepted by the ACES membership in 1964?*

R.S.: While I was president of ACES in 1965–66, we initiated an effort to get national committees appointed to develop standards for the preparation of elementary school counselors and higher education counselors. Merle Ohlsen headed the committee in the area of elementary preparation and Lee Isaacson headed the committee for higher education counselors. Their outstanding leadership led to the acceptance by the members of ACES of standards for preparation in both areas.

***D.H.:** Those three sets of standards were eventually combined.*

R.S.: Yes. When Bruce Shertzer was president of ACES, he asked me to head a national committee to combine those standards because there was so much overlap among them. Our work resulted in the ACES membership accepting, in 1973, the *Standards for the Preparation of Counselors and Other Student Personnel Specialists*.

***D.H.:** How were standards for doctoral preparation developed?*

R.S.: When Tom Sweeney became president of ACES, he asked me to head a national committee for that purpose. In 1977, the ACES membership accepted *Guidelines for Doctoral Preparation in Counselor Education*.

***D.H.:** It has taken 17 years to get a complete set of standards for entry and advanced preparation approved by the profession.*

R.S.: Yes, I felt that we had reached an important milestone in 1979 when APGA published, for the first time, *Standards for Preparation in Counselor Education*, with improved titles for the two sets of standards: *Standards for Entry Preparation (Master's and Specialist) of Counselors and Other Personnel Services Specialists* and *Standards for Advanced Preparation (Doctoral) in Counselor Education*. Of course, those standards have been improved considerably in recent years through the leadership of Joe Wittmer and CACREP.

ACCREDITATION

***D.H.:** You were one of the most influential people in the development of the procedures for the accreditation of counselor education programs. You also served on the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) from 1980 to 1983. What were the circumstances of your appointment to that council?*

R.S.: When it became apparent that ACES was going ahead with its own accreditation effort, some members of NCATE, as well as members of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), a constituent organization of the council, became disturbed. I was asked by AACTE to accept a 3-year term as one of their representatives on NCATE. They felt that I might be able to help "pull APGA and NCATE closer together."

D.H.: Counselor educators have been concerned for several years about the way NCATE has approved counselor education programs. Will you talk about these issues?

R.S.: To begin, I have been in four institutions in the last few years that were accredited by NCATE. In each institution, counselor education majors were not required to take even one practicum in counseling, and in no case was there anything like a required internship as described in the entry-level counselor education standards.

D.H.: That's NCATE's fault, then.

R.S.: Well, I would say it's a weakness in the NCATE accreditation process, but it certainly reflects very negatively upon counselor educators because it involves counselor education programs.

D.H.: As a past member of NCATE, what are your observations about how NCATE accredited counselor education programs?

R.S.: NCATE has been accrediting counselor education for over 25 years, yet it has very little information about counselor education. During my first meeting as a member of NCATE, an entry-level program in school counselor education that had been recommended for accreditation by the NCATE on-site visiting team was being considered by the council. I asked such questions as: How many full-time counselor educators were in the program? How many students were in the program? Did the program include a required practicum and one full term of internship? No one could answer these questions, yet the program was approved by the council for accreditation! I was told later that the NCATE visiting team took into consideration those questions. Knowing that the purpose of the visiting team was to validate the institution's written report and to provide the council with information needed that was not in the written report, I later reviewed the documents from the institution. Most of the above questions had not been addressed in the institution's report and there was no evidence that the NCATE on-site visiting team had addressed the questions. This same pattern was repeated over and over again during the 3 years that I was on the council.

D.H.: I wonder why NCATE would continue these practices over such a long period of time.

R.S.: I don't know. Perhaps it is the fault of counselor educators in not being more insistent that NCATE change procedures. Also, I believe that the deans of education who control the council have felt is was to their advantage, in many institutions, to oppose changes in counselor education programs at the local institution level. You see, a weak counselor education program (diploma mill) brings in a lot of funding based on student credit hours, and this money can be used to support other weak programs in teacher education that do not have many students.

D.H.: What got things moving in the AACD accreditation process with the establishment of CACREP?

R.S.: We needed leaders who were committed to the improvement of counselor education and who perceived clearly the problems. It wasn't until Bruce Shertzer, Tom Sweeney, and Pete Havens came along that things really started moving.

D.H.: How would you describe the situation in counselor education today?

R.S.: The CACREP council, under the leadership of Tom Sweeney and Joe Wittmer, has created much interest in quality counselor education throughout the country. Also, the need for counselor licensure has created a demand for better preparation. Many exciting things should happen in the next few years. I wish I could start over! (On April 17, 1987, the Council on Post-Secondary Accreditation [COPA] officially accepted the Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs [CACREP] as the agency to accredit counselor education in colleges and universities in the United States.)

> *"The CACREP council . . . has created much interest in quality counselor education . . ."*

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS

D.H.: In your professional career, what have been the biggest changes in the counseling profession?

R.S.: The period during my professional career has been very exciting. APGA got underway about the time I started, and things began to happen. A code of ethics for the broad profession represented by APGA was adopted. The question of standards of preparation needed attention, and Bill Dugan and I started on that problem. Other aspects of the profession began to emerge rapidly. What we have experienced since World War II is the development of a profession.

The formation of the mental health counselor division of AACD was an important step. It spurred the leadership of our profession into action. AACD has taken the lead in a very exciting nationwide credentialing program. Licensure for counselors is moving rapidly in the different states. The Flagship Conference at the EPCOT Center in 1983, under the leadership of Bob Nejedlo, was an important milestone. Counselor educators are examining more critically their programs, and there is a spirit of optimism sweeping the country at the levels of both preparation and practice. It is a good time to be alive and active!

D.H.: You have been very influential in the counseling profession. To what do you attribute your influence?

R.S.: You're asking me an interesting question that I'm not prepared to answer. Others will have to judge whether I've had any influence in our profession. I know I've always been extremely interested in people and what they're doing. I have enjoyed the opportunities to help others develop, both students and colleagues, across the country. I think that I do have some capacity to sense the things that others want to do. I've always enjoyed trying to help them achieve their goals.

D.H.: I believe you are a determined and successful individual when it comes to pursuing the things you believe in. I know the difficulties you had in the 1960s and 1970s in the development of the standards, the reverses ACES made from one year to the next, and then their final passage. How do you select which issues to pursue, even in the face of seemingly difficult odds?

R.S.: I've never thought too much about it. I suppose there were always some issues that, it seemed clear to me, I should do something about. There were other issues that perhaps other people were taking the leadership in and moving along, and I wouldn't get so interested in them. I think it's an intuitive feeling. It relates to your goals and what you'd like to accomplish over a period of time. I have enjoyed the challenge of trying to accomplish certain things in my life, even though not all my friends and colleagues were unanimous in their opinions about whether or not they should be accomplished. It's a challenge, I guess.

D.H.: What have you been doing since you retired?

R.S.: I never thought seriously about "retirement." The word has a connotation of withdrawal to me, and it was never my intention to withdraw. I think what I wanted was a different life-style, and, fortunately, Dot and I were in a position to make a change. We wanted to spend more time in the mountains of North Carolina. We love the Smokies; we've been going up there for some 40 years. We also wanted to spend more time with our grandchildren while they were young enough to give us some of their time. Then I wanted to pursue some reading, research, and writing that was of interest to me. Also, Dot and I are interested in our family roots; we wanted to do more genealogical research. It has been a very productive 8 years since Dot and I changed our life-styles in 1980. I wanted to spend more time with Dot; we like to be together. It has been a very fulfilling experience. I've never regretted breaking my full-time work schedule with the university. During the last 8 years, I have never had a period of time when I felt like I didn't have several things I wanted to do. In fact, I've jokingly told my colleagues that I can't understand how I ever had time to work for the University of Florida!

> *"I never thought seriously about 'retirement.' "*

Significant Events in the Life of Robert O. Stripling

1915	*Born June 15 in Lower Peach Tree, Alabama*
1940	*Married Dorothy Claire Atkinson*
1941	*Became a counselor in the child guidance clinic of the P. K. Yonge Laboratory School, University of Florida*
1942	*Birth of son, Bob*
1942	*American Council on Education Scholarship for study in the area of human growth and development at the University of Chicago*
1943	*Became a faculty member in the College of Education, University of Florida*
1947	*Became coordinator of the undergraduate counseling program and educational placement office in the College of Education, University of Florida*
1949	*Birth of daughter, Carolyn*
1952	*EdD from Teachers College, Columbia University*
1953–56	*Chaired Southern States Work Conference Guidance Study, involving 125 educators in the southern states; first regional study of counseling and guidance practices in the elementary and secondary schools of the South*
1955–68	*First chairperson, Department of Personnel Services (now Counselor Education Department), College of Education, University of Florida*
1958–69	*Consultant to the U.S. Office of Education*
1959–60	*President of the Florida Personnel and Guidance Association*
1959–68	*As chairperson of the University of Florida Department of Personnel Services, directly involved in securing outside funds amounting to $2,201,645 for support of research, program development, and professional development in counselor education*
1960	*Member of committee to change the name of the National Association of Guidance Supervisors and Counselor Trainers to the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision, a continuation of the effort to reduce the domination by the U.S. Office of Education of counseling practice and counselor education*
1960–64	*Co-chairperson and later chairperson and principal writer of the Counselor Education Standards Study for the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision; in 1964, the ACES membership accepted the first set of standards of preparation ever developed under the sponsorship of the emerging profession—*Standards for Counselor Education in the Preparation of Secondary Counselors
1962–63	*Chairperson of the APGA National Committee on Legislation*
1962–71	*Consultant with the Peace Corps; worked with training program staffs in some nine universities and at training camps in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, as well as at Peace Corps sites in nine countries*
1964–68	*As chairperson of the University of Florida Department of Personnel Services, directly involved in securing $500,000 for use in special education for support of research, program development, and professional development*
1965	*Co-authored* Counseling, A Growing Profession
1965–66	*President of the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision*
1966–68	*Member, National Advisory Committee on Counseling and Guidance for the U.S. Commissioner of Education*
1967–80	*Chairperson of several APGA and ACES national committees and commissions on standards and accreditation of programs of preparation in counselor education*
1973	*Both ACES and APGA approved* Standards for the Preparation of Counselors and Other Personnel Services Specialists; *this was the first set of entry-level standards for preparation adopted by the profession to prepare counselors for all levels of education as well as for other settings in our society; Stripling served as chairperson and principal writer for the national committee that prepared the standards over a 3-year period*
1974	*Named Distinguished Service Professor by the University of Florida*
1978	*Co-writer and editor of* Accreditation Procedures Manual for Counselor Education
1978–80	*Chairperson of the newly organized ACES National Committee on Accreditation (now Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs); this committee organized and conducted accreditation visits to the first four institutions accredited by ACES*

1979 *Editor of* Standards for Preparation in Counselor Education, *published by APGA; this was the first official publication of the profession that provided a set of standards for preparation in counselor education at both the entry (master and specialist) level and the advanced (doctoral) level*
1979 *Distinguished Professional Service Award from APGA and Distinguished Professional Service Award from ACES*
1980 *University of Florida President's Medallion*
1980 *University of Florida establishes the Robert O. Stripling Seminar Room in the Counselor Education Department with a water color portrait of Bob decorating the room*
1981–84 *Member, National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education*
1983 *Distinguished Mentor Award from ACES*

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Year of Article: 1990

Robert Callis: Developer of People and Builder of Programs

RICHARD M. GREER

It was an unusually cool summer day in Columbia, Missouri, as I pulled up the driveway to his house to begin an interview with Robert (Bob) Callis. He was taking a break from his masonry work. He had been building a barbecue pit and was about halfway through. There he stood looking over his "back forty." This back forty is actually the north side of his 10-acre spread outside Columbia. There he had recently planted 150 seedlings and 15 fruit trees and stocked a pond for year-round fishing.

How typical of Bob Callis—building, growing, developing. He has for most of his life built, grown, and developed both people and programs. That is now continuing as he builds, grows, and develops his back forty.

Kris Ludenia, former student, summarized well:

> While Bob is a well-grounded scientist, his artistic talent is displayed in his development of students. We need only to look around and see the various ways and places his students are now practicing and working. He took our individual talents, taught discipline, and challenged each of us to develop uniquely. We each are, in a sense, the work of Bob, the artist.

Bob has had many roles in his career. First, he has served in a variety of positions in the profession—counseling center director, chief student affairs officer, and department chair. Second, he has served the profession well as ACPA president, editor of *The Journal of College Student Personnel* (now *Journal of College Student Development*) and as treasurer of Division 17 of APA. Third, he was the director of NDEA/EPDA Institutes to train junior/community college student personnel professionals. Fourth, he is responsible for the development of one of the most highly regarded programs in the nation in counseling psychology and student personnel, namely, The University of Missouri. Fifth, he has chaired more than 50 doctoral committees. Finally, former Callis students are in many positions—college presidents, chief student affairs officers, psychology professors, student personnel educators, financial aid directors, VA psychologists, private practice psychologists, health care psychologists, deans, housing directors, admissions directors, registrars, and many other positions. These kinds of contributions are highly significant, and this kind of influence, primarily behind the scenes, is most profound.

It is of Bob Callis, the builder, grower, developer, that others speak. Read the words of his students and colleagues:

> The initial experience of being a student of Bob Callis was similar to being chased by a big dark cloud while trying to steer my ship of study between Scylla and Charybdis: between the Whirlpool of clients and the Rock of Science. I knew that I must steer carefully! Later, there was shift in my perception: Rather than being chased, I was being guided.

Leo Sprinkle, University of Wyoming

> By his critiques, Callis, as an evaluator, added substantially to many good program proposals submitted for funding to the NDEA Counseling and Guidance Institutes Program. His insightful understanding of improvements that were sound and practical were nearly always accepted by the proposing college or university. Thus, as much as any counselor educator he advanced the quality of counselor education throughout the nation, thereby meeting a major goal of the Congress in establishing the Program.

Ralph Bedell, retired, University of Missouri

> One of my fondest memories of Bob in these discussions, and one that strongly influenced my great respect for him as a colleague, was his ability to argue cogently for his position and then be a true "team player" when his position did not prevail.

Jack Mervin, University of Minnesota

EARLY YEARS

R.G.: *Bob, you were one of several children growing up on a farm overlooking the Mississippi River. What was your early life like?*

R.C.: Well, in the first place, it was not on a farm. We lived in what was called Redtown. It was a very small town surrounded by farms. If you can imagine a town of 2,000 having a suburb, we were it. There were ten of us children. Eight lived to be adults—four boys and four girls. I could lie in my bed on the second story, look out the window, and see the showboats go by about a quarter mile away on the river. My dad was a common laborer. The thing I remember of him most was as a teamster. One year, we farmed.

R.G.: *Bob, you come from a lower socio-economic background, large family, laborer father, and you end up getting your education and a doctorate. How did that come about?*

R.C.: That's a long story. I'm not sure I know how to answer it.

R.G.: *Chance theory of vocational choice?*

R.C.: Yes, but I don't believe in chance. Chance is just something we don't understand. To quote Freud: "All behavior is lawful, even maladaptive behavior." There isn't anything called chance; it's just something we don't understand. If we knew enough, we would know the lawfulness of it.

"There isn't anything called chance; it's just something we don't understand."

Well, I finished high school and then started thinking what I was going to do. This was 1937, and jobs for men without families were almost impossible to find. My older brother said he could get me on a hay bailer crew. I was damn lucky, two dollars a day, ten hours a day, six days a week. After a while I looked around at those I was working with—grown men, family responsibilities, thirty-five, forty, forty-five years old making just as much as I was but not more. It began to soak in—is that what I have to look forward to for the rest of my life? My older sister wanted me to go to college. She would help pay for it if I would go into engineering at Purdue. I could not imagine that. But Southern Illinois Normal University, 25 miles down the road, this I could imagine. I saved enough money that summer to pay my tuition and room and board for a month, and I enrolled. So I think seeing what the other people, ten, twenty, thirty years older than I had, which was not more than I had as a fresh high school graduate, helped me decide to go to college at Southern Illinois.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS YEARS

R.G.: *You entered Southern Illinois wanting to be a teacher and coach. So you majored in mathematics and chemistry. By the time you finished, however, you had changed your career objective. What brought about that change?*

R.C.: Working in the dean's office—that's what influenced my career choice, and especially Dean Lentz.

R.G.: *Tell me about Dean Lentz.*

R.C.: He was a person of conviction. Let me give you an example. We used to send out probation letters to parents. One day, Dean Lentz walked in and said, "Bob, have you got those letters started yet?" I said, "No, not quite." "Don't. We're not going to send those letters anymore. We're going to send letters to those who make the honor roll. Letters to parents congratulating them. We're not going to send probation letters. "Of course, he got tremendously positive response from parents. That rubbed off on me. Another example: One day he said: "I'm going over to see the president. Be prepared to have a new boss." He came back after a while and said "Well, the president agreed with me so I guess I'll stay." I still don't have the slightest idea what the problem was.

R.G.: *How much of Dean Lentz has been in Bob Callis in his role as Dean, Counseling Center Director, Department Chair, etc?*

R.C.: Oh, a great deal.

R.G.: *Well, I guess I'm struck by the forthrightness and laying it on the line that you said Dean Lentz did with the president. I've talked to some of the persons who worked with you and/or for you. People have said the thing about working with Bob Callis is, number one, you always knew where he stood; number two, he always thought through any decision; and three, he did his homework and collected his data before he made a decision. Now that sounds to me like the Dean Lentz you are describing.*

R.C.: Yes, don't come to any snap judgment. But, he could make a quick decision. What's right is right and that's what you do. Oh, it may offend some people. But, if it's right, that's what you do. Let the chips fall where they may.

R.G.: *Who were some other models in addition to Dean Lentz?*

R.C.: I'm going to include President Pulliam along with Dean Lentz. One of the first things he did (when he became president of Southern Illinois) was to put students on every faculty committee. This was in 1936. Every faculty committee was going to have two students on it. This included his Administrative Council which included me when I was president of the Student Council. We were expected to attend every meeting. It wasn't unusual for the president to turn and say, "Bob, this is something the students need to take care of," or he might say, "Bob, what do students think of this?" So, there were two things as an undergraduate that had a lot to do with my career—working in the dean's office and being president of the Student Council.

MINNESOTA YEARS

R.G.: *Who are some of the persons who stand out in your graduate years?*

R.C.: Graduate school was kind of a fast track for me. I finished all my graduate work, beginning with the first graduate course to final orals for the doctorate in two years and eight months—both the masters and the doctorate.

R.G.: *Are you a fast learner?*

R.C.: No, I was running scared. To begin with, I worked in the General College as a counselor, this was an excellent opportunity. Williamson, Darley, Brayfield, Pepinsky, and others worked in the General College before me. That was the leading edge of what is called general education. We had a counseling service in the General College as well as in the University. One of my favorites was Queeno Williams, who was director of the General College counseling office. Horace Morse was the Dean. I had good contact with him. A little war story about Morse: The counselors carried an advisement load the same as teaching faculty. One day one of my advisees came to me needing to register. I asked him about a particular course he was supposed to have been taking, and he indicated that the Dean had let him drop it. I went immediately to see the Dean. I said, "I understand you have been advising this guy. Does that mean you have taken over as his adviser?" He did a double take, then said, "I'm sorry, I should never have done that." I told him that I had had the guy try a course necessary to his goal to see if he was able to handle it and that he [the dean] had let him cop out. Morse agreed with me, apologized, and later announced to the faculty that advisers would only do advising for their own advisees. So we got that one straightened out pretty damn quickly. This has been a pet peeve of mine over the years. Only the adviser knows his plan. Anyone outside changing that can cost a student a year of his life or spoil the adviser's plan.

R.G.: *You talk like advising, whether at the undergraduate or graduate level, has been something that you attach a lot of importance to.*

R.C.: Yes, that's right. I's the ultimate in being an educator.

R.G.: *You went in the front door and out the back pretty quickly, yet you had contact with some of the foundation people in student personnel. Who are some you would describe, if not as mentors, at least as those who had some mentor effect?*

R.C.: You need to ask how I got the committee I got. They became my mentors.

R.G.: *Okay, how did you get the committee you got?*

R.C.: One day my adviser, Walter Cook, told me who my committee was. Whether he made the choice or the faculty made the choice I don't know. Several of us got our committee at the same time. We started comparing notes. The other students said, "Oh my God, you got Paterson, Meehl, Cook, Darley, and Wrenn! All the heavy-weights. How could you be so unlucky?" I didn't get anybody on my committee who had to put me down in order to make himself look good. They were all comfortable with themselves. There was no negative interaction among them. If I had gotten some other faculty, it could have taken me another year or two in graduate school. I remember that when I work with my candidates, they say, "Oh my God, I don't want him." I say, "Do you want some lightweight?" We talk about getting a committee that fits their purpose. You will be better off by getting the best we have available.

R.G.: *Who are some others who have influenced you? Who was your model?*

R.C.: Well, I've said I had the best adviser of all time. I think I irritated Gil Wrenn. He came back from the Navy a quarter after I started, and said, "Oh you should come with me as an adviser." I said I'd have to talk to my adviser about that. I went over and asked Cook what I should be considering in deciding whether to stick with my adviser or change. He told me that I'd take the same courses, but the difference comes with the type of research you want to do. I looked at some dissertations that he had sponsored and decided to stay put. He gave me all the attention I needed. That kind of adviser for a dissertation is invaluable.

R.G.: *That sounds like Bob Callis, too. That's the way the Bob Callis I've known handles his advisees.*

R.C.: I couldn't find a better one to model after.

MISSOURI YEARS

R.G.: *Bob, you are probably credited as much as anyone with getting APA approval for Missouri's counseling psychology program. What was unique about that was that you got education and psychology, not only two departments but two different colleges, to work together. How did that come about?*

R.C.: It's not a single incident. You could say it's been a career in itself, often it was a lonely one. Let's go back to the creation of the counseling center shortly before 1946. Three men made a very wise decision: Tom Brady, Vice President for Extradivisional Educational Activities; Elmer Ellis, Dean of Arts and Sciences; and L. G. Townsend, Dean of Education. They made the decision to create a counseling center. They were aware of the historic animosity between psychology and education, not just here but over the nation. They said we would have a university counseling center not just for students but to serve the whole university community; departments, students, deans. In the center, there will be two major appointments: one shall hold rank in education and one shall hold rank in psychology. You cannot let the counseling center drift to one department or the other. Keep those two tied together. So I can't take credit for that. That was a wise decision that they made.

Now where did I fit it? This program is a tripod; it's not two departments, it's two departments and a counseling center that have to go together. The troika above had said, the counseling center shall be a training and research laboratory for the two departments. We picked up on that mandate and said, okay, if the counseling center is the training and research lab for the two departments, then it's part of our APA accreditation. And that's how we've operated ever since.

R.G.: *This raises a question. Do you still feel strongly that persons in student personnel areas need to have academic appointments?*

R.C.: Absolutely! Anyone who has the credentials to do so.

R.G.: *What is your logic for feeling that they need to have academic appointments?*

R.C.: One is to upgrade the student personnel staff. If you meet faculty standards for tenure, you're going to upgrade your student personnel staff one whole hell of a lot. Then you don't get the faculty taking pot shots at the student personnel administrators, and you also provide continuity because your senior staff are tenured faculty—cumbersome, awkward, but worth it.

R.G.: *One of your major accomplishments has been the establishment of NDEA/EPDA institutes at Missouri. How did you get involved in developing the institutes? (The National Defense Education Act and Education Professional Development Act were federal programs to train counselors and student personnel workers for secondary and postsecondary schools.)*

R.C.: At first, we opted to go for summer institutes even when the year-long institutes were available. We said those people who already had the interest and the motivation to become certified school counselors deserve this chance to add to their training. So we concentrated on summer institutes for practicing counselors for four or five summers and then got into year-long institutes. We ran those for seven years. We lucked into what I would have to call a very powerful form of education in the institutes.

R.G.: *What are the elements that made it so powerful?*

R.C.: The power first is the motivation of the students. There's something unique about students who are willing and able to uproot themselves and their families to come to a new location for nine months. So that kind of venturesomeness, a willingness to risk, tells you something about that student who wanted to come to an institute. That kind of motivation is a starting point. Then the faculty. The impossible expectations that students had of faculty. Since the students had made this bold crazy move, they expected the same thing from the faculty. We were expected to be part of the institute twenty-four hours a day seven days a week. You're to be on call any time day or night. An emotional commitment was expected. Maybe because they did uproot themselves, there was need for a psychological home base, cohesion, and emotional leaning on each other as students. And they wanted faculty to buy into that system. Some faculty can hack it and some can't. The small group format gave a lot of power to the institutes. People can't hide out very well in small groups. As one of our reviewers said, you don't have one institute, you have three. In a sense we did have three; we called them sections. (The University of Missouri Institute was divided into three sections with separate leadership.)

R.G.: *Do you sometimes look back and see that as one of your highlights?*

R.C.: I wouldn't want to say that it is *the* highlight. My whole stay in the counseling center was a highlight. Then the five years in the dean's office. I didn't have some of the horrible stress that some other deans had on other campuses. Students didn't burn down the ROTC building here. We had enough insight about people, about students, to stay ahead of the game. Sure students bit our heels at times, but we got there first and changed some things—addressed their concerns.

R.G.: *Bob, you have been administrator at several levels, professor, and researcher. Of all of these different roles, which one did you like the most and which least?*

R.C.: Well, you're assuming that those roles are discrete. I've always been a professor, and whatever else I did, even the time I worked in the Dean's office, I was teaching a course, and I've always done research of some kind. So you have to start with the common elements of professor and researcher. It's always been a part of my role.

R.G.: *Speaking of the professor, there's a part in your* Casebook (A Casebook of Counseling, *1955) where you write about the relationship in counseling as ebbing and flowing. Sounds almost poetic. At the end of the "Five year" article (*"Five Years of Research on Counseling,"* 1957), you talk about a creative artist, a farmer, a machinist. How much of the poet, the artist, is there in Bob Callis, the scientist?*

R.C.: I'm not sure what you mean by poetic.

R.G.: *I was struck by a scientific, pragmatic Bob Callis all of a sudden becoming the artist who develops a painting or the farmer who sees something grow and develop. It's almost like this hard, scientific Bob Callis all of a sudden picks up a paint brush and easel and starts painting.*

R.C.: One thing that ties into what you're trying to get at is a comment that I make often to my classes: "There is no such thing as altruism." You choose to help people in order to satisfy your own needs. So if you start with that, why are you counseling?

Why don't you go out and do something useful like dig a ditch or build a bridge? And the answer to that is somehow doing this [counseling] is more satisfying to you than digging a ditch or building a bridge. So what is it about this activity called counseling that is rewarding to me? If you like to see something grow and develop, counseling is one way of doing it. Being an artist or farmer or machinist responds to the same need.

> *"There is no such thing as altrusim. You choose to help people in order to satisfy your own needs."*

R.G.: *Bob, that gets very close to your "Integrated Theory"* ("Toward an Integrated Theory of Counseling," *1960), where you modify Maslow's hierarchy and then go on to describe how a person develops a behavior repertoire and what might be missing and what intervention the counselor takes. That makes such good sense. How do you account for something that makes such good sense not being picked up, researched, developed, studied?*

R.C.: You could answer that in two or three ways. It is too simplistic to command attention. Or it makes too much sense. One of my students said once, "That's really not a theory. It's a structure on which to hang one." It says you have to have some concept of what energizes behavior; what makes you and me move to do something. You have to account for that [needs and drives]. You have to account for how a behavior repertoire develops. What our response capabilities are and incorporate how we choose among some of the various possible things we can do. In that sense you're saying, if you write your criteria for a theory, then the theory itself will follow logically.

R.G.: *What the result was, was a real step toward pulling together theories—be they relationship-oriented or psychodynamic-oriented or behavioral-oriented.*

R.C.: In that sense this student was right. It is a kind of structure on which to hang theory.

R.G.: *Why has that not been a lead article in any book, either the prologue or the epilogue to any book that's been written on theories?*

R.C.: Richard, I don't know. Certainly the content of that article has to be dealt with or should be dealt with in any theory. If you don't know what energizes behavior, how can you choose your counseling response? How to know where to target your counselor response? And if the behavior is maladaptive, you need some way to explain why it's maladaptive. So that's what I was getting at when I wrote the article. I kept studying and understanding, experiencing and working with clients. Where can I find bedrock and then build back up a more coherent understanding of the client and of the counseling process?

> *"If you don't know what energizes behavior, how can you choose your counseling response?"*

R.G.: *Bob, you have been famous among your students for those Tuesday night seminars.*

R.C.: Well, the history of that goes back to my early years here. We, Polmantier and myself, started meeting in our homes with doctoral candidates to discuss dissertation proposals. It got to the point where nobody was allowed to take a proposal to committee until it passed this group of students. And I've seen a student bring in an idea, all fired about it, and the other students would shoot it down. That was the genesis of my advising seminar. Out of those sessions, we decided it's important to study the counseling process itself, even though we don't have adequate instrumentation, even though we don't have adequate statistics to handle the data. Our promise to students was if you work on something important, we will honor the job done even though the results turn out sloppy. That's how we got into a series of research that is probably the most exciting thing in my career as well as the greatest disappointment. Our "five years of research on counseling" article showed that the content of counseling interviews is not homogeneous; therefore, you need to sort the data in homogeneous piles. We found that counselors do respond differently depending on the topic they worked out. Their behavior changes by the topic of discussion. Annabel (Berezin, 1957) came through with her diagnostic classification plan. We could describe and profile counselor behavior (à la Jules Seeman). We put our diagnostic classification plan into operational use in the counseling center. We were tooled up in terms of records management so that you could use records for research. We were getting close to being able to say if you have this kind of problem, this is the treatment of choice. That was what we were on the verge of when I left the counseling center. When I left, that whole research program just fell flat on its face. We were on the verge of a major breakthrough in the science of counseling.

R.G.: *Sounds like that's been a bigger disappointment than the fact that your theory of integrated counseling has not been picked up and carried on.*

R.C.: Yes, but it's still possible. The opportunity isn't dead.

PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

R.G.: *What changes are you seeing in current students?*

R.C.: I think we've lost some of the scientific curiosity in students. The marketplace now is private practice. So we attract people according to the marketplace they anticipate, and we don't get the people who are primarily interested in scientific curiosity. Licensing is their primary goal.

R.G.: *Are they going into other professions?*

R.C.: Well, I wish I knew where those people are going that we used to attract, but you have the same raw material (counseling) to work with in private practice as you do in academic institutions. The client is not a different breed of cat. The two people that we owe most to regarding what we know about counseling today, Sigmund Freud and Carl Rogers, learned from their own practice. They developed their knowledge out of practice with their clientele. The counseling office was their laboratory.

> *"I think we've lost some of the scientific curiosity in students."*

R.G.: *Bob, it almost sounds like you're leading into a social commentary.*

R.C.: Yes, look at the people who are writing theories today and see how many are drawing on their own practice, testing their ideas in real life in the counseling center. Too many of our authors are reading other people's writings and rewriting what the other person said.

R.G.: *Other changes?*

R.C.: I think we are running into a phenomenon at the doctoral level that I call allegiance to academe. Their attitude seems to be, when I finish here, I am not going to need this place any more;

therefore, I do not have any allegiance to academic institutions. I don't give a damn what my faculty thinks of me once I get out and get that license. So, what I've seen is a very noticeable decline in what I would generically call academic allegiance. Although I don't know that much about medical and legal education, they must have struggled with that for years. Just give me the degree and get out of my way. I'm not depending on your recommending me for a position at some university. I can go down on Broadway and set up my own shop. So we don't have as much allegiance to academe today with our students as we did 25 years ago.

R.G.: *Has there been a change in the student personnel student?*

R.C.: I'll talk about our own institution because I'm not sure I can talk about others. We have the administrative camp and the psychological camp. I remember that the historic Minnesota camp had a good psychological base. We had a fairly good basic psychological core on which you built a student personnel profession. We are not getting those students anymore.

R.G.: *Bob, you say you are getting very few of them, why is that?*

R.C.: Oh, It costs them a year more of their life, for example, to take a doctorate in counseling psychology here than it does to take a doctorate in higher education with student personnel work as their goal.

R.G.: *That gets back to an earlier Life Lines article on Merle Ohlsen. He quoted you in that article as saying he would have to agree with you that student personnel needs to have counseling as a base and not administration as a base. Obviously you still feel that way. Now, his argument was that he could teach them administration and management on the job, but you couldn't teach them psychology on the job. What is your basis for having the same conclusion as Ohlsen?*

R.C.: Well, I think in part my experience, because in the '60s when I was dean, I found that I could make decisions based on my knowledge of human behavior and project it further in the future and wait longer for results than someone who didn't have that training.

R.G.: *You have long argued, sometimes even solo, that ACPA needs to stick with AACD.*

R.C.: Yes. An alternative we have considered is to leave AACD and merge with NASPA and NAWDAC. That's been going on for years. I don't see any point in ACPA going alone. I see some disadvantage to merging with NASPA because it leads us away from the scientific base that ACPA represents. However, I miss the real student personnel leaders. The movers and shakers are in NASPA, not ACPA.

R.G.: *Where is it going to end?*

R.C.: I feel comfortable about where it is right now. We could have conventions with AACD, have our own hotel, and never walk across the street to the other hotel to hear the problems and ideas of the other divisions if that is what we want. We get the benefit of the AACD central office in terms of publications and other services. We have as much independence as we want or need. So it's comfortable.

R.G.: *Now what is the argument against meeting at the same time just as a separate division?*

R.C.: Oh, it depends on whom you ask. Practically there isn't an argument. There are some logistical problems occasionally, but essentially it means adding another couple of thousand to an AACD convention just in terms of hotels, rooms, and meeting space. As you were saying earlier, the larger we get, the fewer cities there are that can accommodate us. Others, and I'm not being facetious about this, say: "I don't want to be in the same town with those school counselors. We just don't talk the same language."

R.G.: *What are some weaknesses that you see in ACPA?*

R.C.: Mediocrity in the programs of the convention. Also, I suppose you might say that people get through the leadership positions of ACPA too early in their career. Then they are lost forever. So the people who are giving the best, most seasoned thought to our issues are lost to the organization. I think it has become, to a degree, political. That is not healthy. Commissions are used by the younger set to get visibility.

R.G.: *Related to that, you mentioned that ACPA used to have a tradition that the president gave a scholarly paper at the end of his or her reign.*

R.C.: Yes, but we have lost that tradition.

R.G.: *Sounds like you would suggest that tradition be picked up again.*

R.C.: Yes.

R.G.: *Think it would change the flavor of ACPA if it were?*

R.C.: It would change who is willing to run for president. Some people would not run if they had to give a scholarly presentation. It would cull out the politicians and keep the people who would be willing to lay their ideas on the line.

> *"Some people would not run if they had to give a scholarly presentation. It would cull out the politicians and keep the people who would be willing to lay their ideas on the line."*

R.G.: *Bob, another professional issue is the lack of counselor educators. We have counseling psychologists but not counselor educators.*

R.C.: Your question has several facets to it. First, there is the competition between APA and AACD as reflected in accreditation of training programs and in credentialing/licensing. The control of the training programs has shifted from the faculty to the accrediting agencies and licensing boards. No doubt this aids quality control, but it also tends to set the curriculum in concrete and will stifle innovation in the future. Almost daily I hear a student say, I can't take that course, it's not required by the licensing board.

Another interpretation of your question has to do with how setting-specific training programs should be. How can a faculty who has had no experience as a school counselor possibly train counselors to work in schools? If we follow the career lines of our graduates, we see them moving from one setting to another, settings that the training program never prepared them for—conducting a treatment program for posttraumatic stress disorders in a VA hospital, psychologist for a large metropolitan church. If we provide sound generic training, our graduates can adapt to a wide variety of settings. We saw that so clearly in The Missouri Counseling Psychology Update Conference in 1986.

> *"The control of the training programs has shifted from the faculty to the accrediting agencies and licensing boards."*

R.G.: *I'm going to ask you another leading question that follows what you're saying. I'm a school counselor and I'm complaining because I don't get to counsel students.*

R.C.: And I say that's your fault. That's your choice. You have enough time to counsel if you want to. You have put something else at a higher priority.

***R.G.:** My principal wants me to be a kind of assistant principal and handle scheduling and discipline, and I feel trapped. I don't have time to counsel students, which is what I really want to do.*

R.C.: There's some reality to that. I've challenged one of our educational administration professors on that. I said you guys are doing us a gross injustice. You are not teaching your principals how to use counselors. You are killing counseling in the schools by failing to train school administrators how to use counselors properly. You need to be teaching principals how to use the counselor. They have the counselor out supervising the parking lot, taking tickets at the basketball games, doing the master schedule, and all of that. They never get around to working with students who have problems.

> *"If we provide sound generic training, our graduates can adapt to a wide variety of settings."*

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

R.G.: What are your plans for the future?

R.C.: What am I going to do when I retire? I'm not sure. I'm not going to "write that book I've always wanted to write" because all along when I've had an urge to write I wrote. I like to read, play a little golf, fish, and the "back forty" has endless possibilities. I've never taken a sabbatical in my 42 years at Missouri. I'm going to take those sabbaticals first and then see what I want to do when I grow up. I know I want to live in Columbia. This is home. This is where my friends are. I've always been able to see opportunities as they come up and take advantage of them. I expect to continue that.

R.G.: Bob, you've been so involved with students since day one. You have had a profound influence on them. Won't you miss them just a little bit?

R.C.: I don't know. I've never had that experience yet.

R.G.: Therefore, you don't have that plan?

R.C.: Well, students won't fall off the face of the earth because I retire. You still exist; you're still available. In terms of new students, I don't know, I haven't experienced that; but existing students, they're still there, and I expect to maintain contact with them.

R.G.: Speaking of all these past students, Bob, look at where your students are. You have them out here running universities and colleges, you've got them running divisions, you've got them running departments, you've got them publishing and teaching. You've got them in education, you've got them in private practice, you've got them in agencies. Doesn't that pop your buttons?

R.C.: I don't got them. *They* got themselves. They're doing that. I didn't put them there. Oh, I'm proud to have had a chance to help shape them and get them ready. I'm proud of them for their accomplishments, but it doesn't feel like I own them. No, that's not part of my ego. Yes, I was there and I helped, and I may have done some minor surgery here and there, but without the interest and motivation of that person, it wouldn't have happened.

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Thomas M. Magoon: Innovation, Renewal, Making a Difference

JAMES M. O'NEIL and I. LISA McCANN

One of Thomas M. Magoon's life quests has been the search of innovations in counseling, teaching, and data gathering. He has been the prime mover of the University of Maryland's Counseling Center for the past 25 years. As director, he has built a counseling center that has a reputation for innovation, research, and professional activity. Expressing the values of his Minnesota training, he initiated the National Counseling Center Data Bank (Magoon, 1966–1986), collecting 20 years of data on counseling centers in the United States and Canada. Believing that alternative ways to help people can be created, he developed one of the first self-directed treatment modes in career counseling (Magoon, 1969). After publishing an often-cited manuscript, "Innovations in Counseling" (Magoon, 1964), he sponsored an annual program at the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and American Association for Counseling and Development (AACD) conventions promoting innovative counseling interventions. Recognizing the low research productivity of professionals, he has taught a unique tutorial seminar to foster graduate student research potential and interest (Magoon & Holland, 1984). He has served as mentor for many students and colleagues in his role as professor in the Departments of Counseling and Personnel Services (CAPS) and Psychology. He has contributed to the professional literature on counseling outcomes, training, innovation, counseling center operations, and career development.

Despite his many accomplishments and contributions, Tom is no "stuffed shirt." Former students recount tales of "mandatory" pool games at national conventions, usually in the seediest parts of town. His long-sponsored Maryland party at every ACPA-AACD convention demonstrates his desire to enjoy himself and to introduce his students and colleagues to his wide national network of contacts, colleagues, and friends. During social events, he is often the center of attention, with a twinkle in his eye and infectious laughter. His presence, boundless energy, and creative humor draw people to him.

Tom Magoon is the kind of man you wonder about. Who is the man behind the role? How has he maintained his energy, creativity, and concern for people over the last 30 years? Some say he is just persistent with his ideas and innovations. Others label him as a workaholic. Many wonder about his eccentricities, contradictions, and appetite for the unknown. No simple set of statements captures Tom's personality. He has deeply touched the lives of those close to him and yet he remains an enigma even to those who know him well. There are times when it is hard to penetrate Magoon's inner thoughts and feelings. And then, the next moment, he freely shares himself in a profoundly intimate way.

This brief interview provides glimpses into this man and his lifetime companion, Connie Magoon. Clearly, Magoon's career has been a joint venture with Connie and their family. As you read the interview, you will sense how the Magoon family has been the supportive base for Tom's continuous service. At the end of the interview he said, "I wouldn't have been able to do it all without Connie and the family."

Tom's family of origin was of Scotch-English descent. He was born in a small town in New Hampshire's White Mountains and moved to Haverhill and then to Framingham, Massachusetts, where his father became the high school principal. His mother and sister were trained as schoolteachers and two uncles were college professors. Tom said during the interview that his parents and mentors taught him the value of discipline, hard work, and service to others. Most important, he learned early that work could be enjoyable. Tom is clearly passionate about his work and often does not distinguish between work and leisure. During high school, Tom described himself as studying more than the average student. The strong need for achievement and doing more than is expected continues to be a theme in his life. In high school, he cultivated many interests, was involved in the student council, and played third clarinet in the high school band. He developed a love for hockey, which became a lifelong interest. He describes his memories of hockey as both pleasant and painful. Happy memories include learning about teamwork, winning and losing, and the feeling of belonging. The most painful memory was when he was belted in the eye with a hockey puck, leaving him with a permanent impairment in his left eye. In his senior year, he received an award for leadership and service, two themes that continued throughout his life and career. Clearly, the service models he saw in his family shaped his social interests (Holland, 1985) and opened up attractive career options during his college years.

In 1940, he entered Dartmouth College, where he explored possible careers in psychology, botany, and forestry. His college career was interrupted by World War II when he was drafted into the army in 1943. Traveling widely during the war years, he had maximum contact with diverse adults during this important developmental stage (age 21–24). His time in the U.S. Army specialized Training Program in Personnel Psychology provided considerable stimulation from Berkeley psychologists Nevitt Sanford, Edwin Tolman, Max Levin, and Jane MacFarland. These psychologists shaped his commitment to counseling and an investigative-scientific way of viewing the world.

After graduating from Dartmouth in 1947, he first worked as a graduate preceptor (freshman counselor) and then as instructor of psychology at Colgate University. There he met Connie Froass, whom he married in 1949. Kenneth Berrien, a psychology faculty member at Colgate, recommended that Tom pursue graduate training in psychology, and Tom entered the University of Minnesota in 1948. His studies at Minnesota exposed him to the early pioneers in counseling and college student personnel (D. G. Paterson, E. G. Williamson, Gilbert Wrenn, Ralph Berdie, John Darley) and the newly formed discipline of counseling psychology. Like Leona Tyler (Gilmore, Nichols, & Chernoff, 1977), Tom found the Minnesota training to be "stimulating, demanding, and fun." Fellow student colleagues in Minnesota during that era included John Holland, Donald Hoyt, Dewain Long, Charles Lewis, Carl Jesness, John Boulger, and John and Helen Krumboltz. He was influenced greatly by the dustbowl empiricism of the Minnesota training, and his investigative and creative interests were shaped by his mentors' emphasis on data gathering, evaluation, innovation, and research. Now, 37 years later, Magoon's message reflects the values of his mentors: "Research, innovation, and evaluation are prime examples of professional service and public accountability."

In 1955, Magoon moved to the University of Maryland, where his continual pursuit has been the development of the counseling center and counselor training programs. He became actively involved in the state (Maryland Psychological Association [MPA]) and national organizations (American Psychological Association [APA], ACPA, APGA). He was appointed as chair of the MPA legislative committee just when Maryland psychologists were about to be preempted from providing mental health services by pending legislative changes in the state Medical Practice Act. Tom chaired the committee that wrote and successfully lobbied for the first psychologist certification law in the state of Maryland (1958). When it was necessary to provide practitioners with examples of ethical dilemmas (1964), Tom chaired the committee that wrote APGA's first *Ethical Standards Casebook* (APGA, 1965). When there was a need for data on counseling centers in the United States and Canada, Magoon started the National Counseling Center Data Bank (Magoon, 1966–1986).

Those visiting the counseling center at Maryland hear Magoon advocating alternative treatment modes (ATMs) beyond one-to-one counseling. Using fictitious personalities (like Throckmorton) to make his point, he presses for innovation, change, and new counseling methods. Magoon recognizes that counseling is more than sitting across from a single client. He encourages innovations to enhance service delivery, to promote professional renewal, and to prevent professional burnout. For Magoon, creating is a peak experience, "an opportunity for us to learn something new about ourselves." As Magoon put it, "I am constantly thinking about innovations, what the innovations are going to be this year or this semester. And it's a bad semester if there aren't any innovations emerging." Magoon lives on with his innovations, commitments, and projects. As he put it (with a wide smile and New England accent), "I'm mildly persistent!"

Magoon is a modest man by most standards and unpretentious about his many accomplishments. He is a pragmatic behaviorist who is not likely to philosophize without evidence. Magoon told us that "a good opinion requires adequate support." When asked about students calling him their hero, having a legacy, or being a legend, he reacted uncomfortably. He said he was "a bit tongue-tied" and that "those statements shouldn't be taken too literally." On the other hand, Magoon's modesty never keeps him from speaking out on the critical issues of the profession. Nor does it stop him from taking positions on critical issues. He is no pushover when arguing a point of view and has a powerful and personal presence during exchanges. During debate, he is a formidable opponent, using data-based analyses, humor, persistence, and wisdom to entice one to consider his position. Yet, Tom elicits opinions and encourages divergent thinking. As one colleague put it, "More so than anyone else I have ever known, Magoon allows divergent points of view to flourish and is willing to listen and respond to concepts opposite his own. I never felt, in any of our struggles and disagreements, that he used his importance to bolster his position or to pressure me to agree with him."

As we learned about Tom's career pattern and his many accomplishments, we kept asking ourselves, "Who is this man, what kind of person is he?" One insight came from visiting his legendary office in Shoemaker Hall at the University of Maryland, College Park. Magoon's office is a nightmare—it is a disaster area of clutter, piles of papers strewn everywhere, filling all the available space. Memos and special notes are pinned to the curtains. Some piles on the floor are more than four feet high and waver when moved. During our visit there, there was no place to sit; the narrow paths reduced mobility. We wondered how the same man who advocates enhancing innovation by systematization of tasks could do his most creative work in an environment of such chaos and disorder. A closer look suggests that Magoon's office cluster represents his intense creativity and high needs for stimulation. Ideas are everywhere and his immense collection of books, papers, and memorabilia are charged with energy.

During our visit to his home, there was the same sense of creative energy and a zest for life, an atmosphere in which teenagers and young adults would clearly feel at home. The walls of the house are adorned with Connie's many paintings, unique art works from their trip to the Orient, and a gigantic bulletin board filled with mementos, slogans, and events. A coffee table in the living room, the same table at which countless students have worked on their dissertation research, is made of hockey sticks. It is a place where one feels safe in putting one's feet up and forgetting about formalities. We combined our discussion of the upcoming interviews with watching a hockey game in the family room and consuming homemade pizzas and beer. In many ways it reminded us of the relaxed, casual atmosphere of a comfortable college dorm, a place that conveys the energy and fun of youth. Although two of the Magoon's five children are now living away from home, there are still frequent family gatherings and activities. During the interview Connie said that Tom would love to rent our their rooms to college students after retirement, expressing his strong need to remain in touch with the lives of young people.

As we grew to know the person behind the role, we discovered that one cost of Tom's intense creativity is, at times, stress and overload. In his own words, "Sometimes you have to fall over and feel sorry for yourself. . . . It's not whether a crisis is going to occur but which one and when." One colleague indicated that Magoon is "driven by his own creativity and has some difficulty harnessing it." Tom admitted that at times he has overworked himself to the point of exhaustion and has had to stop what he was doing because his demands on himself were too great. Connie also talked about being the person who has helped him to mediate the intensity, at times feeling like the "drag" as she lured him away from his total absorption in his creative work. Hockey games, pool, gardening, and summer vacations in the Magoon's White Mountain camp provide releases from an intensely busy and sometimes tiring pace. Connie told us that often Tom will take a pile of work on his vacations, but he somehow never gets to it. It is almost as if leisure and work are so intricately connected that it is hard to imagine Tom engaging in any activity that does not contain an element of both.

How does he keep going with his service, work, and innovations? Why hasn't he burned out? One answer is that Magoon lives close to the pulse of the profession. Like most leaders and innovators, Magoon is preoccupied with professional standards, change, and "making a difference." Service is what professional life is all about for Magoon, and innovation provides opportunities for renewal and growth. Professionalism, collegiality, and, as he puts it, "being neighborly," are also primary values that make it all worthwhile. He is sensitive to the needs of the struggling learner and recognizes the common frailties in himself and others. One former student said, "When I think of Magoon and all of his ideas, I realize that burnout doesn't have to happen."

One striking quality about Tom Magoon is that his work is most meaningful to him when he encourages people to use and discover their own potential. Magoon's generativity (Erickson, 1968) emerged in his early 30s and may help explain his long-term commitments and professional contributions. His ability to bring out people's potential epitomizes what counseling, college student personnel, and counseling psychology are all about.

At the end of this article is a biographical sketch of Tom Magoon's life events and contributions. As one long-term colleague put it, "I know of few things that Tom hasn't done and even fewer he doesn't know about." The biographical sketch gives a perspective on Magoon's life span, career, and professional contributions. More information about Tom's life experiences is found in the eight videotapes produced as part of this interview (O'Neil, McCann, & Magoon, 1984).

In 1981, Tom's colleagues, past students, and friends from all over the country coordinated a surprise celebration party called, "Twenty-Five Years With Tom Magoon." More than 200 people attended and 130 wrote personal letters, which were presented to him in a bound book (Van Brunt, 1981). It was clear to us from reading these letters that Tom Magoon has touched hundreds of students, employees, and colleagues across the country. As one close colleague indicated, "Where there is despair, he cares; where there is narrow-mindedness and injustice, he is able to shed light. The colors of my life have grown more vivid by virtue of my association with him." Our contact with the Magoons has enriched our lives and provided new perspectives on the complexity of personal and career development over the life span. For most of us in the profession who have known Tom Magoon, there is consensus about his many contributions as a pioneer in counseling and human development. For those of you who have not met him, let this interview serve that purpose.

FAMILY AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

***J.O.:** What kind of influence did your parents have on your values and ideals?*

T.M.: Well, that is a tall order. I think from my father I acquired a considerable liking for and persistence in my work. I love what I do; it's my hobby—with many satisfactions and very few aversions. I wake up in the morning and I want to do it. Work does not have negative connotations as something to be started late and ended early. It is very invigorating and not depleting. For me, depletion comes mainly when there are heavy overloads and stress, and these come from things that literally are not part of work itself, like overcommitting myself. From my mother, I think I acquired a sense of what I would call fairness and a fair amount of deference and lack of assertion, which sometimes does not display itself but sometimes does. I can tell the difference and notice it.

***J.O.:** After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1947, you worked at Colgate University and developed your first innovation to help college students. You sent the innovation to Francis P. Robinson at Ohio State for his review.*

T.M.: Yes, as a BA-level psychology instructor, I developed a reading and study skills service. The manual for it was about an inch thick when I finished. I was very proud of it. I was propelled more by enthusiasm and naïveté than knowledge. After reviewing the materials, Robinson sent me a note that, as I recall, said he appreciated the copy and that it looked like a substantial piece of work. That note was very reinforcing to me, as an earnest neophyte. I remember saying to people at the time, "Well, if this program helps any person, any single person, it is well worth all this work." In retrospect, of course, a significant, enduring treatment has really got to accomplish more than that. But that statement epitomized both my enthusiasm and some of my naïveté.

***L.M.:** Since 1956, your career has been directed at helping students adjust to the college experience through your devotion to the University of Maryland Counseling Center. You are known for your special empathy and sensitivity to students having difficulty. As a college student, did you have any difficulties?*

T.M.: Good Lord, yes! Probably the biggest problems were reading and study skills. Mine were pretty atrocious in the sense that they were inefficient. I coped with that not by making them more efficient, but by using more time to accomplish tasks. So I spent an inordinate amount of time in study. I suppose my still slow reading is what makes me a good proofreader now. Another problem was my not becoming active in extracurricular activities. I very much regretted that. The incidental learnings from extracurricular acitivities are very important. The academic retention literature indicates that college students' involvement and identification with such activities are very important. I really blew some wonderful opportunities.

***J.O.:** When you first matriculated at Minnesota in 1948, some of the early pioneers of the profession were your teachers and mentors, including E. G. Williamson, Gilbert Wrenn, John G. Darley, Donald G. Paterson, and Ralph Berdie. What was your impression of these early pioneers?*

T.M.: At that time I don't think I was too aware of the leadership roles they played or the scene setting that was going on. But, yes, that's where a lot of the basic formulations were being made. For example, the dean of women and men concept started to die right there. To a large extent it was due to E. G. Williamson's fostering the idea of centralized student personnel administration. And there were different kinds of role models and mentors there. Williamson was the thinker, philosopher, and administrator—an interesting combination of roles. Gilbert Wrenn wrote as much or more about student personnel administration. He was in the educational psychology department as a full-time professor and also was the first editor of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. All of them and particularly D. G. Paterson and Ralph Berdie were big on data gathering. They made a big impression on me. You were instructed to be less preoccupied with theorizing and more with establishing sets of empirically based data. I think that orientation is what fostered so many psychological inventories and tests in that era at the University of Minnesota. My identification with counseling psychology was fostered by Ralph Berdie. I don't think that I fully understood that at the time. He was always quite available to me. I could always reach him, and that commitment to be available left a mark on me. In my Minnesota training, there was considerable emphasis on describing relationships between students and their advisers in terms of the students' subsequent contributions. There was the expectation that students would go out and contribute like their adviser-mentors. So I guess that is where the importance of achievement and service was further stamped into me.

***L.M.:** What were your impressions of the Student Counseling Bureau when you arrived at Minnesota in 1948?*

T.M.: Big, busy, and multifaceted, with considerable investment in training and research, much like what some counseling centers have evolved into since then. It was well administered, had a research data base and a lot of investments in reaching people through multiple methods, and had close ties with student affairs and academic departments, all of which I thought were good. I don't believe I appreciated how good it really was, especially at that time.

SERVICE PROVIDER AND INNOVATOR

J.O.: *Service has been a theme throughout your career. One of your colleagues put it this way: "I know of few individuals over the years who have provided more service to the profession than Tom Magoon through his combined roles of academician and practitioner." Tell us about your service values.*

T.M.: Somewhere, I got impressed with the notion that where we are as a profession is largely a function of the investments made by our predecessors. In effect, being a professional means paying your dues through service to your profession, and given an opportunity to serve, you should do your damndest. You should not just add the service activity items to your vita and foot-drag through your responsibilities. At Minnesota, I saw my mentors doing things that advanced counseling and student personnel right before my very eyes. The link between their efforts and the development of the profession was very clear. I started to see things that needed to be done. Sometimes, it was developing new ideas or reconciling interpersonal issues or conflicts. Other times, it was identifying new directions; increasing membership; advocating for new legislation, training, or teaching methods; promoting ethics; or becoming involved in the legislative activities of professional organizations. As you do some of these activities, you start to appreciate that you are making a contribution that needs to be made. If you didn't make the contribution, then somebody else would have to make it. I also find a lot of ego enhancement in serving. So, there is an element of psychological dues paying that comes with professional life. We have an obligation to pay our psychological dues or else the tomorrows for the next generation will not be any different from our todays.

> *". . . being a professional means paying your dues through service to your profession, and given an opportunity to serve, you should do your damndest."*

J.O.: *Your vita indicates continual involvement in promoting professional ethics and standards in APA and AACD. You participated in or chaired committees on ethics from 1961 to 1965, 1968 to 1970, and 1973 to 1975. What is most memorable about your contribution to our ethics and your commitment to professional standards?*

T.M.: The most vivid thing is the development of an ethical standards casebook to raise members' consciousness about ethical issues. Although a set of ethical standards has been developed, it was not at all evident that the members were fully acquainted with them. To make a long story short, in the course of one weekend we completed a whole draft of the casebook. We sent out for lunch and supper; it was a real crash. I guess my interest in ethics also has a lot to do with paying one's professional dues. The establishment of ethical standards and adherence to them is one of the hallmarks of this profession.

J.O.: *Among your colleagues, you are known as a creator and innovator. One of your past interns said: "I learned from Tom that innovation was a trait or set of behaviors that all psychologists and counselors should be equipped with, no matter how good they are as therapists." What makes innovation such a valuable concept for you and how do you see that as having evolved as a major theme in your career?*

T.M.: Well, I'm sure it's just one of many ways of renewal and change. It's the one that I settled on. If you start with the premise that tomorrow ought to be better than today, then you work out some way to contribute to make it better. Innovation is the way I work that out. For me, creating has all the reinforcing values of renewal, change of pace, discovery of novel solutions, and how to do things differently, better, or more efficiently. I find these values very reinforcing, and I try to pass such notions along to others. In contrast, I've always been struck by how easy it is to be a creature of habit and let tomorrow be no different from today. Effective advocating of innovation and change does call for a mixture of willingness to persist and openness to reexamine the proposed innovation in terms of others' criticism or lack of interest. Of course, resistance to change is a universal experience for all of us. And, as I listen to myself, it sounds like I'm a big advocate for change, and the rest of the universe is sitting like clams while we are trying to innovate. That would be more than a bit misleading. But as director of a counseling center and professor, I feel some added responsibility in my position to seek change for the institution, the state, and my profession. And, if I were a hypothetical taxpayer, I would want people like myself to be advocating for change.

> *"If you start with the premise that tomorrow ought to be better than today, then you work out some way to contribute to make it better."*

J.O.: *You mentioned that creating and innovating is a peak experience and an opportunity to learn something new about yourself. What has it been like for you intellectually and emotionally when you create?*

T.M.: Well, those are really peaks! It is more than the process of doing it, it's the outcome—getting closure and seeing that some difference was made. Whether it was the audio notebooks, keeping the data bank going, the psychology legislation, or our weekly newsletter, it's seeing that a difference was made, and for more than just a moment. It's only the innovations that endure for some time that seem to attract me.

L.M.: *One of your colleagues described you as driven by your creativity, having an insatiable appetite for the unknown, and having trouble getting your creativity under control. What do you think of these comments?*

T.M.: I'd agree with them. Being driven relates to bringing closure to projects and moving on to other ones. Regarding my appetite for the unknown, I don't really know the origins of that.

J.O.: *In 1964, you authored an often cited* Journal of Counseling Psychology *publication, "Innovation in Counseling" (Magoon, 1964). It was a plea for innovations in counseling processes and outcomes for different kinds of consumers. At the end of the article, you suggested that counselors were on the threshold of a new era in which there would be external pressures to reassess our notions about diagnosis and treatment roles and that these processes warranted creative reexamination. How well have we done in the last 20 years in creatively reexamining our diagnosis and treatment roles?*

T.M.: Did I say that? It sounds a bit presumptuous (that comes under my frailty column). If I compare things now with the early 1950s, when I was working in the Counseling Bureau at Minnesota, there are far more similarities than differences, although I guess on balance there still have been a lot of changes. Here are a number of changes that occur to me: (a) more investment in broader, more diversified roles; (b) the emergence of consultation as of equal importance to counseling relationships; (c) more data gathering and research; (d) the evolution of the self-help movement; (e) the emergence of structured groups; (f) the increasing awareness of help seekers as consumers (but not to a sufficient degree); and (g) counselors making less use than previously of psychometric instruments and tests and measurements being less emphasized both in training programs and in practice.

L.M.: *Tom, you have offered the same convention program, "Innovations in Counseling," at the annual ACPA and AACD conventions for the last 20 years. Can you say what the program has meant to you?*

T.M.: That program is unusual in that I don't know a single type of convention program that has been offered at the same convention for close to 20 years. That just sounds unbelievable. As I recall, the program came about from my feelings of frustration at how limited was our transmission of information at conventions. What I developed was a program that gave rapid, brief transmission of innovative and novel practices. This format has annually allowed 12 to 14 colleagues to personally present, in 5- to 7-minute periods, their innovative and novel programs and practices, usually to large audiences. The innovations are shared, and in the process the notion of innovative thinking is also reiterated.

ADMINISTRATOR, LEADER, MENTOR, CARING PERSON

L.M.: *Tom, you have been called a taskmaster as an administrator. Also, you have been described by some people as a sort of slave driver, as hard to work for, and even as a workaholic yourself. What do you think of these comments and critiques?*

T.M.: Probably pretty true. I am inclined to expect others and myself to accomplish more than we can. When this becomes evident, I will confer with colleagues to see if I am out of step and indeed expecting too much. Sometimes I am and sometimes I'm not. If I am, I try to retreat and accept that it was unrealistic to expect so much from myself or from others. Many times, my expectations for others and myself are that we both can do better than we may think we can. One way to bring that out is to convey the expectation that tomorrow can be different and better than today.

J.O.: *How have you handled resistance to change and innovations from employees, colleagues, and students?*

T.M.: Sometimes well, sometimes poorly. When poorly, I think about what has gone on, confer with others, and try repetition with variation. Sometimes that succeeds; sometimes it doesn't. When it doesn't, I find myself reverting to the people who will respond, which means you leave out other people. You bypass them, which could be okay if work loads are redistributed accordingly. I have contributed to a few persons being very overloaded. That's neither equitable nor conducive to more innovating. Of course, it is very easy to be interested in your own innovations. Your promising innovations may strike somebody else as screwing around with a well-oiled machine. Your new document that you believe will be a blessing to humankind, to somebody else, is just another unending form. That's true of all of us. It isn't as though there is a subgroup of resistors with black hats. There are gradations of openness and resistance among us all. I can sense that in myself as much as in my colleagues.

> *"Many times, my expectations for others and myself are that we both can do better than we may think we can."*

L.M.: *One of your administrative assistants indicated, "He both encourages consistency and accommodates to individuals with conflicting issues. I know few people so creative in adapting to conflicting themes." What is that all about?*

T.M.: In effect, the emphasis on consistency has a very important meaning for me, one of systematizing ways of doing things. Once they are systematized, they become routine. They no longer require the same amount of cost and effort to implement, which frees up a person's time to do other things. Sometimes consistency flies in the face of recognizing individual differences. Those differences are very important. (I would be a sad Minnesota product if I wasn't supporting individual differences!) I think you can recognize individual differences and support consistency. You systematize in order to recognize individual differences and you have to be willing to make the initial high-cost investment of figuring out how to systematize things. The organization has to be willing to support and give priority to this. If it doesn't, tomorrow will never be different from today and there will always be difficulties with the process. Accommodating individual differences and idiosyncracies by means of a systems approach to administration of the organization produces an optimal state of affairs.

J.O.: *You seem to have the ability to take people's problems and absurdities and blend them into humor to help people over crises or barriers. A number of your students indicated in their letters that you nudged them beyond their pain. In what context have you helped students beyond their pain?*

T.M.: Those situations occurred in research supervision. I guess that I refuse to believe that this student sitting in front of me can't find a topic or won't do any research after graduation. My mission is to infuse the individual with hope and optimism. Helping students with their research proposals has been the most affective teaching work that I've done. I've shared with students the heights of their euphoria as well as the depths of their frustrations and despair. Doing research supervision as part of my course load since 1973 has been fascinating in allowing me to see what turns on students and what deters them. Some students need hugs, others need a boot, others need some of each. Trying to ascertain which is not easy, but it needs to be done.

> *"My mission is to infuse the individual with hope and optimism."*

L.M.: *One of the other major themes in your life is bringing out people's potential. One past student put it this way, "You were demanding and supportive and I felt safe; you helped us surpass our own self-expectancies." Another indicated, "As a teacher and mentor, your perfection fired and molded me into a progressive and assertive person. I knew and appreciated the pushing and pulling to get me to be my own creative self." How have you developed these qualities that have made you so important to so many people for so long?*

T.M.: I guess the more of a social type (Holland, 1985) you are, the easier it is to come by some of these qualities. Someone once told me that Paul Meehl believed that a student couldn't ask a dumb or poor question. He would reformulate the student's point so that it made great sense. I find it hard to believe that most students do not enjoy their present research and won't do and enjoy subsequent research. My job is to bring out that potential in them. Probably one of the biggest problems is that for many students the research process is so mixed with anxiety and aversion. I believe our responsibility is to turn that around, to make the experience positive, to generate a "gleam in the eye" in the student. If the student has that gleam in his or her eye, we're doing well. What keeps me pursuing these ends are the social type characteristics I have.

J.O.: *Many of those who wrote letters for your 25-year celebration in 1981 indicated they saw you as their mentor. What do you see as some of the qualities of an effective mentor and what have you gotten out of these relationships?*

T.M.: Well, I guess those qualities are ones defined by the mentee. I don't think the person called a mentor is an appropriate judge as to whether he or she is or isn't. Hence, mentoring should be defined from the mentee's point of view. From the student's view, the mentor has made some real difference to him or her. The mentor might even be quite unaware of what it was. What I've gotten out of it is that I made a difference as far as students are concerned in things they have gotten done. They complete different projects, manuscripts, dissertations. They seek new ideas about how to do things. They are feeling, acting, and behaving noticeably different than they did before. That is very satisfying to me. Perhaps if I were a realistic type (Holland, 1985), I might not even notice that then or now.

J.O.: *Most of us do not see you outside your work. We noticed a picture that your daughter, Kenzie, took while you were gardening. What is your interest in gardening, and what happens to you when you garden?*

T.M.: Well, I'm not exactly a garden zealot, although at one time I aspired to be a botany major. I'm still fascinated that you can shake out these little seeds into the soil and over time they grow and produce fruit. The predictable orderliness of planned growth is just very impressive to me, so I enjoy the gardening very much.

COMMENTS ON COUNSELING CENTERS

L.M.: *How have you been able to build a counseling center that is comprehensive and highly respected in the profession?*

T.M.: I think our center evolved through a combination of predispositions–environmental supports and chance events. Probably one of the biggest factors was giving great care and attention to those colleagues we hired. We wanted good people, and good meant generalists first, not specialists (largely because it is so difficult to specialize in counseling centers, at least without creating first- and second-class citizens in the workplace). We wanted people who were identified as generalists, who could confront any help seeker, and who could provide responsible, quality help. A second factor was our commitment to seeking multiple roots throughout the campus community so that the image of the center became broadly based rather than resting on a more singular type of function such as individual counseling or therapy. Those functions, although they are necessary, are too slender a reed to ensure a center's long-run viability. There is more strength and security in creating multiple roots through consultation, supervision, teaching, training, data gathering, and publications. A third factor has been our research investment, which is the "coin of the realm" on most collegiate campuses. It behooves counseling centers to make an investment in this direction as well. A fourth factor has been our involvement in regional and national organization activities, ones that have been very helpful to the center, the university, and the individuals involved. A fifth factor has been developing supportive relationships with all of our chief student affairs administrators. Very few counseling centers will do well without the support of their chief student personnel administrator. It is to our advantage to support that person. Over the years we have had six different chief student personnel administrators here. We have worked hard at and generally succeeded in maintaining very good working relationships and mutual respect with each of them.

J.O.: *One of your most useful innovations and services to the entire counseling profession over the last 20 years has been your annual polling of counseling centers across the United States and Canada to ascertain their staffing patterns, innovations, and other information (Magoon, 1966–1986). How did you come to develop the National Counseling Center Data Bank?*

T.M.: I suspect that it is an outgrowth of my Minnesota training and emphasis on data gathering. Back in the early 1960s, new positions and resources were available, but we needed supportive data to justify the resources. I realized that the best data were to be found in knowing the descriptive and performance characteristics of counseling centers from comparable institutions. With my fellow counseling center directors, I started the data bank in 1966 and it struck a responsive chord, which I suspect was not surprising. Most counseling center directors had an interest in learning what other centers were like. The annual survey gathers the kinds of data that counseling center directors want to have gathered (e.g., salaries, innovative practices, minority representation, sex ratio of counselors, organizational schemas, academic ranks of counselors, equivalent full-time staffing patterns). It is a real smorgasbord. Many people contact us to request data bank information for all sorts of purposes. Besides justifying budgets and planning new programs, the data bank can be used as a rich source of research material. It is also a great source of orienting information to share with practicum students and interns about how "real world" organizations really operate. Some centers also use the material in staff training to orient new staff members about what the agency is like in relation to others. Also, a big use of the data bank is in stimulating innovation, new program development, and creative practices. We started with 30 to 40 institutions and now have grown to over 270 counseling centers across the United States and Canada.

J.O.: *What are some of the barriers you have observed in the development of counseling centers?*

T.M.: One barrier is that counseling centers can be quite isolated from the academic mainstream. We try to cope with this by recruiting folks who are interested in the mainstream and ensuring that our center is a training facility. Each semester we typically have over 40 graduate students in practica or supervised counseling experiences. Another barrier is the tendency to believe that because you've been around for quite a while, the way to do things is the way you have been doing them. This is very dangerous! And if you fall into that trap, you frustrate new staff members' ideas. That kind of organizational resistance prevents innovation and change. Reserving a little time for thinking innovatively is an excellent investment for everyone.

CONNIE MAGOON: DECIPHERER AND BOON COMPANION

L.M.: *How did you first meet Tom?*

C.M.: In 1948 one of my college professors suggested that I talk to Tom about a paper that I was writing for a summer school course. I found him attractive. We had a lot of things in common.

At the end of that summer, I moved to the state of Washington and Tom started graduate school in Minnesota. We got married a year later.

***L.M.:** You have been married 36 years now. What factors do you think have contributed to the strength and longevity of your marriage, given the high percentages of marriages now breaking up?*

C.M.: We find time to pursue both individual and mutual interests. We have similar interests, such as hockey and camping. We have mutual trust of each other. I think that's the key more than anything else.

***L.M.:** What kind of family traditions have you and Tom passed on to your children, the legacy that you've left behind to them?*

C.M.: I think the importance of honesty has always been there. Also, the old adage, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Also, probably Tom's commitment to ethics has been important to the children. And a sense of humor has been important. We have fun getting together for birthdays and special holidays. We take great pride in each other's accomplishments but also poke fun at our weaknesses. We're fortunate in having children we can be proud of, we enjoy spending time with, and who enjoy each other.

***L.M.:** Have any of your children developed careers that express the values of helping people that you and Tom have?*

C.M.: Not particularly. Peter is a musician and actor. He loves to be on stage. He graduated with two majors—one in anthropology and the other in theater—and is now an assistant archivist with the Smithsonian's Folklife Festival. Dan is an electrical engineer with IBM and recently completed his master's degree. Our daughter Kenzie is a graphic artist. John is a manager of a hardware store. Steve is a student at the University of Maryland with majors in urban planning and conservation. None of them seem to be headed toward social service careers. Our son Dan is married and recently we became grandparents of a lovely little girl, Nicole.

***L.M.:** I wonder what role you feel you have had in Tom's professional development?*

C.M.: Keeping things on an even keel. He gets very intense and takes off. And I guess at times I'm the drag. But on the other hand, it is the reality, the nitty gritty of things that need to be considered. I've typed lots of drafts, stuffed envelopes, calculated percentages, and discussed with him the pros and cons of his trials and tribulations.

***L.M.:** It sounds like there are times when he just gets totally absorbed for days or weeks.*

C.M.: Yes, one Saturday he was working on Maryland's first psychologist certification legislation. He talked long distance from our house for 14 hours. I know the bill was $160! He always paces when he telephones, and I thought he was going to go right through the floor. Trying to keep the kids out of his hair was difficult, but when he decides to do something he's going to do it right. That's Tom.

***L.M.:** When the children were growing up and you devoted yourself completely to the family, did you experience loneliness or resentment because Tom was so invested in his work? If so, how did you deal with this?*

C.M.: Oh, yes. I suppose I dealt with it in a lot of different ways. In one sense, that's the way it is. You learn to accept it. Sometimes I get angry and complain but over the years he has gradually spent more time working at home instead of the office—that helps. I've always known that in any time of crisis he would drop everything and come, which makes a difference.

***L.M.:** Looking back on your life now, what are some of your regrets and some of the things that you are most proud of?*

C.M.: I have never figured out how to get Tom to throw away papers and clean up his office (or his study at home, either). I wish we had done more traveling. On the occasions when we have traveled, we have enjoyed it. I'm proud of Tom and the things he has accomplished professionally. I'm proud of the whole family. We've been very fortunate to have five fine children.

***L.M.:** When you think about retirement, what kind of dreams do you have?*

C.M.: It scares me a little because I'm not sure I can take the place of all those students with whom Tom is used to having conversations. He has contacts with a lot of young people constantly. I think he'll miss those contacts with students and colleagues.

***L.M.:** Do you have any advice for your kids as they approach the age to get married?*

C.M.: I don't really have any great words of wisdom. I think the more things you have in common with someone else, the easier it is. You have to share some activities but also leave room for individual differences.

THE OFFICE: A SIGHT TO BE SEEN

***J.O.:** Your office is considered a legend by some and a point of discussion by many. A few years ago a newspaper article was written about you, in which your office was mentioned in the following way: "To colleagues and co-workers, Magoon's office in Shoemaker Hall is legendary. It shows the years that he's dedicated to building the University of Maryland Counseling Center into one of the most innovative in the country. To the outsider, his office is a cluttered catastrophe with papers piled on the desk, taped to the wall, pinned to the curtains, stacked on the shelves, in boxes, on doors, under chairs, on window sills and scattered across the floor." Someone else indicated that your desktop resembled Mount St. Helen's after the eruption. What does your office say about you?*

T.M.: For me, it represents several things. First, it's a barometer. When I view it as a disaster area, it is a sign that I'm feeling depressed or overwhelmed. When I'm feeling in good spirits, I hardly give it a thought. How did it get that way? Well, I've always been reluctant to throw things away. I'm a janitor's delight. I've never hit upon a good filing system. Something might go here or there, or maybe there. And that's when I began to get scared that once inserted into some file drawer, I would not likely find it again. How did I handle that? I kept everything out in the open by developing files that lie down. Over time the piles go up and up. In effect, what I produced were horizontal files. Whereas most persons have vertical filing systems, mine are horizontal ones with different piles for different functions. I find that only about the top half-inch of any pile is functional, and rarely do I dip below that. The problems arise as the piles build up and begin to waver. Most of the time this approach serves my purposes, but when I can't find something it is a disaster. I was somewhat consoled by a quotation a student gave me to the effect that, "People who keep orderly offices can never know the exhilaration of finding something that they believed to be irretrievably lost!"

PERSONAL CRISES, REGRETS, AND PEAK EXPERIENCES

***J.O.:** What have been some of the crises in your career?*

T.M.: One was when my academic job went badly and, as a result, I shifted my position to another department. That was very stressful. It illustrated how when things went sour interpersonally in that organization, the results were very draining on all of us. Then, there have been several episodes in which I had anxiety and depressive sieges that were very rough. One of those times was associated with reentry problems after spending a year in Okinawa and Tokyo. I can still recall the vivid feelings of being a stranger, a fifth wheel with little to offer in the face of many changes that had occurred in our counseling center and the campus. Another occasion was associated with the fast approaching time for me to move from president-elect to president status in Division 17 (Counseling Psychology) of APA. I had badly misjudged the time and preparation I felt was needed for assuming the office and was overwhelmed by the enormity of the challenge. The only way I coped with those crises was getting good counseling and therapy for myself. That was very helpful.

J.O.: *What kind of advice would you give all of us who will face inevitable crises, stresses, and discouragement?*

T.M.: I'm not prepared to offer great prescriptions on that score. If one is so fortunate, personal support can buffer those stressful periods. That's where Connie and our family have been very helpful—more than they probably realized. Second, having therapeutic assistance over time and using it. Third, I think the multiplicity of job roles is helpful. If things are going disastrously in one role, less stressful functioning in the other role can temper the impact of the negative events in the former. In sum, although those aren't very lofty notions, they have proved useful to me.

L.M.: *Could you comment on some of your regrets, failures, disappointments, things you wished had gone differently?*

T.M.: The biggest regret is that the more investment I made in my career, the less time and energy there was to invest in other things, particularly family relationships. They can take a beating in that regard—there is no doubt about that. Connie has been able to fill the breach in many ways so that I expect if I were married to someone else, the life-style would have presented some wild problems.

J.O.: *Tom, could you speak about some of your peak experiences?*

T.M.: When the university ran a precollege summer program for marginally achieving high school graduates, that was a real peak. We provided the students with counseling and educational skills training each summer. One of those summers we developed the Effective Problem Solving (EPS) treatment mode as a structured form of educational-vocational counseling to use with those students (Magoon, 1969). It proved very useful. Now, of course, there are many such structured programs. Other peak experiences included evaluating academic retention interventions and the development and use of the so-called audio notebooks as random access equipment for making available to students our interviews with heads of all academic departments about their degree programs. This helped us to build bridges to academic departments as well as to help students. Another peak has been the development of the National Counseling Data Bank and its continuation annually since 1966. Another peak occurred when I was chairperson of the legislative committee of the Maryland Psychological Association and we were seeking state certification for psychologists. There weren't many states that had certification then. We drafted the bill, checked it out with all members, got a lobbyist to help us submit it, lobbied for it, and got it passed and signed by the governor, all within about 5 very hectic months. Yes, that was a real peak!

L.M.: *Were there some other peaks?*

T.M.: Another was receiving the Maryland Psychological Association's Outstanding Contribution to Psychology Award. Another real high was the feeling that goes along with completing the recruitment of new staff members. We work awfully hard at that. It is a real high to realize someone is coming aboard who will be a valued colleague for the future. We've recruited some very strong and diverse people who have made substantial contributions to the center, the university, and our professional organizations. This involvement has given me and others a real sense of pride. Then, another peak occurs at each of the university's commencements. It is the pleasure and pride I feel for graduating students with whom I have worked. Finally, another high was receiving the American College Personnel Association's Outstanding Service Award in 1984.

J.O.: *Tom, could you comment on the notion of burnout?*

T.M.: When I hear the term *burnout*, I first think about the importance of systematizing activities so that they don't take up time and energy that are needed to renew yourself and to innovate. Individuals who do not systematize activities are more susceptible to burnout than are those who organize their work. Similarly, organizations are more susceptible to fostering burnout if they expect individuals to keep doing tomorrow what they did yesterday. The less innovation, change, and renewal in the organization, the more likely burnout will occur. Innovation involves renewal and is the antithesis of burnout.

RETIREMENT AND INTERVIEW REACTIONS

J.O.: *How are you feeling about all these interviews?*

T.M.: I would say that it has been the longest ego trip that I have ever been on. I appreciate your tolerance to bear with all this. I think that it is one of the most attractive assignments to anyone—to ramble on about oneself and what one does. I think its attraction is universal, like resistance to change. People, when given the chance, like to talk about what they do and what they have done. Also, it is clear that I wouldn't have gotten anywhere near as many things done without the collaboration of Connie and the help of my family. And in the counseling center, we wouldn't have gotten things done without the high caliber of persons who have come to work there. I am very proud to be identified with both my family and my working colleagues.

> *"The interview: . . . the longest ego trip that I have ever been on."*

J.O.: *How are you feeling about a future retirement for yourself?*

T.M.: I have mixed feelings. I do notice that comparing and contrasting work and retirement situations comes to be a frequent mental hobby—while shaving, driving to and from school, and the like. That has been a new experience in itself. I guess it is time to retire when the attractions of what you would do in retirement outweigh the attractions of your continued employment and when the disadvantages of retirement seem less than the disadvantages of continued working. Right now the advantages of continued employment seem larger than the advantages of retirement. I don't know when that will change.

J.O.: *What were your reactions to being named a pioneer in the counseling and human development profession?*

T.M.: That is a little overwhelming and I have some difficulty with it. My first image is pioneers slogging across hill and dale in Conestoga wagons—and I haven't used mine lately. But it is very heartwarming and much appreciated.

Significant Events in the Life of Thomas M. Magoon

1922	*Born in Lancaster, New Hampshire*
1923–40	*Socialized in Framingham, Massachusetts; developed avid interest in hockey and helping people*

1940	*Entered Dartmouth College at age 18*
1943–46	*Military service in the Pacific, including training in Specialized Training Program in Personnel Psychology*
1947	*Graduated from Dartmouth College; BA in psychology and education*
1947	*Graduate preceptor and instructor of psychology at Colgate University; Kenneth Berrien recommended graduate work in psychology at Minnesota*
1948–54	*Entered University of Minnesota, received MA degree and PhD in counseling psychology under mentorship of Ralph Berdie*
1949	*Married Connie Froass in Oneida, New York. Children born on the following dates: Peter Garvin Magoon, January 18, 1954; Daniel James Magoon, January 11, 1956; Constance Kenzie Magoon, July 14, 1958; John Bruce Magoon, May 15, 1960; Steven Thomas Magoon, June 26, 1962*
1952–55	*Worked as a counselor (senior student personnel worker) at University of Minnesota Counseling Bureau; implemented major research on assessment of outcomes in counseling and psychotherapy*
1955–	*Accepted positions at the University of Maryland: assistant professor of psychology (1955), assistant director of Counseling Center (1956), and director of Counseling Center (1960–) and professor of education and psychology (1965–)*
1957–59	*Responsible for forming the American Board of Professional Standards in Vocational Counseling, which later became the International Association of Counseling Services (IACS)*
1958	*Chaired the Maryland Psychological Association Committee, which wrote, lobbied for, and passed Maryland's first certification law for psychologists*
1964	*Chaired the committee that developed AACD's (then APGA's) first* Ethical Standards Casebook
1965	*Received Outstanding Psychologist Award, Maryland Psychological Association*
1966	*Developed the Effective Problem Solving (EPS) Self-Directed Treatment Mode*
1966–	*Founded and headed the National Counseling Center Data Bank, which annually gathers data on counseling centers in the United States and Canada*
1966–	*Began and continued the convention program, "Innovations in College Counseling," at all AACD-ACPA conventions*
1968–	*Served on the editorial board of* The Counseling Psychologist
1970	*Named fellow, Division 17 of APA*
1970–71	*Year spent as Maryland resident graduate professor, Okinawa and Tokyo, Japan*
1973–	*Taught thesis and dissertation research proposal seminar*
1974–75	*President-elect, Division 17 (Counseling Psychology), APA*
1974–	*Charter season ticket holder of Washington Capitals, National Hockey League team*
1980	*Invited keynote lectures, Japan Student Counseling Association, Tokyo, Japan*
1981	*Experienced "Twenty-Five Years with Tom Magoon" celebration; collated memory book of letters and tributes into single volume*
1984	*Received the ACPA Professional Service Award*
1985	*Became a grandfather*

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Editors' Note: This interview is based on edited transcripts of videotapes and audiotapes that are housed in the AACD Library.

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PART VII

Early Training Institutions

Institutional Perspectives: Players, Tasks, Environments, and Social Contexts

ERIC T. HILLERBRAND and P. PAUL HEPPNER

This section contains the histories of four training programs that are significant in the counseling profession: the University of Minnesota, Columbia University, Ohio State University, and University of Missouri. In addition, the fifth article is a historical article on an important counseling center in the counseling profession, the University Counseling Center at Colorado State University. These articles document aspects of our history that are not reflected in the interviews with individual pioneers. In many ways, the histories of these training programs and counseling centers mirror the changes that have occurred in the counseling profession nationally.

There are commonalities across these histories. But more interestingly, there are differences. Each of these histories represents a permutation of the same task: the task of developing the basic tenets of the counseling profession, derived from its divergent professional roots, within a university environment, in order to pursue training and research. Each history is composed of a unique set of players, a unique interpretation of its task, a unique university environment, and a common societal context. In this introduction, we discuss these themes as they both link and differentiate the institutional articles.

THE PLAYERS

Individual faculty gave each program its character. As a result, each article marks significant developmental milestones by changes occurring in the faculty. It was the combinations of faculty, noted in the histories as lucky personnel decisions, the right chemistry, finding the right person at the right time, and the creative merging of research interests in response to societal needs, that made each program vibrant and successful. Programs saw rapid faculty growth in the 1950s and 1960s, and periods of stabilization, even retrenchment, in the 1970s and 1980s.

In each program, a few people had sufficient vision to guide it against the vagaries of a new and developing profession. For instance, Gilbert Wrenn, Donald Paterson, and John Darley were at Minnesota; Paul Polmantier, Ed Roeber, and Bob Callis were at Missouri; Frank Robinson and Harold Pepinsky were at Ohio State; Donald Super and Al Thompson were at Columbia University; and Allen Ivey and Gene Oetting were at Colorado State. All of these people not only played significant leadership roles in developing the training program at their institution but also in the emerging counseling profession as well.

In a way, these visionaries were professional states*men*." The absence of women and persons of varying ethnic and racial backgrounds is notable. This fact is in dramatic contrast to the present configuration of the profession and those who guide or influence those counseling psychology programs of national distinction today.

These players, and as a result their programs, were nationally visible. They were not only journal editors but also journal founders, (e.g., *Journal of Counseling Psychology*), leaders in the development of the ABEPP diplomate, and founders and officers of various professional organizations (e.g., American Rehabilitation Counseling Association, American Personnel and Guidance

Association, American College Personnel Association, and the American Psychological Association). Their research areas also attained national visibility in such areas as tests and measurement, career development and vocational theory, and counselor training.

Entering the 1990s, the counseling profession is on the doorstep of a third generation of faculty and ideas. With retirements, the hiring of new faculty, budgetary reallocation, and changing training requirements, the complexion of many programs is once again set to change.

THE TASK

Each history illustrates varying interpretations of what counselors and counseling psychologists do, as well as their training. In essence, as counseling programs and counseling centers were developed, the major tasks facing the young profession were establishing an identity and developing models to train professionals within that specialty. Following World War II the returning veteran was to have a significant impact on the young specialty's self-definition. Veterans returned with personal and career problems that hindered adjustment, and student-veterans, using G.I. benefits, entered college needing vocational guidance. Veterans were in need of programs emphasizing educational, occupational, and emotional rehabilitation (Whiteley, 1984).

In order to assist the veteran returning to college, the Veterans Administration (VA) Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and Education worked with universities to provide on-campus services to their constituents. In 1952, the VA agreed to finance the training of counselors and counseling psychologists by developing paid internships in veterans hospitals for PhD candidates. Responding to pressure from the VA to standardize training, the Education and Training Board of the American Psychological Association outlined criteria for the training of psychologists. The VA's training needs had the effect of politically sanctioning the counseling psychology specialty while at the same time urging the counseling profession to strengthen its training and focus its identity.

Although the VA was acknowledging the professional importance of counseling, the specialty had difficulty in defining itself. Counselors lacked a "clear and distinct identity because the name denoted a process that was and is used by many other professionals and lay people" (Super, quoted in Whiteley, 1984, p. 11). The counseling profession needed not only to define itself but also to distinguish itself from other areas in psychology and education.

One can see this struggle mirrored in the programs of Ohio State, Missouri, Columbia, and Minnesota, where competition with other psychology areas, especially clinical psychology, for identity and dollars was significant. The need to define itself professionally, and within the university environment, as a profession composed of unique competencies led to each program developing its own conception of counseling psychology and counseling psychology training. In the common conception of themselves as counseling psychology programs, there was diversity in how the model became inculcated in the students, faculty, and the training that then transpired.

The Minnesota model enveloped empiricism, objectivity, counting, testing, and research methodology. The Missouri model, perhaps due to the joint program between two departments, developed a program emphasizing fluidity, flexibility, and respect for autonomy and individuality—what Anderson called "user-friendly." The Ohio State model utilized a flexible department structure to integrate psychology and student personnel, emphasizing both scientific and applied traditions. Teachers College utilized an eclectic philosophy to integrate new approaches in understanding the role of work and careers in individual development. The Colorado State Counseling Center integrated personal counseling with a student development focus, which spawned the famed "cube" for conceptualizing a broad range of counseling interventions.

Each program, in turn, developed an area of expertise that ensured its prominent place within the profession. Ohio State focused on educational counseling; Colorado State on ecological planning, outreach, and prevention; Teachers College on school psychology, student personnel work, and career development; Minnesota on assessment and vocational development; and Missouri on assessment and testing.

THE UNIVERSITY ENVIRONMENT

The counseling profession focused on the university environment, particularly on the interface with the university counseling centers. Unlike faculty in clinical psychology, faculty in the counseling profession often were directly connected with the provision of counseling services through dual academic and student service positions (e.g., Missouri). The breadth of the counselors' job description and the fact that the university was their research laboratory led to webs of interdepartmental relationships that provided unique blends of resources, talent, and training opportunities. For example, Colorado State integrated the Counseling Center, Psychology Department, and Dean of Students Office. Missouri combined Counseling Services, the Education Department, and the Psychology Department. Ohio State brought together people from the Departments of Psychology, Education, and Dean of Women's Office, and student services offices. The counseling services in these institutions reflected similar breadth and contributed to the innovation by developing programs in paraprofessional training, career planning, outreach program development, and evaluation. In many instances, the counseling centers were the training laboratories of the academic programs.

THE SOCIETAL CONTEXT

Across all five articles, a common evolutionary process is evident in which the programs responded to new and changing societal needs with creativity and innovation. All four of the training programs' histories cite the return of WWII veterans, the need for vocational rehabilitation and counseling services, and the availability of Veterans Administration funding as the springboard for major programmatic innovation. In response to these social forces, each of the training programs pursued innovations with regard to personality and vocational assessment, student admission and retention, academic effectiveness, and the broader emotional well-being of students.

The decade of the 1960s saw significant social movement and explorations of new frontiers. In turn, the counseling programs reflected growth and innovation. Furthermore, emerging non-psychoanalytic theoretical schools saw programmatic interest in therapy outcome and process research.

In the 1970s, two laws that had a significant impact on the employment of counseling psychologists expired: the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1954 and the National Defense Education Act of 1958. Consequently, training programs became more market-oriented and concerned about third-party payments, specialty guidelines, and credentialing and licensure (Borgen, 1984). The curriculum of the program also changed, with greater emphasis on cross-cultural issues. These curricular changes mirrored societal changes and the changing composition of the students in the program with increasing numbers of women and ethnic and racial minorities.

Recently, continued debate about the utility of the scientist-practitioner model and the growing schism between applied and academic psychologists have also changed professional perspectives. More graduates are now entering private practice and the corporate arena. In addition, the rise of health psychology and behavioral medicine means that the role of the counselor and counseling psychologist extends even further from the university.

CONCLUSION

The counseling profession has been shaped by a range of professional issues, social forces, and economic events. In these historical articles, it is also clear that individual interpretation of the specialty, and innovations in applying skills within the specialty, were instrumental in fostering unique training programs with a common mission. Although individuals played critical roles in developing training programs and counseling centers, there was also a creative and synergistic blending among the faculty, so that programs and centers took on a character or life of their own. Consequently the history of these programs not only mirrors the history of the counseling profession, but these and other programs created our history as well.

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Counseling Psychology in the Minnesota Tradition

HENRY BOROW

In the *History of Experimental Psychology*, E. G. Boring (1950) discusses the two principal theories—personalistic and naturalistic—that have been propounded to account for scientific progress. The first, often called the "great person" concept, holds that momentous advances in science may be attributed directly to the stunning and revolutionary insights of a genius, a brilliant innovator. The naturalistic view, on the other hand, asserts that prior cultural change must prepare a climate of receptivity for a radically new conception or movement; that is to say, the *Zeitgeist* must be right. The notable contributions of scientific pioneers, then, must be placed in the cultural context of their times. The great persons of science, says Boring, are not the causes, but the agents and symptoms, of progress. To have had a significant impact on the course of history, they will have had to be moving with the prevailing tide.

THE EARLY YEARS

Perhaps nowhere more than at Minnesota did a salutary conjoining of *Zeitgeist* and the energetic personal agents of progress occur. Like many other midwestern land grant universities, the University of Minnesota in the early decades of the twentieth century was stamped with the spirit of social pragmatism, by a concern that its activities have discernible consequences for the benefit of the citizens of the state and of the broader society. There existed, additionally, a firmly held conviction about the justness of universal education. It was a guiding philosophical principle of the university, as historian James Gray (1958, p. 13) has noted, ". . . that every sovereign citizen of the state is entitled to all that his mind can accept and his abilities advance in the way of the wisdom." One president, Lotus Delta Coffman, had characterized the university as a "public service corporation" morally obligated to serve the citizens who created it. There can be little doubt that the uncommon early articulation and vigorous pursuit of an egalitarian and student-centered philosophy at Minnesota contributed heavily to the sturdy growth and national prominence of its counseling psychology programs.

> *"Perhaps nowhere more than at Minnesota did a salutary conjoining of* Zeitgeist *and the energetic personal agents of progress occur."*

Counseling psychology at Minnesota in the form of systematic student personnel research was initiated in the early 1920s, shortly after World War I. The democratic principles generally associated with the land grant philosophy—utilitarianism and ready access to higher education—were already clearly in evidence. Embedded in the credo was a nexus of special circumstances that operated powerfully to create and enliven counseling research and practice. First, the success of army psychologists with test-based personnel selection and assignment had stimulated great interest in the application of psychological methods to the study of educational problems. Earlier pioneers like James McKeen Cattell, who had sired the subscience of differential psychology and introduced the concept of the mental test in 1890, has shown that observations of human performance could be objectively made and quantitatively processed. It was hardly unexpected, then, that the beginnings of counseling-related activity at Minnesota would emphasize psychological testing, the prediction of scholastic performance, and educational guidance.

Highly placed university administrators, committed to the careful study of problems of student admissions and retention, provided a second condition favorable to the establishment of a robust counseling-based program of research and service. John B. Johnston, Dean of the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts and a neurologist by training, launched an ambitious series of studies on the prediction of student academic performance. Johnston's studies had a powerful ripple effect, leading both to the establishment of a statewide testing program in cooperation with the Association of Minnesota Colleges and to the formation of important committees to deal with issues of faculty advising and student personnel services.

At a time when counseling psychology was yet relatively amorphous and lacking a discernible professional identity, Minnesota was able to attract a succession of unusually strong graduate students who enthusiastically and productively affiliated themselves with this emerging field. Some of the most promising among them, E. G. Williamson and John Darley, for example, were invited to join the faculty and quickly became pacesetters in defining the developing character of the field and enlarging its national stature. No small factor in their success at home in Minnesota was their ability to demonstrate the pivotal importance of empirically based student personnel methods to the changing priorities of a progressive university striving to cope with problems of expanding enrollments and nontraditional student cohorts. That the University of Minnesota is alone in having long supported two fully accredited doctoral programs in counseling psychology, one in the Department of Psychology and the other in the College of Education, may suggest something about the institution's historical endorsement of graduate training in this discipline.

COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

The origin and maturation of what later came to be the first counseling psychology training program at Minnesota are in large measure traceable to the fortuitous presence of two educational pioneers and to the remarkable relationship between them. Before World War I, courses in psychology had been offered initially through the Department of Philosophy and, later, through the renamed Department of Philosophy and Psychology. In 1919 a young, Harvard-trained doctorate, Richard M. Elliott, was appointed to form a separate Department of Psychology and to serve as its head. Urbane and courtly, somewhat aristocratic in manner, and well schooled in classical literature, Professor Elliott held an abiding respect for the historical and theoretical foundations of his field. He understood, however, the dangers of drawing the boundaries of the nascent field too narrowly. Accordingly, he gathered in a diversified faculty, able and energetic, but varied in their special interests, basic and applied, and provided them with the intellectual freedom they needed to follow their particular bents. Much of the salutary eclecticism that characterized the early days has persisted to the present. No single position, radical behaviorism or classical psychodynamics, for example, has dominated the departmental scene.

Two years after he came to Minnesota, Elliott recruited Donald G. Paterson, five years his junior. In his personal manner, Paterson presented a marked contrast to Elliott. A native Ohioan, Paterson was direct and open, rapid in speech, and intense in style. He had taken a master's in psychology from The Ohio State University under Rudolph Pintner, a front-rank pioneer in the young testing movement. Paterson had been struck by the inefficient management of human resources and had acquired a strong conviction about the high promise of psychological method, particularly objective testing, for diagnosing and improving school and work performance.

On his arrival, Paterson found that "Minnesota itself was in a ferment" (Paterson, posthumous, 1976, p. 328) and ready for the application of the new, empirically based techniques to its educational problems. He inveighed against the impressionistic, anecdotal, and informal self-report methods that plagued the pseudopsychologies of that day. Uncompromising objective observation was the touchstone by which human potentiality and achievement were to be gauged. In Paterson's view of psychological science there was no substitute for facts. He constantly reminded his students of Anton Carlson's test of truth for any knowledge claim, "Was ist die Evidence?" (Hudson, 1988). Theory had little or no place in the framing of research hypotheses or in the interpretation of data. This Patersonian view of the nature of fact-finding, widely shared by measurement and differential psychologists of the day and by generations of Donald Paterson's own students, became known to psychologists around the country as Minnesota-style "dustbowl empiricism." Ironically, it was Richard Elliott himself who is reported to have first coined the appellation as a gentle gibe at the uncompromisingly atheoretical orientation of some of his colleagues.

Despite their contrasting personalities, Elliott and Paterson worked harmoniously and productively together over many years. Elliott's support and skill as an administrator made it possible for Paterson to launch an impressive assortment of counseling and personnel-related projects both on and off the campus. The way had been prepared by the common work experience they had earlier as World War I psychologists. In the mid-1920s, Paterson, Elliott, and their associates carried out an ambitious project entailing the development and norming of a series of aptitude measures, a number of which became standard appraisal instruments in testing centers around the country. Completed in 1927, the study was published 3 years later under the title "Minnesota Mechanical Ability Tests" (Paterson, Elliott, Anderson, Toops, & Heidbreder, 1930).

Paterson's vision of the future of counseling psychology was prophetic. He foresaw the new psychology as having the promise of direct application not only to the field of education but also to a wide spectrum of institutional settings, including business firms and public and private employment agencies, where the tasks of recruitment, training, and psychological management of personnel were performed. The principles of individual psychological appraisal, argued Paterson, recognized no narrow territorial boundaries. It was hardly coincidence, then, that some of his students carried their newly acquired skills to the employment agencies and personnel departments of several prominent business and industrial corporations. When an important new interdisciplinary research facility—the Industrial Relations Center—was established on the campus in 1945, Professor Paterson became a member of both the center faculty and its Faculty Advisory Committee.

No formally prescribed curriculum bearing the name *counseling psychology* existed at Minnesota until the post-World War II period. However, a pattern of course work emerged that generally included differential psychology (measurement of individual and group differences), psychometrics (psychological tests, their construction and interpretation), statistics and research design, occupational psychology, and student personnel work. As the counseling emphasis in the Department of Psychology grew, new faculty were appointed. Not surprisingly, virtually all had been among Donald Paterson's most distinguished graduate students and each, in turn, attained later prominence. The early group included Edmund G. Williamson, who joined the faculty in 1932, John G. Darley, 1938, and Ralph Berdie, 1947.

The practice of appointing its own graduates to the academic staff left Minnesota vulnerable to the charge of operating an exclusive club, one perhaps plagued by a sameness of position and a resistance to the infusion of new ideas. The record, however, fails to show that faculty inbreeding impeded originality and variety in scholarly effort. It may be fairly said that, while strong collegiality has been a mark of the counseling psychologists at Minnesota, each has staked out and cultivated domains of investigation of his or her intellectual preference. Indeed, some interesting departures from early research interests have occurred. James Jenkins, who took his doctorate with Donald Paterson, served then as his graduate assistant and later as a faculty colleague, and who co-edited with Paterson the widely read *Studies in Individual Differences* (Jenkins & Paterson, 1961), moved away from applied psychology and achieved status as a noted authority in psycholinguistics.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY: IMPACT ON MINNESOTA

Three significant developments occurring within a span of 5 or 6 years at midcentury culminated in the establishment and recognition of counseling psychology as a professional specialty with distinctive markings within applied behavioral science. These events profoundly affected the growth of counseling psychology at Minnesota as elsewhere. First, in 1946 the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology was formed as an independently incorporated body to identify criteria or professional competence and to certify qualified candidates as diplomates of the board. Darley of Minnesota was named ABEPP's first

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secretary-treasurer (1947–1951), and it was through his insistence and that of a few others that the ABEPP diploma in counseling and guidance was created in formal recognition of a professional practice specialty separate from clinical psychology.

Second, also in 1946, the Division of Counseling and Guidance was created as a founding division of the newly reorganized American Psychological Association. Again, it was Darley and several associates who, aligning themselves with the emerging specialty of counseling psychology, argued successfully for a division to represent that field of practice. Williamson, then Dean of Students at Minnesota, became the first president of the division, which, like the collateral ABEPP specialty field, adopted the briefer name of Counseling Psychology in 1952.

The third development centered on the emergence of counseling psychology within the Veterans Administration in the early 1950s. Contributing significantly was the work of a blue-ribbon advisory committee of the VA's Vocational Rehabilitation and Educational Service. Chaired by Williamson, and including as members Donald Super and Daniel Feder, this committee guided a 5-year program of professionalization of the VA's counseling service, releasing its report and recommendations in 1956.

The post-World War II thrust toward the new status of counseling psychology spurred the formalization of the existing Department of Psychology program at Minnesota. Practicum and internship requirements that, until now, had been somewhat ambiguous and inconsistently followed, were clarified and heightened to conform to emerging national accreditation standards. In late 1952, the programs at Minnesota and Ohio State were accredited by the APA Office of Accreditation. The only counseling psychology program to receive prior accreditation was that of Teachers College, Columbia, earlier that year. Although the Office of Accreditation records do not document recognition of two separate Minnesota programs at that time, examination of the chronology of the agencies' actions pertaining to Minnesota appears to establish firm grounds for interpreting the 1952 accreditation as applying both to the Department of Psychology program and to that of the College of Education (Borow, personal communication, from APA Office of Accreditation, 1989).

Commensurate with the expanding role of the Minnesota program was the addition of faculty. Lloyd Lofquist, who had previously directed the Counseling Psychology Service at the Minneapolis Veterans Administration Hospital, joined the staff in 1956. René Dawis was appointed in 1968. Exponents of a person-environment theory of occupational behavior, Lofquist and Dawis have jointly directed the Work Adjustment Project, a long-standing programmatic research program that is briefly described later in this article. Renewed emphasis on training in quantitative methods in research was underscored in the faculty appointment of David Weiss in 1967. Weiss developed courses in test theory, scale analysis, and research design. Jo-Ida Hansen, a staff member of the Student Counseling Bureau (now University Counseling Services), was appointed in 1984 to the full-time departmental faculty where she directs the Counseling Psychology Training Program and the Center for Interest Measurement Research. Three others have left Minnesota. Robert Warnken, who had been a faculty member from 1963 to 1971, taught the counseling core and rehabilitation counseling courses and directed the training program between 1967 and 1970. Stephen D. Brown, who taught counseling theory and interviewing from 1979 to 1984, took a position at Loyola University in Chicago. Stanley Strong, Director of Student Life Studies between 1968 and 1978 and a member of the extended faculty, left for the University of Nebraska in the late 1970s and is currently at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Recent Status

Given the impact of Minnesota on the development and character of counseling psychology and the broad deployment of its graduates, it comes as an unfailing surprise to observers elsewhere to discover how small a faculty constitutes the nucleus of the counseling program in the Department of Psychology. Part of the explanation lies in the flexibility built into the curriculum. Beyond meeting the requirements of the core course sequence, practicum, and internship, students are given considerable freedom to follow their special interests in related departments, and they frequently pursue course work in such instructional programs as family social science, behavior genetics, educational psychology, and clinical psychology through its hospital links with rehabilitation counseling.

A second explanation for the program's comparatively high student output is to be found in the vast network of practicing psychologists attached to a variety of campus agencies serving the personnel needs of students. For an extended time following World War II, a succession of well-trained and productive doctoral-level senior counselors in the Student Counseling Bureau and other student affairs offices earned rank as adjunct faculty with an academic base in the Department of Psychology. They supervised practicum and internship experiences, collaborated on research projects, sat on doctoral examination committees and, on occasion, taught classes and co-advised graduate students. Their contributions made possible the cost-effective training with quality control of a substantially greater number of MA and PhD students than the small full-time counseling psychology faculty could have managed alone. Regrettably, a drastic tightening of the University's tenure-track regulations, coupled with the adoption of a nonfaculty classification for new professional service personnel, now severely limits the pool from which qualified extended faculty had previously been drawn.

Between accreditation in 1952 and 1986, the Department of Psychology produced an estimated 188 counseling psychology PhDs. Since 1966 the output rate has been approximately seven per year. In conformity with a trend reported elsewhere, the proportion of women graduates has increased sharply. For the 1966–1976 period, one-third of the doctoral graduates were women. For the 1976–1987 period, the proportion had risen to about one-half.

Although it would be unwise to attempt to put a discrete label on the counseling psychology program in the Department of Psychology, it is possible to identify certain distinguishing markings. In purpose and spirit, the program is generalist oriented. It incorporates principles and methods deemed broadly basic to practice in the field. Beginning with the core course sequence, it strives to build a strong academic foundation for the discipline. Competence in research and quantitative method is a cardinal objective.

As to the applied aspects of the program, vocational psychology, vocational assessment, rehabilitation psychology, and counseling process have held center stage. The training of rehabilitation counselors figured prominently in the program's past activities. A lengthy and productive relationship obtained between counseling psychology and the U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, later the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, and still later, the Rehabilitation Services Administration. Grants from these agencies in support of counselor training extended from 1956 to 1974. A 2-year grant (1957–1959) supported the early research effort on the Work Adjustment Project. During the 1950s federal funds were used to upgrade to MA level the competencies of State Division of Vocational Rehabilitation counselors who lacked graduate training. Later, the Minnesota program shifted its emphasis to the preparation of doctoral-level students for positions in rehabilitation training programs elsewhere.

Thorough grounding in the concepts and methods of vocational psychology applicable to a wide variety of employment settings remains the dominant theme. Housed in the same academic department as clinical psychology, the counseling psychology faculty has not made the teaching of psychotherapy part of its mission. In this respect, the Department of Psychology program does not mirror the national trend in counseling psychology toward increased stress on training in the treatment of maladaptive behavior.

The apparent narrowness of focus on the program's career training objectives has by no means led to a sameness in the post-doctoral status of graduates. A 15-year (1969–1984) follow-up study of doctoral graduates produced some interesting findings (Department of Psychology, University of Minnesota, 1985). All 91 respondents reported being currently employed. Surprisingly, perhaps, the largest number described their job title as "practice." "Teaching" and "student personnel service" were the job titles with the next highest frequencies. By far the most common employment setting was educational institutions. Self-employment was second and employment in industry/organization settings third in frequency of mention.

Graduates have shared some revealing personal reactions on the matter of the program's heavy academic-didactic emphasis. Wrote one former student, "As a research psychologist with an emphasis on measurement and statistics, my training was superb (but) I was ill prepared to do any form of 'counseling' or 'therapy.' " Another said, "I have come to value my research training more with each passing year, though I do not have the time nor the inclination to do research at present . . . I think like a researcher." Still another disclosed, "Now I can see that . . . without the solid academic background I would have been poorly equipped to learn (the applied skills)."

COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGY IN THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Although the first elements of what was later to mature as the College of Education's counseling psychology program did not surface until the mid-1930s, approximately 15 years after Donald Paterson had broken ground in the Department of Psychology, the administrative and philosophical conditions in education were already highly propitious for the nurturance of counseling. Lotus Delta Coffman, who had taken his doctorate at Teachers College, Columbia, was brought from the University of Illinois in 1915 to assume the post of dean. Finding the College of Education floundering, Coffman swiftly won for his unit a much greater degree of control over its own program and, as Robert Beck, the college's historian has reported, set it "on a course of (educational) research from which it never departed" (1980, p. 62).

Coffman moved to the presidency of the University in 1920 but continued to provide vigorous administrative support to the further professionalization of the College of Education and to the systematic investigation of student personnel issues. He moved quickly to bring in as the new dean an individual, who, like himself, was strongly committed to the scientific movement in education. Melvin Haggerty, a Harvard-trained educational psychologist, had been influenced by his distinguished professors, particularly William James in the philosophy of education, and Robert Yerkes and Hugo Muensterberg, stellar pioneers in basic and applied experimental psychology. Haggerty was a strong advocate of educational and psychological testing and, as chair of the powerful University Committee on Educational Research, oversaw the application of testing and measurement methodology to the objective study of a variety of curricular, program evaluation, and student personnel issues. Consistent with his deep conviction about the indispensable role of rigorous quantitative experimentation in the advancement of education, he arranged for the appointment of Palmer Johnson to his faculty in 1926. Johnson was an eminent authority in statistical analysis. As teacher and researcher over the next 34 years, he maintained an intellectually demanding standard for work in experimental design and quantitative analysis that shaped the training and thinking of generations of educational psychology students at Minnesota.

The Wrenn Years

This ardent attachment to educational research, to an assertive scientific approach to education, was what C. Gilbert Wrenn found at Minnesota when he joined the faculty in 1936. Although very different from Donald Paterson in personal style, Wrenn was to provide as vital an influence on the growth of counseling psychology in the College of Education as Paterson had earlier brought to the Department of Psychology program. At Stanford, Wrenn had served as a vocational counselor, had studied with Lewis Terman and Edward K. Strong, and had also worked with Strong on the early version of the Vocational Interest Blank. Retrospectively, Wrenn characterized himself at that stage of his career as a "measurement man" and had, in fact, published his *Study Habits Inventory* with Stanford University Press.

Gilbert Wrenn's first position at Minnesota was that of Assistant Director of The General College, the lively experimentally minded 2-year academic unit established in 1931 to serve the educational needs of students of modest academic promise or uncertainty about their educational and career directions. With strong support from the University's central administration, substantial funding from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, and the contributions of a renewable stream of energetic psychologists, the General College set in motion a remarkable series of studies on student personnel characteristics, curriculum and counseling design, and program evaluation (Eckert, 1943; Williams, 1943).

By 1938 Gilbert Wrenn had moved full time to the College of Education, which had previously presented but a single guidance course. Soon after, he began to offer classes in personality development and diagnostic counseling. Following naval service in World War II, Wrenn returned to Minnesota to build the course sequence that evolved into the College's formal counseling psychology program. An interface of sorts developed with the Department of Psychology in that students earning the PhD in either of the programs commonly completed work for the minor field (later, the supporting field) in the other.

The immediate post-World War II years were an extraordinarily favorable period for the flowering of counseling and student personnel psychology. Sparked by burgeoning college enrollments, the so-called G.I. Bill for returning veterans, and the heavy demand for PhDs in the maturing education specialties, new graduate programs in counseling psychology and counselor education sprang up across the country. A 15-year lead in training and research, coupled with an established reputation, had placed Minnesota in an unusually advantageous position to respond to the challenge. During the late 1940s and the decade to follow, record numbers of applicants for admission were attracted to the University. It was a feverishly productive time, one in which a corps of outstanding students earned their doctorates and moved out into the rapidly expanding field. In a personal communication to this writer, Wrenn (1988) remarked that what occurred at Minnesota, given the convergence of a peculiar set of circumstances, probably could not have happened at other times.

Over the span of his association with counseling psychology in the College of Education, 1937–1964, Gilbert Wrenn served as advisor or co-advisor to more than 80 doctoral students. This was a period during which he also took on extensive writing, editing, consulting, and organizational leadership responsibilities. Because of the importance attached to doctoral advising and thesis supervision, his teaching load was ordinarily limited to one class per term. For a brief period in the mid-1950s, he guided the work of as many as 35 students at one time. For many of them, participation in the biweekly seminar at the home of Gilbert and Kathleen Wrenn would be later remembered as a peak intellectual experience. Wrenn has insisted that he did not attempt to mold his students, that it was their obligation to work out their own comfortable and genuine self-identities as counselors (Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976). Yet, as John Krumboltz, Charles Lewis, and others among his highly successful Minnesota protégés have attested, he was an inspirational mentor who profoundly affected the development of their thinking and values.

A primary arena of Wrenn's professional interest while at Minnesota was college personnel work, and many of his former students entered university life to pursue careers as student personnel psychologists and administrators. Until the 1970s, the training of secondary school counselors was also a significant part of the mission of the College of Education counseling program, and the faculty member who gave it stewardship was himself a 1942 doctoral student of Gilbert Wrenn. Willis Dugan, a former rural Minnesota high school teacher and, later, counselor at the University of Minnesota High School, organized the student personnel office of the College of Education immediately after World War II. Prompted by his own work history, he turned his interests increasingly to the preparation of high school counselors, and he traveled the state widely to encourage the development and strengthening of school counseling services.

During the years of Dugan's chairmanship of educational psychology in the 1950s, large numbers of students, most of whom were certified teachers, earned their master's with a view toward satisfying state requirements as school counselors. Instrumental in building the Minnesota School Counselor Association, Willis Dugan also attained national recognition as a founder of the Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education (SPATE) and as president of both the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (ACES) and its parent organization, the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA). In 1966 he left the University of Minnesota to become the full-time executive director of APGA, later renamed the American Association for Counseling and Development.

The New Era

Until 1957 counseling psychology in the College of Education was represented essentially by a two-member faculty, Wrenn and Dugan. Wesley Tennyson, a Missouri graduate who had served the previous year with the Ohio State faculty, joined Minnesota in the fall of 1957. With career development and counselor education as his special ares, Tennyson established formal ties between counseling psychology and the Department of Vocational Education, on the one hand, and the University's laboratory high school, on the other hand.

In 1966 Clyde Parker, a Gilbert Wrenn PhD, returned from Brigham Young University to head the program. Parker's appointment, in effect, ushered in a new era, Wrenn having departed for Arizona State University in 1964 and Willis Dugan for APGA in 1966. The winds of change were all about. In 1969 the formal boundaries of the program assumed sharper definition when a Division of Educational Psychology was established with four departments: Counseling and Student Personnel Psychology (CSPP), School Psychology, Special Education, and Psychological Foundations. By 1975 these units had been administratively reclassified as programs under the departmental umbrella of Psycho-Educational Studies, later renamed the Department of Educational Psychology.

With internal administrative reorganization and the demands induced by a crystallizing national image of counseling psychology came the unification of doctoral degree requirements and the expansion of the program faculty. Parker, whose special interests lay in consultation, counseling administration, and personal adjustment counseling, relinquished the directorship of counseling psychology to become chair of the Department of Foundations of Education in 1974. He subsequently left Minnesota in 1982 for a post with McKay-Dee Hospital Center in Ogden, Utah. Since Parker, several staff members have coordinated the College's counseling psychology program in relatively short-termed rotations. Those who served as full-time members of the CSPP faculty but have since taken positions elsewhere or retired include Donald Blocher, Lyle Schmidt, Norman Sprinthall, Alan Anderson, and Martin Snoke, who was formerly E. G. Williamson's assistant dean.

The current core faculty, with selected specialty fields, includes L. Sunny Hansen (career development, counseling women, sex roles in work and family), Thomas Hummel (experimental design, computer applications), Patricia McCarthy (counseling process research), James Rest (personality theory, moral development), John Romano, program coordinator (stress and life-style management, student academic achievement), Warren Shaffer (diagnosis and treatment), Thomas Skovholt (counselor training, internship supervision, sex roles) and Wesley Tennyson (career development, counseling psychology-vocational education interface, ethics and values).

As was reported for the Department of Psychology, the CSPP teaching staff has typically been reinforced by extended faculty who assume part-time instructional and advising responsibilities. The members of this auxiliary corps have come from several sources. Some are senior psychologists attached to various campus student personnel units such as the University Counseling Services. Others in past years were professors from the General College's teaching and counseling faculty. Additional faculty resources are furnished by the University of Minnesota at Duluth, where two psychology department staff members, Moy Gum and Marlowe Smaby, collaborate in joint supervision and advising arrangements with the counseling psychology faculty on the Minneapolis campus.

Over a 30-year span (1956–1986), the College of Education graduated 232 PhDs in counseling psychology. While the Department of Psychology program, through a policy of sharply limited admissions, maintained a relatively constant output of PhDs over a 20-year period (1966–1986), CSPP in Education, with a somewhat larger faculty, boosted its output substantially during the same period. An annual rate of eleven doctorates was recorded for the 1976–1986 decade. The recent increase in the proportion of women among CSPP PhDs rivals that of the Department of Psychology. Only about a fourth of those completing the doctoral program between 1966–1976 were women. For the following decade, 1976–1986, the proportion of women graduates had risen to nearly three-fifths. Minority groups are underrepresented.

Van Nood's (1988) survey of 1984–1987 graduates reported only two black and three Asian MA graduates and one PhD of Hispanic origin.

Marked changes in the direction and boundaries of counseling psychology as a field of professional practice have loosened CSPP's earlier strong ties to the schools and colleges as the virtually exclusive employers of the program's graduates. Generated by the emergent licensure and accreditation movements, an inexorable shift from the earlier predominantly academic and research focus to one of heavy emphasis on professional enfranchisement has left its imprint on the character of numerous programs around the country. Some, like Minnesota's Department of Psychology program, have been less affected by the changing national climate. Others, like Minnesota's College of Education program, have been substantially transformed. CSPP's earlier engagement with issues of scholastic prediction and adjustment, career counseling and development, student personnel psychology, and counselor education has been challenged by the newer priorities of psychotherapy, health care psychology, and independent practice.

Surveys show such changes to be reflected in the altered patterns of employment and career perceptions of recent graduates. Eoff's (1985) follow-up study of 1982–1983 graduates found that, although 35% had college personnel work as an objective when entering the CSPP program, only 5% had retained this career goal by the end of their doctoral training. In her follow-up survey, Van Nood (1988) found more than half of the respondents reporting that the jobs they currently held could best be described by the title "psychologist" or "psychotherapist." Fewer than 9% of her subjects claimed an academic title (e.g., assistant professor). What seems evident is that the reformed image of counseling psychology has created a dissonance between the career expectations of some students and their job decisions and has left vexing questions about professional identity for students and program faculty alike to ponder.

RELATIONS BETWEEN PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION

The unique status of counseling psychology at Minnesota—two independently thriving programs in adjacent buildings—has long aroused the curiosity of outside observers. What is the connection between the two programs? How much duplication of effort exists? How is administration's support of separate units of instruction to be explained? Clearly, no master plan calling for two programs of counseling psychology has ever existed. As this article has shown, what developed historically was a consequence of the common research interest in the 1930s of productive and influential scholars, some of whom were identified with the College of Science, Literature and the Arts (now the College of Liberal Arts), others with the College of Education.

Following World War II, as the national prospect for systematic graduate-level preparation of counselors sped closer to realization and the press of student applications for admission grew, it was natural that Minnesota, especially given its strong pioneering position and faculty resources, would move to formalize its counselor training curricula in both colleges. The decisive condition permitting both programs to develop and prosper simultaneously lay in the marked difference in the applicant pools from which they drew their students. The preponderance of those who entered counselor training in the College of Education were educationally credentialed, most as teachers, and a majority of these sought state certification as school counselors through the vehicle of the master's degree. Others who were admitted to the PhD program followed concentrations in student personnel psychology and frequently found positions in college settings. Those entering the Department of Psychology counseling program came more typically from a psychology or kindred behavior science undergraduate background and were destined for employment in settings outside the schools. With the passing years, group distinctions in career objectives and later employment status appear to have narrowed somewhat.

Relations between the two counseling psychology faculties are quite cordial, but not a great deal of intellectual traffic occurs between them and only occasional instances of shared research effort. Perhaps surprisingly, no visible competition for able applicants exists. Some differences in training objectives remain discernible. The Department of Psychology curriculum assigns greater emphasis to psychometrics, to techniques of assessment, particularly vocational assessment, and to personnel research as an employment outcome. CSPP graduates are somewhat more likely to move into treatment settings. Both programs set rigorous admissions standards and curriculum requirements and both demand a high level of research competence from their students. Further attempts at comparisons of the quality and effectiveness of the two programs would have little meaning.

During the brisk era of the late 1940s and 1950s, doctoral students from the Department of Psychology frequently completed the statistics and research design sequence in the College of Education. Crossing program lines is still common. As previously noted, many PhD students in each of the programs satisfy requirements for the supporting field in the other. As a consequence, members of each faculty routinely serve on the advising and examination committees of doctoral candidates from the other program. Moreover, local practicum and internship sites are shared by students in both programs who gain the opportunity for useful interactions thereby.

IS THERE A MINNESOTA POINT OF VIEW?

Repeated references have been made in published papers and conference presentations over many years to the so-called *Minnesota point of view in counseling.* The name itself has been a rallying cry for defenders and critics of the putative Minnesota position on counseling. Historically, the Minnesota point of view enunciated a firmly held set of tenets about counseling or, more accurately, about the process of knowledge discovery in counseling. It is a position most closely identified with Donald Paterson and his co-workers and students during the spirited and generative period of the 1930s and 1940s. While the Patersonian axioms hardly appear radical in current perspective, they symbolized a rebellion against the prevailing intuitive and anecdotal approaches to personality analysis and, conversely, an ardent embracement of the scientific spirit.

> *". . . the Patersonian axioms . . . symbolized a rebellion against the prevailing intuitive and anecdotal approaches to personality analysis . . ."*

Five key terms capture the essence of this version of the Minnesota point of view.

1. *Empiricism*—facts about the nature of behavior derive from careful observation. Paterson (1930) made the case for the empirical approach in *Physique and Intellect*, a research clas-

sic in which he amassed the evidence against the popular systems of physiognomy of that day.

2. *Objectivity*—observations must be independent of the subjective perspective of the observer. Unstructured behavior self-reports are suspect.
3. *Counting*—observations must be quantified; they must be cast in measurement form. Arthur Brayfield, a Paterson PhD, is reported to have facetiously illustrated this rule in the following way: "At Minnesota, if something moves we measure it. If two things move at the same time we correlate them."
4. *Testing*—this rule encompasses the preceding three in that it prescribes that observations be made in a standard and quantifiable manner. Testing, particularly the testing of individual differences, formed the foundation of the early Minnesota research work in applied psychology and counseling.
5. *Research Methodology*—studies should be so designed as to eliminate the influence of extraneous variables upon observed results; generalizations from findings should be limited to conditions and population characteristics matching those of the research sample. Counseling students, among others, in Palmer Johnson's classes in statistics and experimental design, quickly learned to apply Johnson's solution to fatally flawed studies: "Cremate the data" (Beck, 1980, p. 136).

Although the axioms enumerated above were guiding principles in both counseling psychology units, their closer historical identification was with the Department of Psychology program. Themes such as self-concept theory, counseling process analysis, and group dynamics, for example, received considerable attention in CSPP instruction but were slighted or met with a measure of skepticism by the program in the Department of Psychology.

A sixth principle of the early Minnesota position, although not as frequently articulated as the preceding set, held that definitions, presumably all definitions, must be operationalized. Such belief fit naturally with the tenacious reliance on tests in research. Since there was little place in the realm of explanation for hypothetical constructs, or indeed even much need for explanation itself, Minnesota became known, as previously noted, as the seat of "dustbowl empiricism." While that characterization may have held true for applied psychology, it was not accurately descriptive of academic/experimental psychology in the Department of Psychology where much theory-laden work was carried out.

A second version of the Minnesota point of view grew out of the so-called directive-nondirective counseling controversy. In 1947, during the height of the dispute, E. G. Williamson responded to what he believed to be misrepresentation and stereotyping by Rogerians of Minnesota's allegedly directive position. Titling his rejoinder "Counseling and the Minnesota Point of View," Williamson (1947) asserted that a justifiable place for information and advice exists in counseling. Enunciating the continuing Minnesota emphasis on research, he contended that the evaluation of counseling should come through experimental verification of outcomes and not through self-contained process analysis. To counter an impression created by the controversy that Minnesota counseling was monolithic, Williamson wrote, ". . . there is no unified and one-person dominated point of view (at Minnesota), but rather a series of points of view (with) common elements" (p. 142).

". . . a justifiable place for information and advice exists in counseling."

One further observation about the character of counseling psychology at Minnesota needs to be recorded, an observation not about precepts but about the faculty-student working relationship. It has long been part of the training *modus operandi* not only to imbue students with a zest for empirical inquiry but also to afford them abundant opportunity for collaboration in faculty research. Students have likewise been encouraged to publish their research and to submit their papers for presentation at state, regional, and national conferences. Such early involvement of students in a variety of challenging activities beyond the classroom has had the effect of forging a strong link to the profession and of facilitating transition to postdoctoral careers.

THE MINNESOTA LEGACY

If one is to take the broadest measure of Minnesota's contributions to the genesis and maturing stature of counseling psychology, one must examine settings beyond the curriculum and beyond the campus itself. As is true of other institutions like Teachers College—Columbia, Ohio State, Maryland, and Missouri that were quick to develop strong programs (1952–1953), much of the Minnesota chronicle is revealed in (a) its field research, (b) its leadership and policy-shaping roles in national professional associations, and (c) the ample career attainments of its graduates.

By 1930 programmatic counseling psychology research in the Department of Psychology was well under way. Effort centered chiefly on the construction, validation, and norming of a variety of tests, among them the Minnesota Clerical Test, Minnesota Paper Form Board, Minnesota Rate of Manipulation Test, and, later, the Miller Analogies Test and Minnesota Counseling Inventory. Several of these instruments became part of the standard test batteries of counseling centers elsewhere and some were adopted for use in the personnel selection procedures of business corporations.

The economic depression of the 1930s spawned a remarkable field research project, the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute (MESRI). Drawing on the resources of an interdisciplinary team that assigned an important role to vocational psychologists, MESRI set out to devise methods of (a) studying the aptitudes of unemployed workers, (b) analyzing their educational problems and needs, and (c) developing a method of retraining and reemployment. This may well have been the first demonstration project to show the potential contribution of psychological techniques to the rehabilitation of the unemployed (Paterson & Darley, 1936).

The University Testing Bureau (later Student Counseling Bureau, now University Counseling Services), established in 1932 with E. G. Williamson as director, became the locus of research for a lengthy succession of senior counselors and vibrant doctoral students. Allegiance to the empirical principle, to putting knowledge claims to the test of observation, led in the mid-1950s to the launching of a groundbreaking experiment on outcomes of counseling (Volsky, Magoon, Norman, & Hoyt, 1965). The Bureau project, funded by the Hill Family Fund and extending over a decade, developed a meticulous theoretical structure, constructed its own assessment instruments appropriate to the behavior changes to be examined, and designed a control group randomization method for the testing of hypotheses. A durable contribution of this comparatively early experiment was its clear demonstration of the complex character of research on behavioral outcomes and of the mandatory requirement of proper experimental controls.

The measurement of vocational interests has been a frequently courted research theme at Minnesota, and counseling there has had a long and fruitful connection with the Strong Vocational Interest Blank. Darley (1941) published his influential monograph, *Clinical Aspects and Interpretation of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank* and collaborated later in writing *Vocational Interest Measurement: Theory and Practice* (Darley & Hagenah, 1955). In 1963 the University of Minnesota established the Center for Interest Measurement Research and incorporated E. K. Strong's extant data files. Research at the center eventuated in the appearance of the new Strong-Campbell Interest Inventory in 1974. This extensively used counseling instrument has been revised several times by David Campbell and Jo-Ida Hansen and redesignated as the SVIB-SCII. It is now in its fourth edition (Hansen & Campbell, 1985).

The Work Adjustment Project at Minnesota represents a sophisticated, long-term programmatic research undertaking based on a psychological theory of work adjustment (Dawis, England, & Lofquist, 1964). Three revised and expanded versions of the conceptual system have been published (Dawis, Lofquist, & Weiss, 1968; Lofquist & Dawis, 1969; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984). The theory employs an individual differences model that yields psychological profiles both of the individual worker personality and a variety of work environments. Further development and testing of the theory continues in the Work Adjustment Project, which also conducts a statewide vocational assessment program for the State Division of Rehabilitation Services and operates a Vocational Assessment Clinic for adults.

In 1976 L. Sunny Hansen and her associates initiated Project *BORN FREE*, a model training and development program aimed at broadening the range of career options of both women and men (Hansen & Keierleber, 1978). Originally funded by a federal grant under the Women's Educational Equity Act, *BORN FREE* generated a variety of materials and methods for all educational levels, elementary school through college, dealing with the reduction of career-related sex-role stereotyping. A 10-year observance of the widespread impact of *BORN FREE* was held at the University of Minnesota in 1986.

> *"The influence of the earlier Minnesota leaders on the national course of counseling psychology was profound."*

The influence of the earlier Minnesota leaders on the national course of counseling psychology was profound. Gilbert Wrenn, who published more than 400 works, was a founder and first editor (1954–1963) of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, and he served as president of three national counseling associations. E. G. Williamson was an organizer and first president of APA's Division of Counseling Psychology and, later, was elected president of APGA (now AACD). The author of nearly 400 publications, including a dozen books, Williamson produced some of the earliest detailed expositions of the counseling enterprise, and he developed and administered the first integrated campuswide program of psychologically based student personnel services. John Darley, as noted earlier, was a principal player in the post-World War II negotiations to establish the ABEPP diploma in counseling and to create a counseling division within the newly reorganized APA. Darley edited the *Journal of Applied Psychology* (1955–1960) and *American Psychologist* (1959–1962), and he held the position of APA executive officer, also from 1959 to 1962. Ralph Berdie, a leading researcher on the demography of the high school-college transition, edited the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* (1970–1974) and served as president of APGA, the American College Personnel Association, and the E. K. Strong Memorial Fund. Two AACD awards are named for Minnesotans—the Ralph F. Berdie Memorial Research Award and the Gilbert and Kathleen Wrenn Award.

Another manifestation of the Minnesota imprint is reflected in the achievements of well-established counseling psychologists elsewhere who received their doctoral training at Minnesota. Reference has already been made to the importance attached to training in research method and to student opportunity to participate in ongoing projects. This long-standing practice would appear to have had a positive effect on students' postdoctoral activities. Minnesota continues to hold a strong position with respect to the publication rate of its graduates (Goodyear, Abadie, & Walsh, 1983). The record of scholarly productivity of Minnesota PhDs has brought a number of them to positions of leadership. The editorships of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* and the *Journal of Vocational Behavior* are currently held by Lenore Harmon and Nancy Betz, respectively, both holding Minnesota doctorates.

Election to office in national professional associations has afforded a succession of individuals with a Minnesota identity the opportunity to participate in the shaping of policy. Since the reorganization year of 1946, the membership of APA's Division of Counseling Psychology has elected sixteen individuals with a University of Minnesota connection, either faculty or PhD or both, to its presidency. Leona Tyler, a Minnesota graduate, is the only counseling psychologist to have attained the presidency of APA. It is noteworthy that three high awards conferred by APA's Division of Counseling Psychology are named for prominent psychologists who received their training at Minnesota: the Leona Tyler Award for distinguished contributions to the profession, John Holland Award for Outstanding Achievement in Career or Personality Research, and Barbara A. Kirk Award for Outstanding Graduate Student Research.

SUMMING UP

The infancy of counseling psychology was nourished by a small group of pioneers, confident in outlook and bold in tactics, whose contagious zeal won them support for their experiments from colleagues and administrators alike. They were, in a sense, social reformers inspired by an almost Utopian belief in the power of their new tools and methods to advance the schools' and society's use of human resources. In actuality, the texture of their new craft was brittle, but a tenacious adherence to a research-and-development regimen raised their endeavor in time to the status of a recognizable and legitimate psychological specialty.

> *". . . a tenacious adherence to a research-and-development regimen raised their [the pioneers'] endeavor in time to the status of a recognizable and legitimate psychological specialty."*

As this article has shown, the early leaders at Minnesota were in the vanguard of the movement, and they contributed critically to its definition and pace. The Minnesota mark was one of unreserved embracement of the empirical approach to knowledge discovery. Objectivity of observation, quantification of data, and controlled testing of outcomes were the indispensable corollaries. It has always been the Minnesota position, and it remains so, that counseling psychology must operate within the mainstream of behavior science, not apart from it. That pursuit of these principles has been fruitful is evidenced by the record of its two programs. Each continues to contribute to the evolving professional identity of the field and to the voluminous technical literature. Each continues to prepare well-qualified graduates for productive careers.

Nonetheless, the Minnesota picture presents unresolved problems and formidable challenges. The rationale for maintaining two separate programs appears to some not to be so persuasive as formerly. By comparative national standards, the faculties of both programs are understaffed. Limited faculty resources in each has meant both that student admissions must be conservative and that faculty advising loads are heavy. It is, moreover, the perception of each program faculty that its place may not be as well understood and valued by the administration as earlier. In the Department of Psychology, the higher priorities are clearly those of basic, not applied, psychology and, additionally, counseling psychology must compete for resources with the larger, firmly established clinical psychology program. In the College of Education, persistent questions arise about the declining emphasis on the preparation of CSPP students for careers in educational settings.

These are not new issues and no major reorganization appears imminent. In the meantime, as counseling psychology at Minnesota nears the seventh decade of its existence, the doctoral graduates of both programs continue to do well in scholarly productivity and in the marketplace. Whatever current circumstances presage, Minnesota's special place in any historical account of the coming-of-age of counseling psychology is assured.

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Teachers College and Counseling Psychology: Innovator and Integrator

ALBERT S. THOMPSON

When asked by P. Paul Heppner to participate in this institutional series by describing the role of Teachers College (TC), Columbia University, in the history and development of counseling psychology, I asked myself what approach would be most appropriate and comfortable for me. After all, I had my own frame of reference and biases. These were based on graduate study in vocational psychology under Professor Morris S. Viteles at the University of Pennsylvania, four years at Vanderbilt University right after World War II to set up their University Counseling and Placement Service, and then 25 years as a professor at TC (1949–74), plus fairly close relationships ever since.

One approach was to interpret TC's role in counseling psychology in terms of the current perspectives of counseling psychology as a discipline. The following excerpts from a report on *Professional Practice of Counseling Psychology in Various Settings* emanating from the *Third National Conference for Counseling Psychology: Planning for the Future* provide a guide for understanding where a given program fits into the total picture:

> Counseling psychology is a specialty of psychology that embodies both a scientific approach to the understanding of human behavior and a perspective that emphasizes positive mental health and the maximization of human potential.
>
> In recent years, as societal needs have changed and new opportunities for professional employment have emerged, counseling psychologists have increased their participation in a variety of settings. Through the increased diversity of settings, counseling psychologists have carried with them certain beliefs and values in common, including (a) the importance of the scientist-practitioner model; (b) an emphasis on prevention, developmental enhancement, and remediation; and (c) the necessity of understanding development across the life span, with special emphasis on the importance of career development and the role of work. (Kagan & Associates, 1988, pp. 350–352)

How can one characterize the role played by an institution in the development of a field? Several terms came to mind: creator and/or preserver, geyser and/or volcano, projector and/or reflector, and innovator and/or integrator.

I eliminated creator/preserver and geyser/volcano as too extreme, although the idea of a geyser like Old Faithful in Yellowstone Park, which regularly appears and invigorates the surroundings, was intriguing and certainly preferred over volcano, which erupts and causes radical and sometimes destructive changes in the environment.

I then tentatively selected projector/reflector, which connotes lighting up the area with a message from within or serving as a mirror to reflect light from other sources. I thought a case could be made for TC's impact on counseling as both a projector and reflector.

I finally decided on innovator/integrator as the most appropriate designation, although it is always difficult to prove that an innovation is really "new." But TC prides itself on its eclectic philosophy and its willingness to pull together the positives from a variety of approaches.

"But TC prides itself on its eclectic philosophy and its willingness to pull together the positives from a variety of approaches."

Teachers College, Columbia University's graduate school of education, early recognized the relevance of work and careers to individual development. Through interactive relationships with guidance, student personnel work, school psychology, and clinical psychology, the professors who became identified with what is now termed *counseling psychology* provided nationally recognized leadership in this growing field.

Innovations included defining the concept of career development and measuring and doing research on career relevant attitudes and behaviors characteristic of the stages of career development.

Its integrative role was facilitated by the setting, which provided interaction with leaders in educational sociology, economics, philosophy, and measurement, as well as other fields of psychology. Thus, the *process* and *goals* of counseling were directed toward the promotion of optimal development of the individual and growth-facilitating changes in individuals and their environments.

EARLY HISTORY

The orientation of psychology-based programs at TC goes back to 1904, when E. L. Thorndike focused on the development of knowledge and techniques relevant to practical educational concerns but based on rigorous experimentation. This tradition of meshing the experimental with the applied made TC particularly receptive to the scientist/practitioner model later espoused by APA for its applied specialties. Under Thorndike, the initial emphasis on learning and the measurement of human characteristics expanded to include the psychology of child development and learning problems in an "atmosphere of innovation and experimentation marked by the educational progressivism of Dewey and Kilpatrick and the social reforms of Counts and Childs" (Bergin, Garfield, & Thompson, 1967, p. 307).

The attention to school-based problems soon expanded to include other life situations, particularly those related to work and careers. As early as 1916, Meyer Bloomfield was brought in as Associate and Advisor in Vocational Guidance, and in 1923 Goodwin Watson headed a program that granted a Professional Diploma in Psychological Counseling. In 1925 Harry Kitson introduced a program in Vocational Guidance; in 1929 Esther Lloyd-Jones became Lecturer in Guidance and Student Personnel. By 1935, a Division of Individual Development and Guidance was formed, which included Professors Harry Kitson, Esther Lloyd-Jones, Ruth Strang, Gertrude Driscoll, and Roy Anderson. In 1938, a Guidance Laboratory was opened, under the leadership of Lloyd-Jones, in order to provide on-campus supervision of practicum experiences for graduate students in school psychology, psychological counseling, school guidance, and vocational counseling.

A recollection by Donald Super, reported in his "Pioneer in Guidance" interview (Pappas, 1978), personalizes the situation at TC in the thirties. He said:

> I wanted to work in vocational psychology. And I wanted to go ahead and get my doctorate in that area. At that point, you know, one got a doctorate degree in either guidance or psychology. Psychology was pretty pure and guidance, as some people handled it, was very impure. I wanted a better marriage of the two. The only place that I saw I could get that marriage was at Teachers College . . . (so in 1936) . . . I applied to TC for a fellowship. (p. 587)

During the early 1940s many of the TC professors were off-campus engaged in war-related activities, such as in the Air Force, Navy, and Army psychology units. With the return in 1945 of Donald Super and Robert Thorndike, and with a change in the TC administrative structure to set up a Department of Guidance under Laurance Shaffer, a productive period of program development, innovative curricula, and coordinated efforts in clinical psychology, school guidance, student personnel work, and vocational guidance and occupational adjustment resulted.

POST-WORLD WAR II DEVELOPMENT

By 1949 Harry Kitson had retired and Albert Thompson was added to the staff. Under the leadership of Don Super, the program in what is now called counseling psychology was formed and given a broad base in theory and research. Super's Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment (1942) and his *Appraising Vocational Fitness by Means of Psychological Tests* (1949) had set the stage and led to a dynamic formulation of basic concepts in vocational development, soon to show its true scope as career development.

Explication of basic concepts in vocational development, such as (1) implementing a self-concept in vocational adjustment, (2) career patterns, (3) career development stages, and (4) vocational exploration and choice, flowed from Super's pen and led to the publication in 1950 of his "Vocational Adjustment: Implementing a Self-Concept" (Super, 1950) and in 1957 of *The Psychology of Careers* and his collaborative *Vocational Development: A Framework for Research* ((Super, 1950, 1957b). The Career Pattern Study, begun in 1951, gathered extensive data on a sample of ninth grade boys and, over the next 20 years, provided a wealth of follow-up data by means of which the process of career development could be studied and theories refined.

Super himself does not claim to have developed an *integrated theory* of vocational development. Rather it has been a pulling together of the contributions of the important components that help to explain how people develop their careers and how they can be helped to do so. As such, it draws upon the identification and measurement of the characteristics relevant to success and satisfaction in work, upon the role of work in self-concept formation and implementation, upon the stages characteristic of the career development process, and upon the sociological and economic factors that influence career development.

The understanding of and facilitation of individual career development has been the underlying raison d'etre of the counseling psychology program at TC over the years since the early 1950s. Its scope, however, has consistently expanded beyond the originally narrow concern of vocational guidance with the vocational choice process and career planning of adolescents in school settings.

The program at TC responded to the developing social needs, particularly the Veterans Administration Counseling Services set up in the fifties, the NDEA Guidance Institutes of the late fifties, the Labor Department's Panel on Counseling and Selection in the sixties, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act and programs of the sixties, and later the rise of employee counseling and career development programs in business and industry, the increasing concern for career planning and progress of women in the labor force, the social concern for more appropriate utilization and opportunities for minorities and the disadvantaged in a changing economy and society, and the changing role of work in the life span of individuals.

"The program at TC responded to the developing social needs . . ."

These social demands in counseling psychology as a field are evident in the objectives of the current program at TC, as described in the following excerpt from the 1988–89 TC catalog:

> Regardless of eventual work setting or area of concentration, students in the program are expected by the end of their training to have the following in common:
>
> They are concerned with assessing, facilitating, and guiding individual development. Their focus is on enhancing those conditions that further human development and on eliminating or ameliorating those that hamper it.
>
> They are as concerned with promoting normal and optimal development as they are with preventing or ameliorating faulty development.
>
> They help individuals to discover and take advantage of choice possibilities in the environment and development possibilities in themselves.
>
> They are skilled in working with individuals from diverse ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds.
>
> They are concerned with the social and situational as well as the psychological determinants of behavior. They use their knowledge of theories of human development and learning, the structure of groups, institutions, and subcultures to bring about growth-facilitating changes in individuals and their environments.
>
> They are concerned with providing individuals and groups with experiences which will help them discover, develop, and use their assets, resources, and potentials.
>
> They help individuals to understand themselves better, to examine and clarify their values, to make good choices and decisions, to set meaningful life goals and to make use of appropriate resources in moving toward these goals.
>
> They are skilled in several modes of facilitating human development, such as individual and group counseling, environmental intervention, and planned exploratory and developmental experiences.
>
> They are concerned with translating concepts and theories from the behavioral sciences into strategies and programs of intervention. In addition to engaging in innovative program

> development and designing planned interventions, they are committed to evaluating the outcomes of such undertakings using appropriate assessment techniques. (Teachers College, 1988)

INTEGRATING RELATIONSHIPS

Key figures in the development of the counseling psychology program during the two decades after 1949, other than the full-time faculty members in that field, were Laurance Shaffer as administrative head, E. Joseph Shoben, and Rosalea Schonbar, all in clinical psychology and all supportive of the work in counseling. Shaffer and Super had served together in the Army Air Corps, where Super was officer in charge of paper-and-pencil personality-test development in the psychological research unit headed by Shaffer, and then chief of psychological services in a large USAF hospital in which Shaffer headed the psychological research work. Both Shaffer and Shoben considered themselves close to counseling psychologists because of their orientation toward the development of normal people as well as remediation of the abnormal.

The working relationship facilitated by overlapping interests made the clinical program open to collaboration with the counseling program, with shared advanced courses and practica. In Student Personnel Administration, as well, the sharing of common interests led to collaboration with Esther Lloyd-Jones and Ruth Strang who were early leaders in that field. Thus, later when a new director was needed for the Guidance Laboratory (now called the Psychological Services Center), it was Jean Pierre Jordaan, one of Super's former students, whom Lloyd-Jones nominated as her successor in that teaching clinic. Paul Eiserer moved from clinical to school to counseling psychology; Joseph Shoben, based in clinical psychology, served as Division 17 president in 1958–59; Kenneth Herrold found a congenial base in counseling psychology; and Paul Vahanian moved from a sociologically oriented department of family living to counseling because of his interests and competencies. The vocational and work components of counseling psychology remained very important and spun off a separate but closely related program titled "Personnel Psychology," which emphasized the applications of vocational psychology in business and industry settings.

Such a training program is obviously a large order and requires careful student advising in order to tailor-make a curriculum appropriate for the individual student's goals and needs. Selection can currently be made from a wide array of courses whose titles include phrases such as: vocational appraisal, psychological counseling, counseling in business and industry, career development of women, family counseling, human ecology, community agencies and resources, video-based psychosocial learning programs, rehabilitation counseling, medical and psychological aspects of disability and rehabilitation, cross-cultural counseling, life-skills counseling, counseling and normal aging, psychological assessment of older adults, practicum in individual and group counseling, practicum in marriage and family counseling.

The increasing diversification within the program has been made possible in two ways: (1) by the administrative structure that provided readily available expertise in related areas such as clinical psychology, social psychology, measurement, learning, statistics, developmental and cognitive psychology and (2) staffing policies within the program itself. Following is a list of psychologists since 1950 who have been faculty members in the TC Counseling Psychology Program and their primary fields of interest:

Donald E. Super (1945–1975)	Career development theory and vocational appraisal
Kenneth Herrold (1947–1978)	Group dynamics and group counseling
Albert S. Thompson (1949–1974)	Vocational appraisal and occupational analysis
Paul Eiserer (1950–1978)	Counseling methods
Abraham Jacobs (1957–1963)	Vocational rehabilitation and counseling
Paul Vahanian (1957–1982)	Marriage and family counseling
Jean Pierre Jordaan (1959–1985)	Career development and exploratory behavior
Roger A. Myers (1963–present)	Career development, computer-assisted guidance
Henry Kavkewitz (1964–1978)	Rehabilitation psychology
Joseph Grannis (1967–present)	Ecological issues in guidance and counseling
Martin Bohn (1967–1971)	Vocational guidance and counseling
Winthrop Adkins (1968–present)	Life coping skills, video-based programs
Patricia M. Raskin (1976–present)	Ego development, women's career issues
Peter C. Cairo (1979–present)	Counseling in business and industry, computers
Marion Dragoon (1979–present)	Group counseling, school guidance
Samuel D. Johnson (1980–1987)	Cross-cultural issues
Anna Duran (1980–present)	Community agencies, cross-cultural issues
Nanette Kramer (1984–present)	Gerontological processes and counseling

The preceding persons are those who had or now have full-time appointments on the TC faculty. TC has also been fortunate in that its location in the New York City metropolitan area enables it to draw upon adjunct faculty from various nearby agencies, such as Kenneth Bloom (V.A.), William Dubin (private practice), Arnold Wolf (Elmhurst Hospital), Thomas Mayer (International Center for the Disabled), Karl Springob (Stevens Institute of Technology), Salvatore DiMichael (International Center for the Disabled), Linda Larkin (Smithers Institute), Harold Chenven (Brooklyn Bureau of Social Services), and many others.

PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

In addition to contributing to the field through research, theory formulation, and improvements in practice, an institutional program should have impact in at least two other ways: (1) the nurturing of a cadre of graduates to provide leadership, continuity, and innovation in knowledge and practice and (2) interaction with colleagues in the field through participation and leadership in local, national, and international professional associations.

TC is proud of its "family" of counseling psychologists. Since 1950 more than 300 graduates have received PhDs or EdDs as majors in counseling psychology, have spread out across the country and abroad, and have found employment in a wide variety of settings, such as universities, colleges, public schools, adult education centers, employment and training centers, rehabilitation centers, hospitals, mental health centers, industry, senior citizen centers, and community and government agencies. At the risk of offending those not listed, I venture to present a *sample* of alumni who are representative of the many types of contributions to the field.

> *"TC is proud of its 'family' of counseling psychologists."*

Milton Schwebel, PhD	Dean, School of Education; Dean, School of Professional Psychology (1949)
Leo Goldman, PhD	Professor, Journal Editor, Division 17 President (1950)
Lawrence Stewart, EdD	Professor, Test Validation (1950)
Harry Beilin, PhD	Developmental Psychologist (1952)
Elias Tolbert, EdD	Dean of Student Activities, Professor of Counselor Education (1952)
David Lane, PhD	Private Practice (1952)
Alva Cooper, PhD	Career Development and Placement Centers (1954)
Charles Warnath, PhD	Professor, Director of University Counseling Center (1954)
John Crites, PhD	Professor, Test Constructor, Author (1956)
Martin Hamburger, PhD	Professor of Counselor Education (1957)
Simon Hoffman, PhD	Rehabilitation Counseling (1957)
Kenneth Bloom, PhD	V.A. Psychologist and Director (1959)
Alan Bell, PhD	Professor, Author, Sex Researcher (1960)
Nancy Schlossberg, EdD	Author, Theorist in Life Transitions, Professor of Counselor Education (1961)
Karl Springob, PhD	Director of University Counseling Center (1962)
Stanley Cramer, EdD	Professor, Author (1963)
Edwin Herr, EdD	AACD President, Author, Professor of Counseling (1963)
William Bingham, EdD	Professor of Counseling, IAEVG President (1966)
Alexander Platt, PhD	Management Consulting (1966)
Charles Healy, PhD	Professor, Author, Counseling Methods (1967)
Norma Simon, PhD	Student Counseling, Professional Licensing (1968)
Mary Sue Richardson, PhD	Professor of Counseling Psychology (1972)
Paul Sharar, PhD	Counseling and Administration, YMCA (1974)
Susan Phillips, PhD	Professor of Counseling Psychology (1979)

After compiling the preceding list, I noticed that, although it was not a variable in the initial selection, quite a number of EdDs appeared in the list and that their jobs and contributions did not seem to differ significantly from those of the PhDs. This has some relevance in these days when the rise of the professional doctorate, like the Doctor of Psychology (PsyD), is causing considerable discussion and the taking of sides.

The Doctor of Education (EdD) was originated by TC back in 1904 and was designed to recognize programs oriented toward high levels of professional expertise in a field of education. However, with its close relationship with university graduate faculties and with the scholarship orientation of its professors, the degree, particularly in psychology, neatly fit the scientist/practitioner model. The careers of the TC counseling psychologists appear to confirm this intent. Additional evidence of the legitimacy of a well-designed professional degree is that, in the 1988 APA Directory, 20 of the Division Fellows and 18 of the Counseling Diplomates are TC counseling psychology graduates.

Although it may be true that the world beats its way to the door of the producer of a better mousetrap, influential programs can maximize their impact by involvement in professional association activities. Early in the fifties Laurance Shaffer, as Division Director at TC, was an active member at the APA Boulder Conference, which defined the scientist/practitioner role for the professional psychologist, and became president of APA in 1954.

> *". . . influential programs can maximize their impact by involvement in professional association activities."*

Staff members and graduates of the TC counseling psychology have played significant roles in the definition and development of counseling psychology through involvement in APA Division 17 and in the various organizations making up the current AACD, particularly in what was originally called the National Vocational Guidance Association.

The prime figure was Don Super, whose activities included being president of APA Division of Counseling Psychology 1951–52, president of APGA 1953–54, member of the Board of Directors IAAP 1964–86, president of NVGA 1968–69, and president of IAEVG 1975–83.

Other TC staff or graduates who were active in Division 17 committees and later president were Albert Thompson (1963), John Crites (1973), Roger Myers (1976), and Leo Goldman (1989). Charles Warnath edited *Counseling News and Views*, and Jean Pierre Jordaan co-authored a brochure on the counseling psychologist for Division 17 in 1968. Norma Simon is current chair of the APA Board of Professional Affairs, and Milton Schwebel is current chair of the APA Advisory Committee on Impaired Psychologists.

TC graduates have also been active in AACD organizations. Robert Hoppock (PhD, 1935) was an early leader in NVGA. Edwin Herr was APGA President; William Bingham was President of IAEVG; and Charles Healy is currently a feature editor for the *Journal of Counseling & Development*.

Professional training programs have both a self-interest in and a professional responsibility for defining the nature of and stimulating desired changes in a profession. Probably the most significant single event in TC's role of this type was hosting Division 17's 1964 *Greystone Conference on the Professional Preparation of Counseling Psychologists* and editing the report on the conference (Super & Thompson, 1964). The outcome of the conference was a series of recommendations to the relevant groups, namely, counseling psychologists, Division 17, APA Boards, universities offering graduate programs, practicum and internship centers, employing agencies, and agencies supporting training and service in psychology, guidance, and rehabilitation.

One of the recommendations led to the preparation of a 1968 brochure titled *The Counseling Psychologist* by the Professional Affairs Committee of Division 17, chaired by TC's Jean Pierre Jordaan. In it the three roles of the counselor were formulated: (1) the remedial and rehabilitative role; (2) the preventive role; and (3) the educative and developmental role. The influence of this formulation can be seen in TC's current curriculum and in training programs in general. As Whiteley wrote 16 years later in his *Counseling Psychology: A Historical Perspective*, the "Jordaan et al. (1968) definition of a core role for counseling psychology as prevention has been recurrent in literature on the focus of the specialty . . . (but in 1984 we need) . . . to assess carefully how to meet the challenge to incorporate this core role as a more viable and integral part of the profession" (Whiteley, 1984).

Recently, the 1987 *Third National Conference for Counseling Psychology: Planning the Future* was held in Atlanta, Georgia. At this conference, Norma Simon (TC, 1968) prepared one of the working papers for the Ad Hoc Committee on the Public Image of Counseling Psychology, Nancy Schlossberg (TC, 1961) served on the Professional Practice Group, Roger Myers on the Training and Accreditation Group, and Donald Super on the Research in Counseling Psychology Group. The conference report statement on the current perspectives of counseling psychology referred to earlier should serve as a beacon light projecting the future of our discipline.

EPILOGUE

One way to conclude this review is to pretend that a JCD Life Lines interviewer is interviewing Professor T. C. Columbia, who is an embodiment of the program.

Interviewer: Professor T. C., what was the most exciting period of your life?

Professor: I suppose it was in the 1950s, when psychology was responding to the post-World War II opportunities and challenges and when psychology as a profession was becoming mature and independent. It was then that the role of counseling psychology received special recognition.

Interviewer: Of what are you proudest?

Professor: As I look back on my career to date, I am proudest of helping the profession to grow up and attain mature status in the field by combining vocational guidance, psychological counseling, developmental psychology, measurement of career relevant characteristics, and responsiveness to social needs. I felt that our discipline could "stand tall" among our colleagues in the profession.

Interviewer: What did you find most rewarding?

Professor: Being involved with the other socially relevant disciplines and with other psychologists and professional groups. It is easy to become isolated, pedestrian, too engrossed in one's own relatively narrow range of interests and activities. The setting at Teachers College stimulated and rewarded establishing mutually constructive relationships both at home and abroad.

Interviewer: Do you have any concerns about the future of counseling psychology?

> *" . . . I am a little concerned about whether the new generation might neglect the distinctive dimension of counseling psychology, that is, the role of work in the dynamics of life fulfillment."*

Professor: Well, I guess I am a little concerned about whether the new generation might neglect the distinctive dimension of counseling psychology, that is, the role of work in the dynamics of life fulfillment. So long as counseling psychologists remember this important aspect of life and maintain the strong family bonds that have provided nurturance and support, there will be less occasion for feelings of insecurity and periodic identity concerns with "Who am I?" and "What am I turning into?" Counseling psychology has had a rich heritage and a history of responding to changing demands while retaining a strong ego identity. Let's not forget that heritage.

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Counseling Psychology at Ohio State University: The First 50 Years

LYLE SCHMIDT and STEPHEN CHOCK

The Counseling Psychology Program in the Department of Psychology at Ohio State University (OSU), along with those programs in Teachers College at Columbia University and the Department of Psychology at the University of Minnesota, was one of the first accredited by the American Psychological Association in 1952. It has maintained a prominent position in the specialty for nearly four decades. Six presidents of the APA Division 17 (Division of Counseling Psychology) and six editors of leading journals in the field have been faculty or graduates of the program. Its graduates have been associated with many of the institutions notable in research, practice, or teaching of counseling psychology. This article will present a brief history of the program with respect to the persons and events that have helped establish and maintain it within the profession.

THE ESTABLISHMENT YEARS

The Department of Psychology at Ohio State provided counseling psychology a hospitable environment for its establishment as a specialty. Several characteristics of the university and the department influenced the origination and development of the program. Prominent among them are the following:

1. A department of psychology with both experimental and applied traditions, which had an open organizational structure, was housed in a college of education (until 1968), and encouraged instructional innovation.
2. A university administration with a tradition of concern for student welfare that supported the establishment of student personnel programs. Some administrative decisions and appointments in the 1960s brought about student personnel program changes that had both negative and positive effects on counseling psychology.
3. The fortuitous hiring from the 1920s to the early 1950s of enterprising department faculty. Their teaching and research contributed to the establishment of courses and programs that were drawn upon and aggregated over time to form a counseling psychology program. Among those interested in counseling were productive scholars and administrators who had achieved national visibility when counseling psychology began to organize at a national level.
4. The emergence of a clinical personality program in the department of psychology in the 1920s and a guidance and counseling program in the college of education in the 1950s. Their presence helped delineate an area of need for counseling psychology between the clinical treatment of severely disturbed adults on the one hand and guidance services to school-age adolescents and children on the other hand.

These institutional characteristics and some of the individuals whose activities had a noteworthy effect on the counseling psychology program will be discussed in the following paragraphs. Certain historic events that affected the program also will be related to the program's development.

Psychology was a small undergraduate instructional department in the university until the appointment of George F. Arps (PhD Leipzig, 1908, a student of Wundt) as chair in 1913. He held this position until his death in 1937 and provided leadership in establishing psychology as a graduate department and enhanced its standing as a respected discipline in the university. During his tenure as chair, Arps was appointed dean of the College of Education and later dean of the Graduate School and had substantial influence in the university. A new building was constructed for the College of Education, including impressive facilities for the Department of Psychology, and by 1937 the department had increased to 14 faculty members. Among these were faculty in experimental, clinical, industrial, and statistical psychology, but especially important to the later emergence of counseling psychology was the husband and wife team of Sidney (PhD Harvard, 1915) and Luella (PhD Indiana, 1920) Cole Pressey in educational psychology.

Sidney Pressey had a wide variety of research interests; for example, he is acknowledged as the inventor of the teaching machine. He was especially interested in diagnosis and remediation of educational deficiencies of students in elementary and secondary schools (Robinson, 1982). The Presseys extended this research to include problems encountered by college and university students, and it was this group which later was to become the initial focus of the counseling psychology program. Their early investigations in this area were presented in their book, *Research Adventures in University Teaching: Eighteen Investigations Regarding College and University Problems* (Pressey et al., 1927).

Sidney and Luella Cole Pressey organized and taught the Ohio State University course on "How-to-Study," which has been offered continually to the present. As a first course of its kind, this course set the pace for many offered throughout the nation. It was conducted in laboratory sections of about 18 students working at small tables, which helped increase student participation in their learning process. Typically, the instructor would explain needed concepts, administer various diagnostic tests, and then have the students (largely freshmen) use various instructional materials under supervision to improve their skills (Robinson, 1982).

In 1937 Francis P. Robinson (PhD Iowa, 1932) came to Ohio State as an assistant professor in the educational psychology area to take responsibility for the How-to-Study program. Although his PhD was in experimental psychology, Robinson was well prepared for this assignment, having been in charge of individual counseling for how-to-study problems and having done a dissertation in the field of reading at the University of Iowa. He also had served briefly as department chair at Stout Institute in Menomenee, Wisconsin. Robinson saw the benefit of small classes and individual help for students but realized that such services were expensive. A unique and practical solution that Robinson devised was to have a few selected senior students in the College of Education provide remedial counseling assistance once a week for individual freshmen in the course. The seniors were enrolled in an individual projects course, for which they received college credit and the remedial counseling they did was a good experience before their student teaching. This dual program of counselor training and student remedial help attracted so much interest that Robinson published a paper describing it in the *Journal of Higher Education* (Robinson, 1945) under the title, "Two Quarries With a Single Stone."

The How-to-Study course at OSU was a beneficiary of a program developed by the Army during World War II for training selected personnel at various universities. Men selected for the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) were housed for one to two weeks on the OSU campus while their training assignment was being completed. Robinson (1982) and other Ohio State staff provided how-to-study training for these men, whom the Army had selected based on their high grades and test scores. In addition to teaching study methods, extensive data were collected on their actual study skills and habits. Robinson and his colleagues used these data in conjunction with other contemporary research in motor skills to design several higher-level skills and strategies in reading, studying, and memory improvement.

These higher-level strategies have had an impact wherever study skills are taught. Robinson's classic text, *Effective Study* (1946, 1961), was the first text to emphasize higher-level study skills rather than just remedial exercises. The SQ3R method (Survey, Question, Read, Recite, and Review), or some variation of it, remains a dominant strategy in the study skills field today (Pauk, 1984).

As Robinson explained in the "Two Quarries" paper, the problems of college students were not limited to deficiencies in study skills. The How-to-Study program also provided assistance in "attacking other problem areas which may be distracting a student in his university work; namely, vocational planning, social or personal problems, health problems, or lack of interest in school work" (Robinson, 1945, p. 202). This concern with personal and vocational adjustment issues occurring during the normal development of adults is still incorporated in definitions of counseling psychology (Dowd, 1984).

> *"Robinson's classic text,* Effective Study *(1946, 1961), was the first text to emphasize higher-level study skills rather than just remedial exercises."*

In the early 1940s Robinson's efforts in training undergraduate counselors were extended to the graduate level and, eventually, became limited to graduate students. A formal practicum course was established in the Ohio State University catalogue, "The Psychology of Remedial Counseling," thus creating an organized program for supervising the practice of the counselors-in-training. In 1945 there were sixteen sections of twenty students per school year of the How-to-Study course, with up to five counselors enrolled in the "Remedial Counseling" practicum available to the students. Robinson supervised the work of these counselors with the assistance of an advanced graduate student, who coordinated details of the program and also provided supervision of the counselor-student interviews. This model of graduate counselor training became and continues to be an essential part of Ohio State's counseling psychology program.

As early as 1938 Robinson had installed an audio system by which to monitor the interviews and soon added recording equipment using acetate records. In the 1940s the system was much improved as wire and eventually tape recorders became available. Carl R. Rogers (PhD Teachers College, Columbia, 1931) had joined the clinical faculty in 1939, and with his interest in the process of therapeutic counseling he and Robinson worked together to upgrade the recording and practicum facilities in the department. Elias H. Porter, Jr. (PhD Ohio State, 1941), who was Robinson's first PhD student, did his dissertation on "The Development and Evaluation of a Measure of Counseling Interview Procedures" (Porter, 1943), which involved transcribing interview records made in the practicum. Porter's study and numerous others were summarized by Robinson in *Principles and Procedures in Student Counseling* (1950), which served as a basic text in many counseling psychology training programs throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

These and other developments enabled Robinson to establish a new graduate program in the Psychology Department, which he originally called Student Personnel Work. This was the forerunner to the present counseling psychology program (renamed in 1951) and originated in the How-to-Study program outlined above. The initial emphasis on educational counseling of college students distinguished it from other early counselor training programs at the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, which had given more emphasis to vocational psychology and guidance.

In summary, the Psychology Department offered a hospitable environment for counseling psychology to emerge at Ohio State. The faculty were from universities with distinguished traditions in experimental and educational psychology, and their research and teaching helped support and develop innovative applications of psychology. Through the How-to-Study program, students received both remedial help and training in higher-level study skills to enhance their effectiveness in college. They also received counseling for personal and vocational concerns provided by counselors-in-training. Simultaneously, graduate students in Student Personnel Work received close supervision of their counseling interviews. Individual attention, nonintrusive observation, and audio recording facilities contributed greatly to the quality of counselor training at Ohio State.

THE DEVELOPMENT YEARS

A primary factor in the development of the counseling psychology program was Ohio State University's student counseling center, first named the Occupational Opportunities Service (OOS). In 1940 Harold A. Edgerton (PhD Ohio State, 1928) was transferred from the Department of Psychology to become the director of the OOS. Edgerton's training was in industrial/organizational psychology and statistics, and he had strong interests in testing and applied psychology. In 1945 he and a small staff at the OOS prepared and published *Ohio State and Occupations* (Occupational Opportunities Service, 1945). This book was the first of its kind, in that it "contained a section for each academic major in the University with the titles and descriptions of all occupations appropriate to each major" (Fletcher, 1979, p. 2). Soon after publication, the book became widely used for counseling veterans who were attending colleges throughout the nation.

> *"A primary factor in the development of the counseling psychology program was the Ohio State University's student counseling center . . ."*

As World War II ended, the Veterans Administration through the "G.I. Bill of Rights" provided funds for educational benefits to veterans. At Ohio State, the OOS provided the educational planning and vocational counseling that were a necessary part of the veterans' enrollment at the university. During this veterans' "bulge," especially 1946–1948, there was a shortage of trained counselors nationwide. At the OOS, graduate students in psychology filled this gap by serving as "counselors," although many were not trained in counseling nor did they consider counseling or student personnel work their major area of focus. During these years Veterans Administration funds earmarked for testing and vocational counseling for veterans kept the OOS running. According to Fletcher, "The VA program was a major stimulus for the development of college counseling centers throughout the country and the professional area of counseling psychology as well as the areas of counseling and guidance or counselor education" (1979, p. 3).

In 1947 Frank M. Fletcher (PhD Yale, 1939) came to Ohio State to assume responsibility for the OOS programs. Replacing Edgerton, Fletcher served as director from 1947 to 1963. Although his PhD was in experimental psychology under Professor Yerkes, he had held positions in the Department of Personnel Studies at Yale, the United States Employment Service, the U.S. Navy during the war, and at the University of Michigan. As a result he came to Ohio State with extensive experience in veterans counseling and in other areas such as personnel classification and interviewing.

Dr. Fletcher and the OOS staff established a reputation for dedicated and capable response to the needs of students. In addition, they had the only IBM test scoring machines in the area, which expedited test reporting and interpretation. The OOS soon became a center for scoring a wide variety of tests and reporting the results. For example, it conducted a program of freshman mathematics and English placement testing during the week just preceding the autumn quarter. It also developed the Summer Orientation Program in 1947, which still exists today. This program afforded students an opportunity to take a series of tests, after which each person had a counseling session with an OOS counselor to help clarify which college and major would be appropriate for the student's initial enrollment. Although Ohio State and the University of Minnesota were the first to offer such a summer program, many other universities soon followed (Fletcher, 1979).

From its beginning in 1940 the OOS (renamed the University Counseling and Testing Center [UCTC] in 1953 and the University Counseling and Consultation Service in the late 1970s) has been closely allied with the counseling psychology program. Several counseling center staff traditionally have held faculty appointments in the Department of Psychology, offering courses and advising graduate students. Graduate students in turn received training in counseling and found encouragement and support for thesis and dissertation research. In the early 1950s the center organized an advanced practicum course for graduate students in counseling psychology and internship appointments began to evolve soon after that. The quality of these training experiences was enhanced by the fact that the graduate students were vital in delivering services to the increasing number of students being served at the UCTC.

In 1951 Harold B. Pepinsky (PhD Minnesota, 1946) joined the UCTC staff as Director of Research, with a faculty appointment in the Department of Psychology. He was instrumental in the development of the UCTC as a center for graduate training and research. Pepinsky had just received the highest award for research in student personnel from the American Council of Guidance and Personnel Associations for his dissertation on diagnostic categories in clinical counseling (Pepinsky, 1948). Another distinguishing feature of his appointment was that he was the first on the faculty whose training had been specifically in counseling psychology (then called student personnel work). In 1955 he was in the first group to obtain the diploma by examination in counseling psychology from the American Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology. Dr. Pepinsky's contributions as scientist, author, practitioner, and professor over the years had profound impact on the UCTC and the counseling psychology program.

The UCTC staff, particularly Drs. Fletcher and Pepinsky, added valuable depth to the Department of Psychology faculty. Although Fletcher and Pepinsky were responsible to the University President's Office and their entire salaries came from there, both held professional rank in the department and regularly taught courses and advised graduate students at no cost to the department. The UCTC and the How-to-Study program delivered needed client and student services while providing a wide range of counseling and research experiences for graduate students in counseling psychology. Few counseling or student personnel programs of that day could draw on such a comprehensive array of training opportunities. Thus, despite the small number of faculty involved in the graduate program, the contributions of each individual as well as the strong programs they started exerted a notable influence on counseling psychology at Ohio State University and nationwide.

The development years of counseling psychology at Ohio State coincided with the formation of this field at a national level. Faculty and staff who were responsible for developing the Ohio State program also were centrally involved in national developments. When the APA was reorganized in 1946 and the Division of Counseling and Guidance Psychologists (17) was established as one of the charter divisions, Francis Robinson and Frank Fletcher were two of the founding members. Many of these founders of Division 17 also helped establish the American Personnel and Guidance Association (APGA), such as Frank Fletcher, who served as its first treasurer and later, as president in 1957–1958. Pepinsky served as president of the American College Personnel Association, a division of APGA, in 1955–1956. In 1954 the *Journal of Counseling Psychology* was established as a corporation of 26 stockholders, two of whom were Drs. Robinson

> *"Faculty and staff who were responsible for developing the Ohio State program also were centrally involved in national developments."*

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and Fletcher. That year (1954–1955) Francis Robinson served as Division 17 president. Harold Pepinsky presided in 1956–1957 and Frank Fletcher in 1964–1965. All three of these Ohio State faculty continued to be very active in APA and Division 17 affairs and in publication of the *Journal*. They set a compelling example for Ohio State faculty and students to become involved in publication, leadership, policy making, and administrative affairs in counseling psychology.

Although several Ohio State psychologists were prominent in establishing counseling psychology on the national level during the 1945–1960 years, the counseling psychology program in the Psychology Department comprised just two full-time professors: Francis Robinson and John R. Kinzer. Kinzer (PhD George Peabody, 1940) joined the Ohio State faculty in 1945 after serving as manager of the personnel services for the Wright Aeronautical Corporation during World War II. Although Kinzer's PhD was in philosophy, his wartime experience attracted the department's attention as eight new faculty were hired in 1945–1946 in anticipation of the veterans bulge. Described as a "welcome addition" by Robinson (1982, p. 6), he helped broaden the counseling psychology program by teaching courses and advising graduate students.

How did counseling psychology at Ohio State become an established program with relatively little cost to the Psychology Department? Through the foresight and persuasiveness of Frank Robinson, the university's support for student affairs, the department's open structure, and the willingness of individuals to contribute far more than their positions required. For years a major part of the program was carried by faculty with unpaid appointments in psychology who had full-time positions in college and student personnel offices throughout the university. As mentioned earlier, substantial teaching and advising responsibilities were accepted by Professors Fletcher and Pepinsky, who were full time in the Counseling Center. Other center staff gave generously of their time in conducting the advanced practicum, advising students, supervising theses, and participating in program planning.

Another program with substantial and enduring benefits to the counseling psychology program originated in the Dean of Women's Office. Two Ohio State alumni, Kathryn Hopwood (PhD Ohio State, 1953) as Associate Dean of Women and Christine Conaway (BA 1923, MA 1942, Ohio State) as Dean of Women established the Graduate Resident Assistant Program in cooperation with the counseling psychology program. They funded half-time assistantships for graduate students as residence hall counselors, assistant head residents, and in other student personnel positions, which provided stipends and valuable personnel and counseling experiences for students. In 1957 Maude Stewart (EdD Syracuse University, 1947) became director of the program, replacing Hopwood who went to Hunter College in 1955 as Dean of Students. Under Dr. Stewart's leadership the program (later renamed Student Personnel Assistant Program) continued to develop as a training experience and a source of funding for graduate students and is today a major source of student financial aid for counseling psychology.

A third source of training and funding for counseling psychology students was a cooperative program between the Department of Psychology and the Veterans Administration (VA). In 1952 the Veterans Administration announced the establishment of two positions of "counseling psychologist," one within the Division of Medicine and Surgery and the other within the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. The Veterans Administration also established traineeships for counseling and clinical psychology graduate students through which first-year students received a monthly stipend in exchange for 500 hours of service during the summer at the Dayton, Brecksville, or Chillicothe VA Medical Centers and the Columbus Mental Hygiene (Outpatient) Clinic. Before the VA dedicated these funds entirely to APA-approved predoctoral internship positions in the late 1970s, these trainseeships funded several first-year counseling students. Support could be continued throughout the remainder of the student's graduate program with higher stipend levels and increased service hour requirements each year. Psychologists from the affiliated VA installations and the Ohio State Psychology Department faculty constituted the Mid-Ohio Regional Training Committee, which met quarterly to assign student trainees, review their training program, and evaluate their progress. Over the years many counseling psychology students have received training and support from this program.

A final program to be noted, which contributed to the establishment of counseling psychology, also was federally sponsored. In response to the Soviet launching of Sputnik, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to fund "guidance institutes" in universities for training secondary and elementary school counselors. At Ohio State such counselors were being trained in the guidance and counseling program in the Department of Education, which was directed by Herman Peters (PhD Purdue, 1950). Robinson was a member of the national committee for this program, and faculty members from the counseling psychology program participated in planning and staffing institutes that Peters directed. The guidance and counseling program was strengthened substantially by these institutes. Its existence and that of the clinical program in psychology helped the counseling psychology program delineate an undisputed area of need in which to continue its development. In the mid-1960s, institutes also were funded for training college-level counselors, which the Psychology Department applied for and received. These efforts proved profitable because the counseling program "obtained many applicants, provided good service, and thereby also obtained some good PhD candidates" (Robinson, 1982, p. 9).

In summary, the period from 1945–1960 was characterized by the development of a strong counseling psychology program at minimal cost to the Psychology Department. Although there were only two full appointments in the department, joint and adjunct faculty from the Counseling Center and the Offices of Dean of Women and Men provided graduate advisors, practicum supervision, course instruction, and training sites. The Counseling Center, residence halls, and other student personnel positions provided training opportunities as well as essential funding for graduate students. Federal monies for training VA counseling psychologists and NDEA counselors offered broader training opportunities, helped identify and attract quality graduate students, offered financial support for students, and "provided much needed extra money for the expansion of our regular program" (Robinson, 1982, p. 9).

A DECADE OF GROWTH

The decade of the 1960s was an uncertain period nationally for counseling psychology (Berg, Pepinsky, & Shoben, 1980; Robinson, 1964). Membership in the APA Division 17 had remained static, and training programs were not graduating PhDs in the same number as they had been a few years prior. Some counseling psychologists felt that the blurred distinction between counseling and clinical psychology had precipitated an identity crisis for counseling psychologists. Others noted that there were not enough PhD-level training and internship sites available. Although Ohio State had some disappointments, the program was able to consolidate its faculty in the department with the creation of six new full-time positions in counseling psychology.

In 1961 the first full-time faculty position since those of Robinson and Kinzer was filled by Lyle Schmidt (PhD Missouri, 1959). He supervised the How-to-Study course, coordinated practicums, and taught undergraduate courses and a graduate seminar. In 1967 Schmidt left to join the faculty at the University of Minnesota and Samuel H. Osipow (PhD Syracuse, 1959), who had been a psychologist in the Counseling Center and a member of the faculty at Penn State University, was appointed to the counseling faculty. He later became chair of the Department of Psychology in 1973.

Other departmental positions were created in the program as a result of a major setback: the severing of the close alliance between the University Counseling and Testing Center and the program. The center had always been creative and resourceful in the services it offered. In addition to testing and counseling for career and educational planning, its staff and graduate students also provided psychological counseling for personal problems. Because at the time some university administrators believed that only physicians should treat students with personal adjustment problems, the UCTC staff minimized this aspect of its services in communications with the administration (Fletcher, 1979). Conflicts such as these were manageable, but a dramatic change in center policy that was mandated by the vice president to whom the center director reported, led to the resignation of virtually the entire staff. In 1962 the research and training programs that had been an integral part of the center's work since it began as the OOS were discontinued so that the center staff could devote its full attention to direct services to students. This new policy was totally unacceptable to the center staff, and within a year they all had resigned their positions. Fletcher and Pepinsky received strong support from the Psychology Department, and both were appointed full time in 1963. Fletcher replaced Kinzer, who left in 1962, and Pepinsky took a new position created for him. Disengagement from the center was a serious loss to the counseling psychology program because of the training, research, and financial support it had provided to many graduate students. Nevertheless, the counseling psychology program was strengthened substantially by the appointment of Professors Fletcher and Pepinsky to full-time positions in the department, and alternative training sites were soon established in several community agencies and nearby universities.

Changes in the Student Personnel Assistant (SPA) program also strengthened the faculty. W. Bruce Walsh (PhD Iowa, 1965) had come to Ohio State in 1965 as assistant director of the SPA program and assistant professor in the Psychology Department. The SPA program had grown substantially during the 1960s, and the responsibilities of Stewart and Walsh to that program and the department became too great. Both were appointed to full-time faculty positions in the Department of Psychology in 1967 to help handle the "added pressure in growth of load" in the department (Wherry, 1968) and give further depth to the counseling program. The SPA program maintained its close association with counseling psychology under Robert F. Rodgers (PhD Ohio State, 1971) and continues to be a major source of training and financial support to its students.

By 1969 there had been changes in the university administration that allowed the counseling psychology program to reestablish its relationships with the Counseling Center. The program faculty, with strong departmental support, was successful in seeking the strengthening of student counseling programs in the university and the removal of the ban on training and research in the Counseling Center. The alliance of the center with the Psychology Department was re-formed, four internship positions were funded in the center, which were made "captive" to the counseling program in the department, and two faculty positions were created. One position was filled by Schmidt, who returned from Minnesota, and the other position by Theodore J. Kaul (PhD Minnesota, 1969), who soon assumed responsibility for the How-to-Study course.

> *". . . the decade of the 1960s for counseling psychology at Ohio State was a period of substantial growth."*

In summary, the decade of the 1960s for counseling psychology at Ohio State was a period of substantial growth. Despite the disengagement from the Counseling Center and a lack of apparent progress in counseling psychology nationally, increasing numbers of highly qualified students were applying to, and graduating from, the program. It appeared that Ohio State was "one of the leading, if not the leading, programs in the country" (Robinson, 1982, p. 7). The senior faculty in the program continued to be resourceful leaders, taking advantage of opportunities and turning adversities into advantages. Full-time faculty rose from two to eight, of whom four—Schmidt, Osipow, Walsh, and Kaul—remain at this writing.

CONTINUITY AND STABILITY SINCE 1970

The counseling psychology program has remained quite stable since 1970. All of the faculty who initiated and established the program have retired (in addition to John Kinzer, who went to the University of Arizona in 1962). Frank Robinson retired in 1972, Maude Stewart in 1976, Frank Fletcher in 1979, and Harold Pepinsky in 1986.

Current faculty who replaced these retiring members and the year they came to the program are:

Richard K. Russell (PhD Illinois, 1972)—1975
Nancy E. Betz (PhD Minnesota, 1976)—1976
Pamela S. Highlen (PhD Michigan State, 1975)—1979
Martin Heesacker (PhD Missouri, 1983)—1986

In addition, Don M. Dell (PhD Minnesota, 1972) came to the program in 1971 to fill a new position created to coordinate and develop the department's undergraduate advising for psychology majors and be a member of the counseling psychology faculty.

These faculty, together with those from the 1960s, have continued many of the program's traditions. The How-to-Study course, for example, has flourished. In continues to provide teaching assistantships to many graduate students, and students in the course are still served by counselors in the program's beginning practicum. The Student Personnel Assistant Program continues to fund assistantships for about half of the program's first- and second-year students and has substantially increased the breadth and depth of its training opportunities. The Counseling and Consultation Service maintains a valuable relationship with the program, and several adjunct faculty offer supervised practicum and APA-accredited internship opportunities to program students. Excellent students continue to apply to the program, and about half of those admitted win fellowships from the graduate school in a university-wide competition.

The faculty also have continued the program's visibility and its reputation for graduating high-quality students. The faculty are recognized for their research and publication, journal editing, and organizational leadership. Its students are successful in their pursuit of quality internships, are employed nationwide, and have been highly visible in their publication and editorial work and their participation in professional organizations. It seems that, wherever counseling psychologists are found, Ohio State faculty and students are represented.

REFLECTIONS

This account of the history of counseling psychology at Ohio State has not been exhaustive. Many persons who have been part of the history and many aspects of the program and the university have necessarily been omitted. Former students will know things that should have been included and may have different interpretations of what has been said. If they will share what they know with the program, perhaps an improved account can be written in the future.

The current faculty have benefited substantially from what has preceded them, as have faculties in programs everywhere. But what, if anything, is there in the Ohio State story that may be useful to others? The following are offered as possibilities:

1. Environments have a profound impact on program development. A relatively flexible department structure, the encouragement of creativity and innovation, a concern for student welfare, and scientific and applied traditions, were helpful to the Ohio State program. Related programs enabled counseling psychology to delineate an area of need and offered many useful resources to students and faculty.
2. Faculty and staff, in and around the program, determine its substance and character. Ohio State was fortunate in its formative years to have creative, productive faculty who had earned their degrees in high quality departments and who knew how to get things done. They recognized opportunities, turned adversity to their advantage, and exemplified the qualities they desired their students to have. They respected students, were concerned for their welfare, and urged them to be successful.

> *"Faculty and staff, in and around the program, determine its substance and character."*

3. Finally, the importance of students to a program cannot be overstated. At Ohio State they earned respect for the program by their performance in courses throughout the department, they demonstrated to the department and the university that high achievers can be considerate and compassionate, and they showed that cooperativeness can be a rewarding quality in what might be viewed as a competitive situation. Their successes in internship helped create opportunities for students who followed them and their career achievements added immeasurably to the program's reputation.

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Missouri: The History of a User Friendly Program

WAYNE ANDERSON

"One incident which I repeat often to my advisees is something which happened to me on my first day of enrollment in my first fall at MU. Joe Johnston was meeting with me to help me plan my schedule, and I had in front of me *the* list, which had on it all the course options which I had to choose from and on which I was totally intent. Joe said to me that I could think of the years in the program in at least a couple of ways. First, I did indeed have before me what could be thought of as the contract, courses I needed to get checked off. But, second, I had to come to see Mizzou [University of Missouri–Columbia] as a collection of *people*, people with whom I needed to make contact and rub shoulders before I left. It was from these people that my *real* education would come, and not all of them, by any means, were professors. If not a course, I had to find some other way to connect with them. It helped me to keep in focus that what I really needed to learn was not in books, but in people's minds, in the way they looked at the world" (Thomas Krieshok; year of graduation, 1982).

These words of a former graduate student encapsulate the emphasis for the past 40 years on the training relationship between students and staff in the Joint Training Program in Counseling Psychology at the University of Missouri–Columbia (UMC). This story of a "user friendly" program will be told by tying together comments requested by the author from 27 graduates (1954–1985), with selected historical facts and quotes from the American Psychological Association (APA) site visit reports.

The history falls into five eras, or sections: the architects, the builders, the adventurers, the guardians, and the revitalizers. In each section I will discuss what historical records and accounts indicate was happening, closing with an observation from a graduate who was a student during that era of development. In many ways the events that occurred in this 40-year history are representative of what was happening in counseling psychology nationally. During this time counseling psychology has received recognition as a separate subfield of psychology, has undergone a protracted search for identity and definition, with an ever-changing conception of goals. For those programs that survived there was a struggle to find support from the federal and state governments for continued development. Like the field of counseling in general, the program at Missouri experienced a vigorous adolescence when anything seemed possible, and with a blend of failures and successes grew into a more conservative adulthood where we have had to recognize that all of our early dreams could not be fulfilled.

Various indicators of how influential various training programs have been within the field of counseling (e.g., Anderson, 1984; Howard, 1983; Skovholt & Stone, 1984; Simino & Wachowiak, 1982) suggest that many of the features of counseling psychology came together successfully at the University of Missouri; the history of this program tells us something about how a new field develops and what factors cause it to change. Using the Missouri program as an example it is possible to look back and see how vocational development, test development, student selection, individual counseling, outreach, groups, supervision training, and more became part of counseling psychology.

> *". . . the program at Missouri experienced a vigorous adolescence when anything seemed possible . . . we have had to recognize that all of our early dreams could not be fulfilled."*

THE ARCHITECTS, 1946–1954

Three people could be deemed our visionary architects: Paul C. Polmantier, Edward Roeber, and Robert Callis. They were a team united in a mission to develop a firm foundation for the new field of counseling psychology. Polmantier was the occasionally irascible, proud father of the program and Roeber the warm, dedicated scholar. Much of the leadership was provided by the industrious Callis, who brought to the enterprise an interesting blend of philosophical thoughtfulness and a practical ability to focus on "what is possible right now."

The program began in 1946 when the Testing and Counseling Services (now Counseling Services) was formed to handle the deluge of returning veterans from World War II. The deans of Arts and Science and Education and the vice-president of the Extra-Divisional Administration established the Testing and Counseling Services with three provisos: (1) it was to be a service to all of the university community, not just to students; (2) it was to be a research and training laboratory for both education and psychology; and (3) there were to be two major administrative appointments in the service—one with a joint appointment in education and one with a joint appointment in psychology. It was the broad nature of those provisos that allowed the counseling services to become the neutral meeting ground of the two academic departments and to provide the core facilities for meeting the program's practica, internship, and research needs. Having the counseling services as the interface was the key factor in assuring the success of the program, since it allowed opportunities to solve the inevitable problems and jealousies between the departments.

"When I was at Missouri, we graduate students took for granted that the counseling psychology program was offered jointly by the Psychology Department and College of Education. What went on in the program (and Parker Hall) seemed to be figuratively, if not literally, halfway between the two domains. How rare that is, I found out later" (Dale Prediger, 1963).

The Joint Training Committee in Counseling Psychology was formed in 1952 by Professors Polmantier and Roeber from the College of Education and Professors Callis, Fred McKinney, and Ken Brown from the Psychology Department, with the deans as ex-officio members. The close involvement of members of the university administration was important for the eventual success of the program. The purpose of the committee was to coordinate the university's resources into a single program in counseling psychology, available to students through either department, which could be accredited by APA.

The site visitors from APA had considerable misgivings about whether psychologists in education and psychologists in arts and science could realistically work together in a single program. In spite of their skepticism, the program was approved in 1953 and was the only joint program continuously accredited by APA until the University of Maryland's recent accreditation.

Part of the reason that Missouri grew to a position of influence in the field was a result of the hiring practices established by the architects of the program and expressed by Robert Callis: "Hire competent people who have an area of expertise that is not now covered. Give them the freedom to do what they do well."

The Joint Program has depended on the interaction of the faculty and staff of three divisions (the psychology and education departments, and counseling services), which were held together with a minimum of formal organization. Experience elsewhere suggested that this would not work. Yet comments from APA site visit reports continue to commend us for our success in developing and maintaining a quality program in such a complex administrative structure. From the program's inception human relationships were deemed very important in this complex environment.

"To summarize what I look back on as most important in my development: The program was new, and the number of graduate students was comparatively small. The opportunity for close professional/personal relationships with Drs. Polmantier, Callis, Irion, and others was rewarding. These relationships have influenced my efforts to assist others for almost 40 years" (Larry Saddler, 1949).

THE BUILDERS, 1955–1963

These were the growth years, the years in which the faculty and staff shaped the structure and sought and found widening sources of support. The faculty who originated the program had certain premises about the field of counseling that have influenced our development to the present day: (a) recognize that counseling psychology is a constantly evolving field; it is not a finished product; (b) watch what the individual, state, and nation want; consider any possibilities for services; and don't hem yourself in with preconceived limits about what you can or should do; (c) learn to capitalize on those needs in order to get support. This was the period when government support influenced what directions training and research took. The Missouri program stayed viable and strong during these years through good management, taking advantage of any opening to add faculty, and staying in the forefront of changes in the field.

In the fifties several congressional actions provided funds that contributed to the growth and strengthening of the program. The Vocational Rehabilitation Law of 1954, which made money available to universities to train vocational rehabilitation counselors, allowed the addition of John McGowan to the faculty. McGowan, a cherubic-faced, highly decorated World War II fighter pilot, epitomized the builders with his drive, appreciation of others' talents, and mischievous enjoyment in being involved in developing the program. He developed a vocational rehabilitation counseling specialty. Later he was responsible for acquiring a grant from the U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation to modify physical facilities and services so that severely handicapped students residing within a six-state area could attend the University of Missouri-Columbia. This grant led to the development of a Handicapped Student Office within the Testing and Counseling Services.

Another early addition to the faculty was also a World War II pilot, John Ferguson. He served as chair of the program for many years and was a supportive, much sought after advisor who eventually chaired almost 70 doctoral committees.

During this period of exploration the joint program established cooperative agreements with the following state agencies: (a) The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, (b) Bureau of the Blind, Division of Welfare, (c) county welfare offices, with clients who are applying for permanent and total disability benefits, (d) Office of Vocational Disability, Old Age Survival Insurance, and Disability Freeze Program.

Throughout the fifties, testing at local, state, and national levels provided professional experience for students and funded additional faculty and staff. For many years the center ran a statewide freshman placement test program for 30 colleges and universities. By the time the program was terminated, more than 250,000 high school seniors had been tested.

"The counseling center was seen as the laboratory for testing ideas and generating data to answer various questions."

By staying tuned into not only what we wanted but also what the suppliers of funds wanted, we were able in the early sixties to continue our expansion of faculty. In 1962 the laid-back scholar Charles Krauskopf and the psychoanalytic Paul King were added to the faculty. In 1963 the conscientious Norman Gysbers and the audacious, eclectic Wayne Anderson were added. In 1964 Callis, who had been director of the Counseling Services for 12 years, became the dean of Extra-Divisional Administration; Paul King became the new director of Testing and Counseling Services.

The counseling center was seen as the laboratory for testing ideas and generating data to answer various questions; however, it was not expected that all research would result in formal publications. The range of topics can be seen in the investigations conducted by faculty and students in 1964: prediction of clerical work performance; predicting success in the University of Missouri School of Law; 1964–65 official norms, sectioning procedures, and trend data for the Freshmen Placement Test Battery; an MMPI scale for predicting failure in nursing practicums; The Strong Vocational Interest Blank Profile for third-year medical students; characteristics of student athletes; the University of Missouri reading improvement program; classroom achievement testing; the Graduate Education Advisory Battery as a prediction of completion of the doctorate in education. In short, the Missouri faculty was expanding and new domains were being explored.

"Missouri was fun to be at in the early 60s. Even more so, it was at the cutting edge of the profession which we all recognized" (E. N. Simons, 1964).

THE ADVENTURERS, 1964–1973

With the foundations laid by the previous periods, Missouri was now able to become a community of adventurers, engaged in exploring the place of counseling psychology in the world. These were also the years in which Missouri faculty were providing a great deal of leadership on the national scene in terms of journal editorships and offices held in national organizations.

Part of the excitement grew out of the rapid expansion of faculty, with each addition bringing something distinctive to the program. Within a few years came entrepreneurial Joe Johnston, innovative Dick Thoreson, well-read Frank Wellman, contemplative Bob Dolliver, and Warren Seymour with his penetrating insights. Added in 1966 was Joe Kunce, a productive, highly conceptual scholar, and, in 1969, Corrine Cope, who was to become the instigator of supervision training and research, joined the faculty. These latter two additions were funded partly by a grant that McGowan had received to establish a regional Rehabilitation Research Institute. At this point we had established the faculty who were to remain a relatively intact group over the next 20 years.

By this time Callis had become dean of extracurricular affairs, and the concept of counseling outreach was being more fully developed. Having a counseling psychologist in "high places," proved to be a boon. Counseling psychologists were placed in various colleges and departments within the university and were consulting with schools and colleges of the university on a wide variety of problems, including student selection and advising.

In the late sixties Johnston and Jim Irvin (who was to become director of Counseling Services in 1976) developed a Learning Center, the Mental Hygiene Clinic was closed and its functions were absorbed by counseling services, and Richard Caple was added to the faculty and given a joint appointment as Associate Director of Housing.

In 1969–1970 Counseling Services received independent APA accreditation for its predoctoral internship. Interns and other graduate students became increasingly interested in leading a wide range of groups: for example, study skills, social skills, personal adjustment, peer counselor training, vocational counseling, black and white cooperation groups. The number of groups per week averaged nearly 10.

In retrospect it appears that we were trying too hard to be all things to all people. What follows are several examples of our expanding in many directions at once. By 1969 the antiestablishment attitudes of many university students resulted in less trust of student services. A separate counseling agency called Everyday People, which was not formally connected to the university, was developed with help from faculty and interns. This group did drug and abortion counseling and also worked with transients and runaways.

> *"In retrospect it appears that we were trying too hard to be all things to all people."*

The early seventies saw an outreach center established across campus, with 13 additional offices. King, aware of budget limitations, noted another curiosity: that Drs. Dolliver, Crenshaw, and Anderson somehow procured enough furniture to furnish all of these offices without submitting a single purchase requisition.

During this era there was a surge of involvement in national affairs, with much recognition of the faculty contributions. Some of the major positions held were:

1. *John McGowan*, president of Division of Rehabilitation Counseling of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1965–1966. President of Division 17 of APA, 1968–1969.
2. *Norman C. Gysbers*, editor of *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, 1962–1970. President of the National Vocational Guidance Association, 1972–1973, and president of APGA in 1978–1979.
3. *Wayne Anderson*, editor of *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 1965–1970. President of National Employment Counselors Association, 1972–1973.
4. *Robert Callis*, president of the American College Personnel Association, 1959–1960. Editor of *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 1963–1969.
5. *Richard Thoreson*, president of the American Rehabilitation Counseling Association, 1971–1972. Chairman of the Education and Training Committee of Division 17 of APA, 1971–1972.

Toward the end of this era, women students became a real presence in the program. Neither they nor the almost exclusively male faculty were comfortable with the changes taking place, and much reorientation of male attitudes over the next 10 years was needed before women became comfortable with their integration into the program. As one of the women graduates remarked, "Even though the male graduate students did, the faculty wouldn't let me play in the golf league because they said their wives would object" (Beverly Gelwick, 1975).

From this brief history the reader can gather that faculty and students were actively exploring the kinds of services that counseling psychologists could provide. These explorations were serving to define the field, both locally and nationally. We had expanded our activities to the limits of our capacities. It was now time for reconsiderations of our scope and organization.

"The beauty of the Missouri program is that the student is given the chance to think about and practice a wide variety of roles. This happens because there are so many positive models. As a student, I had models, respected by their peers, in various combinations of the following components: teacher, researcher, therapist, supervisor, administrator, national organization leader. Some had joint appointments, some did not. Some were in one department, some were in another. My classmates and I were implicitly being told that we could be counseling psychologists within a number of roles, within a number of settings. This permitted us to find compatible niches within the profession. The overall result is that Missouri provides counseling graduate students with an exceptionally nurturing graduate school environment. This is my explanation of why Missouri graduates have provided so much leadership in so many different ways within the profession" (Thomas Skovholt, 1974).

THE GUARDIANS, 1974–1980

With every staff member into "his or her own thing," it became imperative that some integration of effort take place lest individual enterprises flourish at the expense of the total operation. We had outreach programs using a dozen different models; group programs in just as many different forms; a testing program that involved an inordinate amount of decision making, time, and budget; counseling practicum operations that were becoming larger than the intern training program. At the same time, an unusual demand was made that we suddenly assume campus responsibility for a 24-hour mental health operation formerly assigned to the Student Health Service. It was now time for consolidation and stabilization. We had looked into many alternative models of providing psychological services, in many cases for the first time. In so doing, we temporarily became an amorphous organization looking everywhere and finding everything—all too much, all too fast, and all too demanding.

It was thus that 1971–1972 became a critical year for the program. By 1972 there were 24 faculty and adjunct staff connected with the three parts of the program. The counseling center housed 24 interns (3 of whom were full time), 5 half-time graduate assistants, 14 student assistants, and a secretarial staff of 13.

That all of this growth might not always make sense to outsiders is illustrated by a comment from a more recent APA site visit report: "Over the last 30 years, the program has grown with no apparent plan, but with a strong sense of personal commitment and personal identity. The development of contemporary APA guidelines have [*sic*] brought some order into this confederation of professionals" (1982 APA site visit).

Not that we stopped being creative; innovations were still being made. In 1973 Joseph Johnston started and now administers a Career Planning and Placement Center that serves the University of Missouri–Columbia campus with a budget of more than $230,000. It has a staff of about 50 people, which includes professionals, clerical staff, paraprofessionals, practica students, and doctoral interns, who daily provide comprehensive planning and placement services to more than 100 students.

At Counseling Services, Clyde Crego continued to handle the daily crises, Lois Huebner replaced Jim Clark in the Psychology Department, and Carl Willis continued to handle the testing program. After 1976, the focus for innovation and training experiences was no longer only on the counseling center. Other agencies on the campus now provided both paid and unpaid opportunities for counselors to obtain training. Within Student Life, the Women's Center became very influential, a black culture house was started, and an alcohol education and a sex education program were developed, all with counseling psychology students as part-time directors.

With the end of the seventies our goal had become to maintain as much of what we had already established as possible in the face of budget cuts. In 1979 cutbacks hit counseling services, and we relinquished the handicapped student program, faculty testing services, the information booth in the Student Union, and much of the support staff. We were eventually reduced from a high of 24 interns and 5 practicum assistants to 9 interns and no budgeted practicum assistants. Whereas previously our students had taken internships only in the center or with the VA, they now began to accept appointments all over the United States in a full spectrum of internship sites.

'The thing that most impressed me about the Missouri program was its bigness. There were so many people—faculty, students, staff—that I felt surrounded by a whole world of counseling. This was not only superficially impressive, but professionally influential. It communicated to me the importance of the field, the diversity of its mission, and the extensiveness of this impact. Nor did it make me, as a student, feel small; rather, I became a part of that big thing, and took its broad views and values with me when I left" (Chuck Claiborn, 1978).

THE REVITALIZERS, 1981–1988

In the eighties we found that our faculty were aging, and morale was poor due to a long series of cutbacks and lack of financial support. The Joint Training Program was in need of new blood to help revive it and ensure that we could retain our share of national leadership. In 1979 P. Paul Heppner, a proficient young psychologist of varied interests, was the mechanic who helped get the program machinery working again. There was a return to the scientist-practitioner model of training, which had become weakened during the seventies. He not only has been highly productive himself but has also encouraged other faculty and students to publish. Many students have been introduced to the world of publishing by coauthoring papers with Puncky Heppner.

The faculty also continued to draw national attention through journal editorships. Robert Dolliver was the associate editor of the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, from 1981 to 1987, and Michael J. Patton (who joined the faculty in 1986) is currently the associate editor. Richard Caple is editor of the *Journal of College Student Development*; Norman C. Gysbers has been editor of the *Journal of Career Development* since 1978; Charles Krauskopf has been editor of *Personality Assessment Foundation Journal* since 1985, and Puncky Heppner has been Life Lines Editor for the *Journal of Counseling & Development* (since 1984). Heppner and Krauskopf did a special issue of *The Counseling Psychologist* on problem solving, and Helen Roehlke (with Elizabeth Holloway) did one on internships. Many of the faculty serve on a variety of editorial boards of our professional journals.

The most complete study of institutional influence in the journals was done by Howard (1983), who evaluated the research productivity in counseling psychology at various universities for the years 1976–1982 as shown by their contributions in five major journals. When an overall factor score is derived for all rankings, Missouri ranked fifth.

Missouri has also made significant contributions in several nationally recognized areas. Prominence in psychometric assessment, a tradition established by Callis in the fifties and sixties, has been revitalized. Heppner's Problem Solving Inventory is frequently cited in the literature; Kunce and Cope's recent Personality Styles Inventory serves as the basis for dissertations; Krauskopf made inroads on test theory with the Personality Assessment System; and Kunce and Anderson have continued to publish on the MMPI.

Seymour, Cope, Heppner, and Roehlke have been actively researching clinical supervision, and a large number of dissertations have been written on the topic. Paul King was influential on the American Board of Professional Psychology (ABPP) and served as president 1984–1986. Helen Roehlke became recognized in training, serving as president of the Association of Counseling Center Training Agencies (ACCTA) for 7 years.

In the mid-eighties, after a long period of stability in faculty ranks, age caught up with the program and retirements began: Ralph Bedell, Corrine Cope, Frank Wellman, Paul King, John Ferguson, and Robert Burton all left during this period. They were replaced by Michael Patton as chair of Educational and Counseling Psychology (E&CP), and Hope Hills and Dennis Kivlighan as new assistant professors in E&CP. In the Psychology Department, Charles Krauskopf went to Ohio State and two new positions were filled by Patricia Frazier and Eric Hillerbrand. The program is again in a state of flux, but the quality remains high.

"Early in my program I recognized that there was a long and *distinguished* line of UMC graduates who had preceded me. What this awareness instilled in me was a sense of *pride*. And with that pride came a desire to continue the 'legacy' by becoming more than someone simply passing through a program en route to a degree" (Ernie Ness, 1987).

THE GRADUATE STUDENTS

We invest a lot in our students, and they have gone on to make significant contributions to the field. The major emphasis of the Joint Counseling Psychology Program at Missouri has been on the training of professional psychologists who are scientist-practitioners equipped to deal with a full range of client problems in a wide variety of settings.

Of the 500 plus graduates of the Joint Program the largest number (over a third) have become professors at universities or colleges. There are 47 counseling psychology programs that have APA accreditation; of these, 27 or 57% have UMC graduates on their faculties. An additional 27 universities have UMC graduates on their faculty. Thirty-one graduates are college or university administrators. Most of these are deans of colleges or divisions, and two are community college presidents (Anderson, 1984).

The second largest number (20%) of graduates have become counseling center staff or directors. More than 100 graduates of the UMC program work in counseling centers, and 29 of those are directors. Some previous tallies have indicated that this places Missouri first, followed by Michigan State and Ohio State, in the number of graduates who are directors. Simino and Wachowiak (1982), in a national survey of 381 psychologists working in college and university counseling centers, found that UMC had produced the second largest number of counseling center staff, second only to Michigan State.

Significant percentages of the graduates also (a) join mental health center staffs, (b) go into private practice, (c) work in psychiatric hospitals (including VA), and (d) become consulting and industrial psychologists.

Graduates' publications have been consistently high in a number of journals. Goodyear, Abadie, and Walsh (1983) ranked Missouri a distant third to Minnesota and Ohio State as publishers in *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. A perusal of recent issues would suggest that they continue to hold that spot.

As the following quote demonstrates, faculty interest was instrumental in helping students develop their research skills.

"I was extremely skeptical about my ability to do research, and I was afraid that faculty members would not have the time or interest to guide me though the 'Big D.' I was pleasantly surprised to find Irv Cockriel and Joe Kunce, who spent hours and hours with me debugging computer programs and discussing methods, statistics, and results. Indeed my whole committee, although skeptical about me, let me go and I felt a freedom to do my thing, which clearly enabled me to do as much as I did" (Frederick J. Breme, 1975).

Some Intangibles

Feedback from graduates indicates that part of the power of the program for students was in the supportiveness and consideration which they received from the faculty. For example, the following quotes are similar to many which we have received:

"The first of my supervisors was Don Eggeman. I was anxious prior to meeting him for our initial session. We got acquainted during the hour, and as I was leaving his office, he remarked 'I don't want you to ever leave here feeling diminished as a counselor.' I never did. That supportiveness is something I have tried to offer to subsequent supervisees of my own" (Ernie Ness, 1987).

"The important observation made during my doctoral program was the realization of how the faculty I was close to utilized self-disclosure and sharing of perceptions to stimulate my growth and continuing maturation. Knowing their professional resumes and knowing their human qualities builds self-confidence in the student and motivates achievement" (Sylvia Riley, 1979).

Faculty in many cases seemed to communicate well about the fact that an education is more than course work and getting grades. One of the frequent comments from graduates of the program is how they were helped to discover this fact. These issues are not frequently discussed by the faculty, yet practically every faculty member will have stories told about how he or she helped the student in dealing with the intangibles.

While a professor's career advancement is a high priority, at Missouri it did not place publications above the importance of spending time with students.

"I often felt that Bob (Dolliver) was as interested in my socialization as a human being (the adequacy of which was previously, and perhaps currently, in doubt) and as a young professional. He often took me out for impromptu doughnut outings, where he had me talk, listen, and otherwise act like a human being. This was really important for my development, because I felt very much like an imposter, an outsider, and intellectually inferior to my peers and faculty. I tried to hide this by being hostile and cocky, but Bob could see through that" (Martin Heesacker, 1984).

It seems clear that students and staff recognize that a major principle of the program is to select students carefully and, subsequently, manage matters as much as possible to support student development and success in the field.

SUMMARY

What conclusions can be drawn from this examination of the program's history, graduates' responses, and APA site visitor reports?

1. Part of the reason the total program has survived is due to the fluidity or flexibility of the system. It did not exist in a vacuum but was allowed to draw from resources wherever they existed. It was this freedom to draw on these resources that provided the money, the personnel, and the experiences that were needed to develop the field. We can conclude that there are times when a lack of a tight administrative structure can be a plus.

2. The counseling training program at Missouri has been changing and developing since its inception. As with biological evolution, there has been wasted motion; programs began, used up time and energy, and died. But it has only been because dead ends were allowed, only because there was a structure that was open to exploration, that new and lasting applications of counseling could evolve. Without the opportunity to begin promising programs, even if they subsequently failed we could not have begun programs that succeeded and survived.

3. Another factor has been the connections with the counseling center, which served as a neutral meeting ground that bridged academic departments. In our case it seems to have been helpful for faculty and staff from different colleges and/or divisions of the university to have a common area where they can easily meet and consult with one another to solve mutual problems and meet mutual goals if they are to work together successfully.

4. It seems clear that if the outside world had not needed the services of counseling psychologists and responded with finan-

cial support, the program would not have developed. Our history as a program has been a constant search to find where we fit in and what roles we can fill.

5. We have a norm of investing in students; we take training seriously. This respect for students' ability, coupled with personal sharing on the part of faculty, develops students who respect themselves and are able to tap into their potential. In turn these students become the program's best PR persons.

> *"We have a norm of investing in students; we take training seriously."*

6. The fact that two faculty members have been with the program almost 40 years and many others for more than 20 years has given a great deal of stability to the program. This stability has allowed a consistent leadership style as well as a host of experienced veterans to contribute to leadership roles (e.g., Callis, Ferguson, Anderson, Krauskopf). In some ways the stability has meant that we have not had to "reinvent the wheel" every 5 years with regard to training or identity issues. With retirement of the old guard, however, there is uncertainty as to what new directions the program will take and whether the faculty and students will continue to keep innovating.

7. In spite of fairly consistent research productivity, some additional comments need to be made about the research thrust of the Missouri program as viewed over the four decades. There have been times when the research momentum reached critical mass, where one study gave rise to another to produce a chain reaction. Some of the topics were: counseling process and outcome, career development, group process, and supervision. But we are aware that at times when we have been poised to make concerted attacks on critical problems for our profession, we falter. For example, 20 years ago we were tooled up to do definitive research to determine which counseling procedures were most effective with each of several fairly specific types of client problems, but somewhere we lost our vision to pursue this most promising avenue of investigation.

8. We have a large faculty and also a large staff at the counseling center. This relatively large number of counseling psychologists has allowed us to develop rather diverse interests. Our size also allows us to operate in rather independent ways because at any one time there are enough of us to accomplish the needed tasks. Our faculty stability has contributed greatly to allowing us to learn how to work in such a system.

> *"With retirement of the old guard, however, there is uncertainty . . ."*

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Editor's Note: The Missouri program is an excellent example of a program that grew and flourished because it was vigilant of new opportunities and resources at the university, state, regional, and national levels. The growth created vitality as well as larger numbers of faculty members. Moreover, faculty enjoyed this environment, and turnover has been minimal. Thus, faculty members often were able to specialize in a particular area for many years and make unique contributions to the profession. For example, Kunce was not only able to be one of the most productive researchers at Missouri but also made special contributions to personality assessment. Caple focused on student personnel for over 30 years and subsequently was awarded the prestigious American College Personnel Association's (ACPA) Distinguished Service Award in 1987 (one of the two highest awards given by ACPA). Gysbers's continued work in school counseling has led to national and international recognition. In short, it is important to note that the bidirectional interaction between environmental factors and faculty talent has resulted in unique contributions to the field.—P. P. Heppner

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Factors in a Productive Environment:
Colorado State University, 1964–1976

WESTON H. MORRILL and JAMES C. HURST

The Life Lines series has previously focused on individuals who have made significant contributions to the field of counseling psychology. The purpose of this article is to focus on the impact that emerged from the combined resources of a counseling center/psychology department/dean of students office within one institution—Colorado State University (CSU)—during the late sixties and early seventies. During this period a group of individuals conceptualized and implemented innovations that had a profound impact on counseling and student development. Some notable contributions that had their inception at CSU during this time included the following:

a. A developmental definition of counseling psychology (Oetting, 1967)
b. A developmental definition of student personnel (Ivey, 1970; Ivey & Morrill, 1970)
c. The application of micro-teaching concepts to micro-counseling (Ivey, Normington, Miller, Morrill, & Haase, 1968)
d. New concepts in career counseling (Ivey & Morrill, 1968; Morrill & Forrest, 1970)
e. The notion of a "student development center" that emphasized interventions for purposes of human development rather than "in loco parentis" emphases on regulation (Ivey & Oetting, 1966; Ivey, 1968; Morrill, Ivey, & Oetting, 1968)
f. The three-dimensional conceptualization of counseling interventions or "cube" and related outreach concepts that have expanded the perception of the role of the counselor and other student development professionals (Morrill & Hurst, 1971; Morrill, Oetting, & Hurst, 1974)
g. Paraprofessional selection, training, supervision, and evaluation (Delworth & Aulepp, 1976)
h. Program development (Moore & Delworth, 1976)
i. Counseling center management concepts (Oetting, Ivey, & Weigel, 1970; Hurst, Moore, Davidshofer, & Delworth, 1976)
j. Environmental assessment/ecological mapping in a university environment (Corazzini, 1974; Huebner & Corazzini, 1978).

This article briefly chronicles the history, identifies the key participants, and highlights the factors that contributed to the productivity of individuals at Colorado State University during the late sixties and early seventies. The information for this article was gleaned from a series of interviews that were held with the following key individuals who were at Colorado State University at the time: Wayne Viney, Al Ivey, Gene Oetting, Charles Cole, Dean Miller, Marv Moore, Ursula Delworth, Jack Corazzini, Chuck Davidshofer, Dick Yates, and Dick Weigel. There were, of course, other individuals who were at CSU during that time who made contributions, but time and practicality dictated that the sample be limited. This group represents the core individuals who were there at the beginning of the era, as well as some who arrived on the scene at a later date.

The same questions were asked of all the respondents to provide some consistency to the interviews. The responses and follow-up questions ranged widely. The questions asked were:

- Why did you originally accept a position at CSU?
- What factors played a role in your staying at CSU?
- Describe the professional climate that existed at CSU between 1964 and 1976.
- What were the factors that seemed to elicit a spirit of collaboration and creativity in you and among your colleagues?
- What impact have the years 1964 through 1976 had on your professional life?

HISTORY, PERSONS, AND EVENTS

There are two goals for this section. One goal is to provide some recognition for a few of the people who worked at Colorado State University during this period. The other goal is to provide some understanding of the events and processes through which the contributions emerged.

Much credit must be given to Burns B. Crookston, who was Dean of Students at Colorado State University. Crookston created an atmosphere of support for creativity and innovation. He hired Allen Ivey, a relatively young, new doctorate from Harvard via Bucknell and instructed him to create a counseling center and foster student development. Ivey recalls (personal communication, March 26, 1988), "Burns in my mind was really the founder of the word student development. That is why he hired me. I sometimes think we were simply filling out his dream."

Ivey felt that perhaps the most important factor in setting the foundation for later contributions was hiring individuals who operated in the scientist-practitioner model. In that regard he indicated: "I always went for and reinforced people who could both think and do, write and research, and bring theory and practice together (personal communication, March 26, 1988)." In 1964 Ivey hired Charles Cole out of the University of Missouri, and they attended the annual meeting of the Counseling Center Directors held in Banff, Alberta, Canada, where they met Gene Oetting, who was hosting the conference that year. Oetting was a liberal free thinker from Wisconsin and was in trouble with a conservative administration and looking for a new job. Ivey had received a grant from the Department of Labor to do a vocational rehabilitation demonstration program at a mental hospital in

Denver. The grant made it possible for him to hire Gene Oetting. Along with Dean Miller, these people formed the nucleus of the counseling center at CSU in 1964. Miller was interested in computers; Oetting was a burned-out Rogerian interested in applied research and counseling center organization; Cole was a behavior therapist 5 years before that became popular; Ivey was busy being the "bright-young man of counseling."

> *". . . perhaps the most important factor in setting the foundation for later contributions was hiring individuals who operated in the scientist-practitioner model . . . people who could both think and do, write and research, and bring theory and practice together."*

Oetting and Ivey described the center at that time as providing the traditional counseling services (counseling, interviewing, and testing), while at the same time laying the foundation for many innovative approaches that were to come. The unusual aspect of the center was the Department of Labor contract that forced (and bought time for) the staff to get out of their offices. The grant required that the staff provide good programs and then evaluate their impact. Beyond that, staff were busy doing counseling, therapy, and consulting with other campus groups.

During this same period the psychology department was developing into a solid academic department. At times conflict developed between some faculty and center staff, and issues of territoriality had to be resolved. Wayne Viney and later Dick Suinn (psychology department heads) played important roles in maintaining positive relationships between the department and the counseling center.

In early 1965 Oetting and Cole were hired by John Hinkle as consultants to the Southeast Wyoming Mental Health Center in Cheyenne, Wyoming. John had written an NIMH grant designed to demonstrate the delivery of mental health services in a rural setting using natural care givers. This introduced the counseling center to the community mental health literature and to programs that had an emphasis on consultation and primary prevention. Many of these ideas—such as paraprofessionals, prevention, program development, and consultation—were carried back into the center.

Ivey reports that he had been exposed to these concepts while he was director at Bucknell and had visited Don Ford at Penn State. He reported that at the Counseling Center Directors Conference in 1964 outreach was very unpopular. Al felt attacked by many of the established directors, who felt that outreach was not a part of counseling. Counseling centers at that time provided almost exclusively individual one-on-one counseling. He did feel supported by some, notably Dave Danskin from Kansas and Tom Magoon from Maryland.

Weston Morrill was hired in the fall of 1966 with the mandate to further implement some of the outreach concepts that had been talked about earlier. Oetting was involved in an outreach project with English professors, and Morrill was to work with the residence halls and other student affairs offices. Ivey, Miller, and Cheryl Normington also invited Morrill to work on the first micro-counseling grant that had just been obtained from the Kettering Foundation, and the first studies on "attending behavior" were begun. The staff were all very active, the whole atmosphere was innovative, but there had not really been a synthesis of the ideas.

In 1966 both Morrill and Oetting attended the Counseling Center Directors Conference at Lake Travis near Austin, Texas, and talked about outreach and consultation, and although there was a small group of like-minded directors (people like Dave Danskin, Tom Magoon, Harry Canon, and Jim Banning), they felt that the majority of established directors were negative and critical of that direction. They were disappointed in the conference and spent a lot of time in the hotel reading science fiction novels. The trip home was pivotal in terms of setting a direction. Oetting was quite burned out by all of the driving that took him to Denver and Cheyenne; the conversation on the airplane home turned to writing a grant to allow the counseling center staff to do the things they wanted in the university rather than having to travel and be so overcommitted. Why not get a grant to do a demonstration project right in the counseling center? This would provide all of the fringe benefits of the grant, allow working directly on problems of real concern, and provide more and better service to students and the entire academic community at the same time.

Ivey liked the idea and he, along with Oetting, spearheaded the writing of a grant asking for 5 million dollars to establish an idealized innovative counseling program titled "The Center for Student Development." Oetting's (1967) developmental definition of counseling was adapted to provide an underlying theory for the center. The proposal was to create a center, which would in turn work to create a campus environment that was conducive to personal growth and development. The organizational structure was to consist of a number of student development planning teams composed of psychologists, faculty, and students who would plan and implement programs across a variety of developmental areas. NIMH appeared to be excited about the proposal. We had two site visits and lots of positive comments, but our timing was bad—right at the end of the funding for mental health center demonstration funds—and we were told in June of 1967 that "while we love the war you are fighting and could perhaps fund a battle, we can't fund the whole war."

> *"The proposal was to create a center, which would in turn work to create a campus environment that was conducive to personal growth and development."*

In 1967 Cole and Oetting moved most of their time into the psychology department; Jim Hurst and Marv Moore entered the staff as their replacements. The counseling center staff started the year with a planning retreat in the Rocky Mountains. The plan was to use the Student Development Center as a model even without funding. A great deal of the retreat dealt with the "old timers" needing to give up ownership and make room for the contributions and ideas of the new members of the staff.

At the end of that academic year, Ivey left for Massachusetts with the micro-counseling grant and Morrill became director of the counseling center. Morrill had taken NIMH at their word and with Oetting had taken part of the student development center grant and proposed a smaller project to study outreach programming in college counseling centers. This was funded, and the project was started in the fall of 1968. The great advantage of that grant was that it provided time to think and conceptualize.

One of the major tasks of the grant was defining the outreach concept as it related to conventional counseling practices. Morrill, Oetting, and Hurst spent one day a week that fall quarter working on that project, and the cube model came out of those meetings. As Gene Oetting put it: "those were marvelous times, because we were doing it together and we would sit there and one idea would bounce off another one and it was just like bubbling yeast . . . and then all of a sudden, one of you said those would fit into a cube. . . . The minute that cube idea hit, then . . it just fell into place. . . . The cube was a major insight, not because it was a cube, but because it organized the other concepts into a three dimensional format of interrelationships." The outreach grant lasted 3 years and involved the director, an evaluation person, and one student from each of nine different universities around the United States. Outreach programs were planned, implemented, and evaluated at each of the institutions (Morrill, Oetting, & Hurst, 1972; Parker & Morrill, 1974).

> *"The cube was a major insight, not because it was a cube, but because it organized the other concepts . . ."*

The importance of the federal grants cannot be overstated. In the student services component of higher education, the process of conceptualizing and doing research has never been fully legitimate. The grants on the other hand not only provided the time but also demanded that careful conceptualization and research occur. The application of the concepts from the grants to the academic setting was a major benefit to the institution and a legitimate product of all the grant activity.

Ursula Delworth arrived in the fall of 1969, having been attracted by Oetting's developmental definition and the cube model and sensing a creative environment in which she could make a contribution. Her early contributions included the development of a formal paraprofessional program and crisis hotline. The counseling center had become the nucleus for the office of student development, a concept which Crookston had accepted from the grant proposal. Morrill was the director of student development and Hurst became director of the counseling center, which was within the office of student development. Dick Yates was hired in 1969 to direct the Minority Relations Team, which was one of several planning and implementing groups within the office. Other teams included the Drug Education and the Life Planning Teams.

Student affairs had become a matrix organization, with student development providing the thrust for developmental programming with representatives from other student affairs offices, the faculty, and students. The concepts worked well and many innovative programs emerged. In 1969, however, during a time of national turmoil and student activism, a building on campus was burned and student activism was blamed. The administration moved to establish law and order. Burns Crookston resigned, and with his departure the support for innovation and growth suddenly disappeared. The office of student development was dismantled, and Morrill, after a year in limbo, moved into the psychology department. Some of the student development programs dissolved, while many were continued in the counseling center with Hurst and later Donna McKinley as director.

The years 1972–1976 were a time of application of the fundamental principles that had been developed during the previous years. Other individuals who contributed during these years were Charles Davidshofer from the University of Iowa, Jack Corazzini from Notre Dame, and Kathy Hamilton from the University of Missouri. The traditions of sharing and cooperation, of dissatisfaction with the status quo, of excitement with doing things differently were all maintained. The pace of work was at times feverish, and the necessity of developing "contracts" with all the staff was recognized. It was significant that all the staff supported the notion that spending time in creative endeavors was an appropriate use of staff time. The success of one seemed to be shared as the success of all. Staff meetings were filled with colleagues reporting to each other their experiences with traveling to conventions or other institutions to consult and share the ideas that were being developed at CSU. Staff reported being tired to the point of exhaustion but acknowledged that no one was forcing them to push that hard. The drive to produce and achieve was the result of the joy of creativity and productivity. The respect within the staff for one another and for that which was accomplished provided a very powerful reward system. An enormous pride in being at that place during that time developed. The pride still exists with those who were a part of this remarkable period of creativity and productivity.

CRITICAL FACTORS IN A PRODUCTIVE ENVIRONMENT

The interviews with colleagues who were at Colorado State University during the late sixties and early seventies revealed several common themes in response to the questions concerning the creativity and productivity that existed during that time. In general, the interviewees described an environment that was vibrant, energetic, supportive, and rewarding. More specifically, they identified common themes that described attributes of their colleagues, identification with shared goals and objectives, management and leadership styles, and the presence of challenges and opportunities for creative expression and personal/professional development.

In 1981 Smith, Lippitt, Noel, and Sprandel developed for the ACT National Center for the Advancement of Educational Practices a publication dealing with creating healthy campuses. As part of this publication, they proposed a series of vital signs that were indicative of a vibrant, healthy, and productive environment. Some of these vital signs are particularly applicable to an assessment of the circumstances that existed in the university's counseling center and psychology department in the late sixties and early seventies.

The first vital sign identified by Smith et al. (1981) is *collaborative future-oriented planning*. This sign refers to an orientation toward the present and the future as opposed to institutionalized traditions and procedures of the past. Ordinarily, the process associated with this vital sign involves the clarification of values and decisions about which traditions and past achievements should be retained and what present circumstances facilitate our values and objectives; it also answers the question "What collectively do we want to become?" When Crookston first hired Ivey, he charged him with developing not only an effective counseling center but also one that was committed to creativity, innovation, and student development. Crookston then pledged his support conceptually, administratively, and with reasonable resources and personnel. Ivey's staff choices reflected his acceptance of the change from Crookston. Ivey's first-round choices of Oetting, Cole, Miller, Morrill, and Normington reflected a common attribute best described as an irreverence for past and present procedures counterbalanced with an excitement and commitment to collaborating for the purpose of being on the cutting edge of what was happening at the time professionally. Ivey's second-round choices of Hurst, Hinkle, and Moore, and Morrill's choices of Delworth and Yates, further demonstrated a commitment to building a staff who was relatively bored with the status quo and committed to living professional life on the frontier.

One of the important common threads that ran through grant applications at the time was the idea of "giving psychology away." The manpower grant involved paraprofessionals or allied professionals working with the unemployed for the purpose of once again making them productive. The NIMH grant that was brought in with Hinkle from Cheyenne, Wyoming, emphasized the extension of mental health delivery services in a rural setting by using the resources of "natural care givers." The grant application written by Ivey, Oetting, and Morrill was based on a revolutionary center for student development that de-emphasized traditional one-on-one counseling and emphasized outreach activities designed to shape the entire educational environment in directions conducive to learning. The portion of the application that NIMH eventually funded with leadership by Morrill, Oetting, and Hurst resulted in the description of intervention strategies that broadened the horizons and pushed back frontiers for the entire profession of counseling psychology and student services in higher education (Morrill, Oetting, & Hurst, 1974).

In all of these activities the line of sight was to the future, to the unexplored, in many ways to the unknown. There was little attention given to finding out how other good counseling centers in the country did things. The interest was in finding ways to deliver services and to conceptualize the profession in ever more effective and efficient ways than had ever been attempted before. Hurst, Weigel, Morrill, and Richardson (1973) would later reflect that one of the weaknesses of the efforts to build a student development center was that there was too great an emphasis on future-oriented planning. They speculated that perhaps more success in institutionalizing an administrative structure could have been achieved with greater attention to and respect for structures, procedures, and policies of the present. Nevertheless, there appears to be unanimous agreement that collaborative future-oriented planning was a genuine hallmark and major contributor to the productivity of the period.

A second vital sign reflected in most productive and vital environments is *innovative risk taking and interunit collaboration.* Requests for involvement and assistance, accompanied by a willingness for the same, are indicators of a cooperative rather than competitive value that almost always pervades productive organizations. When this cooperative stance is matched by permission or even encouragement to take risks, an essential part of a productive foundation has been created. Crookston was very intentional in hiring a risk taker and in supporting Ivey in his efforts to create a staff with a readiness to collaborate and support each other in risk taking. Crookston himself was such a risk taker that it eventually led to his demise as Dean of Students at Colorado State University, because conceptually he was so far in front of other administrators at the university that they could not understand or appreciate his methods of dealing with the student turmoil of the times. In retrospect, most would agree that Crookston's procedures were destined to be incredibly effective. They did not, however, fit the expectations of the current system in place at the university in 1969. In essence, Crookston created within the Division of Student Affairs in general, and the counseling center in particular, an environment of freedom and innovation that he did not himself have.

All too often, the most innovative ideas are pursued in a clandestine manner in fear that traditional administrators will present obstacles. Under Crookston, Ivey, and Morrill, however, innovative ideas such as teaching students how to, in turn, train faculty members to be good instructors flourished. When the first workshop of the Education Through Student Interaction (ETSI) (Kitchener & Hurst, 1975) found faculty members raising their eyebrows at the thought that their teaching staff was exclusively students, there was confidence that such innovative risk taking was fully supported, at least through the deans' level. Of course, once the faculty members became accustomed to the idea that they could possibly learn something from their students, they became strong advocates of the ETSI system.

Not only was innovative risk taking permitted, but time was also allocated for this process. Crookston, Ivey, Morrill, and later on Hurst were all dedicated to investing in think time both individually and collaboratively as an investment in staff vitality as well as future efficiency and productivity. Delworth and others (Delworth, Rudow, & Taub, 1972) took considerable risks in the development of a paraprofessional program in general and, specifically, in the development of a crisis calling center that was named Road House. The traditional view was that crises should be dealt with only by professionals. Delworth clearly demonstrated that carefully selected, trained, and supervised paraprofessionals could handle that task and many others admirably. Crookston and Morrill responded, not by creating doubts or obstacles, but by scraping together money from the division to support this innovative idea. Today, almost 20 years later, Road House continues to flourish, and Delworth and Moore are seen as two of the pioneers in the development of paraprofessionals and crisis calling agencies.

A third vital sign of most healthy, productive, and vital environments is the *open system—scanning, sharing, adapting.* The open system versus the closed system has professionals as well as ad hoc groups openly communicating with and sharing thoughts, procedures, successes, and failures. Scanning refers to the phenomenon of vigilance, which is observing what is happening on the campus and across the country in resource utilization and innovative thinking and then adapting these observations to present circumstances.

A review of the publications that emerged from Colorado State University during that period would reveal very few single author manuscripts. Two, three, four, and even five authors were more commonly collaborating to share ideas not only with each other, but also with the profession, through publishing in journals. It was not at all uncommon for one person to drop by another's office, drop a manuscript on the other person's desk, and ask for a reaction, help, and feedback. Questions of authorship and ownership were secondary to the enrichment that came with challenges and defense.

Oetting pointed out an important distinction between individual work styles that should be noted here, and that may have been one of the keys to the productivity of the group: "There is a distinction between cooperative and parallel work styles. The cooperative style is where you and I sit down and share everything as we do it. The parallel style is where you and I sit down and plan a task and then both walk away and work on our parts and then get together and stick the pieces together. We were all parallel style people, so we had the same style when we got

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together: We first planned, then everyone would run to their offices and do a piece of it. When we got together everyone had done their part. I remember one staff member who as a cooperative style person who did not know how to function in that parallel system. That person was frustrated because we never spent the time working with him that he wanted; and we were frustrated because things never got done when we expected them."

During this time there was little-to-no interest in the process of institutionalizing what was being discovered. The act of institutionalizing in many ways creates barriers to further modification and adaptation. It is also important to note that among the staff there was what Ivey referred to as a "dynamic tension." Ivey and Oetting now laugh about the fact that Ivey almost fired Oetting during his first year because of his unorthodox and heretical attitude and behavior. It is to Ivey's credit that he did not follow through. Oetting was so far ahead of his time that he probably would have had great difficulty finding another job with the more traditional counseling center directors and psychology departments of the time.

The outreach grant was perhaps the most impressive demonstration of this vital sign. The development of the grant occurred under the most open and sharing systems possible. Professionals gathering and spending an entire afternoon in creative endeavors; the scanning process that led to the involvement of nine other counseling centers across the country; the importing of such thinkers as Clyde Parker, Jim Banning, and Lee Kaiser all reflected an open, challenging, confirming process that was essential in order for the conceptualizations underlying the cube to emerge.

A fourth vital sign identified by Smith et al. (1981) is that of *participative management rights, responsibilities, and accountabilities.* In a healthy and productive environment there are clear definitions of the responsibilities, rights, and accountabilities of each individual and work group. There are clear two-way contracts between the leaders and the led. Furthermore, all accountability understandings are reciprocal, and all assumptions of responsibility are accompanied by assumptions of rights and opportunities. In essence, there is a partnership rather than a supervisory relationship that is established. The University Counseling Center during this time was not driven primarily by typical line and staff charts. Rather, it was driven by ideas, constructs, ad hoc teams, and a spirit of participation. Ivey, Oetting, and Cole were not very supervisable. Miller, Morrill, Hurst, Delworth, and Moore provided some counterbalance in attending to at least minimal formal structure that was needed in order to survive and function within the traditional administrative environment of Colorado State University.

It is significant that, during the early years, administrative responsibility was not aspired to. It was avoided. There appeared to be little-to-no interest in the process of controlling or supervising others. There appeared to be great interest in tapping the thoughts, perceptions, and evaluations of others. Administrative responsibility was freely delegated. Ivey, Director of the University Counseling Center, essentially turned over all of that responsibility to Morrill who, in turn, delegated freely to all others on the staff. Rather than people seeking control and authority, there was an implicit value that the more important things in life dealt with thoughts, concepts, and creativity. Any formal structure that did exist was designed to facilitate and support the creative and innovative activities of the staff.

It must be remembered that, during this period, the counseling center was operating to serve students of the university. In light of all that has been said, it is rather remarkable that the quantity and quality of services offered to students increased year after year. While individual counseling sessions did not increase substantially, other outreach programs designed to teach students how to shape their own behavior and their environment dramatically increased the number of students actually receiving services.

A fifth vital sign described by Smith et al. (1981) is *ongoing support evaluation feedback and progress celebration.* Once an environment that is friendly to risk taking and innovation has been established, trust in that environment can only be maintained with continuing support. Ordinarily, it is the responsibility of leadership to devise and use communication systems so that individuals can "know where things are." In the CSU counseling center, there was a unique openness. Informal interaction in hallways, on trips to conventions, at impromptu lunches, and occasionally through scheduled meetings provided all members of the staff with the information needed so that they could be in a supportive role. The support that was sensed by the staff came not only from the leadership of the counseling center and the division of student affairs but, perhaps even more importantly, from each other.

Based on the openness, sharing, and mutual support, a sense of pride emerged. Staff members who were interviewed spoke frequently of conversing with colleagues across the country with eagerness in describing what was happening at Colorado State University. This pride was nourished with the knowledge and realization that whenever vacancies occurred in internships or professional staff positions, there was a clamoring from across the country of individuals who desired to be at that place at that time. An important part of the pride was a definite commitment to rigorous evaluation and feedback. The feeling that good work was being done seemed to provide the freedom for staff to be direct and confrontive with each other in the interests of maintaining quality. The dynamic tension referred to earlier included incisive critiques of proposals, manuscripts, projects, and ideas. There appeared to be a minimum of defensiveness and a maximum of acceptance when critiques were received. This openness and freedom seemed, in turn, to emerge from a foundation of mutual respect that staff members communicated to each other. Evaluation and feedback were identified by interviewees as vibrant and active during those years.

> *"This openness and freedom seemed . . . to emerge from a foundation of mutual respect that staff members communicated to each other."*

The celebration of accomplishment and progress was powerful despite the fact that it was never formally organized. No plaques were awarded, no gold watches presented, no recognition luncheons or dinners held, and relatively little attention paid to titles and external status. Instead, staff meetings were marked by frequent positive references to the work being done by others on the staff, expressions of admiration both public and private were common, humorous interchanges often acknowledged. The fact was that some of the best research, writing, program development, and general conceptualization in the country were occurring at Colorado State. One interviewee vividly recalled the day when one of the senior members of the staff, in a public staff meeting, commended the new staff member for having had two papers accepted for presentation at the APA convention and openly acknowledged that he had three turned down himself.

The compliment was sincere, direct, and powerful. That incident reflected the assumption that what reflected well on one reflected well on all and was complimentary to the entire group—therefore a cause for joy and celebration among the entire group.

An environment wherein diversity, disagreement, and even conflict are encouraged and intentionally managed is a sixth vital sign of a healthy and productive environment. "One of the most important competencies of campus leadership is to recognize the complementary differences that are needed for problem solving efforts and to utilize the skills of recruiting in combining the right persons" (Smith, 1981), p. 26). One of the most intriguing challenges in any environment is to find ways to help divergent persons and groups to discover creative compromise and to work toward win/win solutions.

While the first- and second-round staff acquisitions convened a group of people who shared some common commitments to living on intellectual frontiers and a basic lack of concern for the status quo, there was in fact more diversity than similarity. Crookston was investing himself in developing a master plan for a community of scholars dedicated to human development. Ivey was a bright "turk" among counseling center directors who was proving himself with publications, credentials, and intellectual brilliance. Oetting was the one who was irreverent of everything, including his own intellectual giftedness. He was probably the most creative and wide-ranging thinker. His optimistic and indomitable spirit demanded free reign. Cole and Miller were more systematic in their endeavors, with Miller counterbalancing the free flight of Ivey and Oetting with his systematic methodology. Morrill brought administrative stability and conventional wisdom, along with an incisiveness and bluntness that might have been offensive in other settings but in that setting conveyed respect and acknowledgment of dignity. Weigel was the superbly prepared professional with such competence in the classroom, in therapy, and as an author. Hurst was the humanistic organizer committed to recognizing and facilitating the creativity and strengths of those about him, and Moore contributed uncommon insights into the therapeutic process and how one trains others to acquire the skills of the therapist. It was up to Delworth to apply her intellectual brilliance and deep personal commitments to equality of the sexes and the races to enlighten the entire group, along with the help of Dick Yates, in exploring the realms of sexist and racist beliefs held by almost all in the environment. Her incredible restlessness and productivity spurred all on to greater achievements. Davidshofer was the predictable, organized person who could manage counseling center functions better than anyone else with one arm tied behind his back, and Corazzini and Hamilton were among the most competent of their classes who adopted and expanded all that had been developed in the human development outreach models of the center.

The diversity within the staff was enormous and everyone knew it. Disagreement and even conflict were always buzzing just beneath the surface and occasionally exploded into open warfare over such matters as academic appointments in the psychology department, and full or partial votes for counseling center staff members during departmental meetings. This disagreement, conflict, and diversity, however, were clearly subsumed by the superordinate goals, objectives, and commitments previously mentioned. Rather than separate the staff from each other, it seemed to invigorate and protect them from complacency and boredom. Interviews acknowledged that the most important variables in all of this were mutual respect and caring that characterized staff interactions with each other.

The seventh and final vital sign to be acknowledged here as descriptive of the environment that emerged at the Colorado State University Counseling Center 20 years ago was the *fundamental change and renewal* that characterized the agency and that was so integral to all that was going on. There was so much that was new. A new building, completed in 1967, provided adjoining space for the counseling psychology faculty and the university counseling center.

The great majority of the faculty and staff had joined the university within 3 years. There was very little tradition to burden the thinking or day-to-day practice, and the tradition that did exist was not of much concern. The leaders were committed to change and renewal toward more effectiveness and efficiency in the delivery of human development services. Traditional approaches were viewed as "okay," but not where the action was. Rewards and admiration were reserved for the new, the innovative, the creative. Feelings of safety with risk taking and mutual interstaff respect pervaded. Conflicts and cooperation were joined with gusto. Intellects sparkled and were refined in the fire of conflict, confrontation, disagreement, and resolution. With very few exceptions, the people at the counseling center during this time simply liked each other. Christmas parties were on the one hand raucous and lively and on the other hand peaceful and gentle as they drew to a close.

Without exception, each person interviewed referred to the decade between the midsixties and midseventies as being the most professionally rewarding and fulfilling time in their professional career thus far. The environmental characteristics described here in the form of these vital signs were identified as the major contributors to the decade of innovation and creativity that existed during that time.

CONCLUSION

Reflections on factors that contribute to creativity, innovation, and productivity will inevitably fall into at least two categories: personal factors and environmental factors. It is, of course, impossible to separate the two as discrete variables. After all, persons are one of the most important elements in one's environment. The seven vital signs referred to here simply cannot be separated from the persons, individually and collectively, who are interdependent within an organizational structure.

Collaborative future-oriented planning (vital sign one) within a group of dullards would probably produce questionable results. Innovative risk taking (vital sign two) by a group of marginally competent professionals or managers might well generate an unacceptable number of failures instead of successes, and the sixth vital sign, wherein diversity, disagreement, and conflict are encouraged, would destroy an organization unless relationships are based on foundations of mutual respect, trust, confidence, and affection. Perhaps this can best be summarized by the observation that the apparent presence of these vital signs within a group who is insecure, defensive, egocentric, and mediocre will not be sufficient for the innovation and creativity described here.

An observation equally important, however, is that a circumstance wherein gifted and productive individuals who are working in an environment antithetical to these vital signs will result in individual achievement rather than the organizational and interdependent productivity of the decade described here.

Finally, the vital signs are themselves interdependent. The presence of one without the others is less likely to generate anything unusual. One builds and interacts with the others. The Colorado State University phenomenon during the decade of this article was a combination of intention and serendipity. Perhaps the most important shared memory and experience of those who were there is that of a feeling of gratitude that each was fortunate enough to have been at that place at that time in his or her professional career. No one takes credit for having set out to create exactly what occurred. The best that can be hoped for are efforts to approximate the ideal through gathering compatible individuals and sharing the environment to maximize creative and productive work.

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PART VIII

Integration

Year of Article: 1990

Discovering Ourselves by Unfolding our Panorama: Interviewing Pioneers in Counseling

P. PAUL HEPPNER, DEBORAH M. WRIGHT, and KATHRYN BERRY

> *In the last analysis, the essential thing is the life of the individual. This alone makes history, here alone do the great transformations first take place, and the whole future, the whole history of the world, ultimately spring as a gigantic summation from these hidden sources in individuals. In our most private and most subjective lives we are not only the passive witnesses of our age, and its sufferers, but also its makers.*
>
> (Jung, 1934, p. 149)

It is clear that a wide range of social, economic, governmental, and professional forces have affected the evolution of counseling and development (e.g., McGowan, 1965; Scott, 1980; Whiteley, 1984). These factors provide a broad historical perspective of the field. In order to understand the essence of our profession, however, it is our belief that we must also look beyond the usual facts offered in our documented history to the lives of the individuals who helped shape the field. The oral histories presented in the "Life Lines" series provide such a perspective by documenting personal accounts of a wide variety of historical events, from major forces such as World War II to idiographic events such as the role of social support and mentoring on career development.

We believe that the oral history method documents our history in at least three ways. Perhaps the unique contribution of oral history is that it provides some glimpses of the "immediate and direct struggle of the individual" (Moss, 1988, p. 12). By understanding the pioneers' dreams, ambitions, and successes, as well as their frustrations, failures, and heartaches, we will understand better the spirit out of which the field of counseling and development has grown. In this way, the interviews fill gaps between historical events and add "atmosphere" and "color" to historical periods (Seldon & Pappworth, 1983). In addition, we believe that the individual life stories collectively provide some important clues about career development in our field. Finally, given the multitude and depth of the pioneers' experiences, we believe that the pioneers are in a unique position to reflect on changes in our profession; the oral history method allows us to capture the pioneers' reflections and wisdom. The interviews in the Life Lines

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series offer this broader perspective by providing diverse sources of information concerning the field of counseling and development gathered from the life experiences of those involved in its history.

There is a danger, however, in overgeneralizing and oversimplifying from oral histories. The limitations of this method have been documented with regard to bias and distortions that may be associated with the interviewee, interviewer, and the nature of the interview (e.g., Seldon & Pappworth, 1983). Thus the information obtained is subjective and may or may not be representative of others in the field. Moreover, the pioneers are a complex and diverse group of people who played various roles within the profession. For example, some of the pioneers made outstanding contributions as researchers, some as theorists, others as practitioners, educators, or administrators. A number were clearly scientist-practitioners. In addition, whereas some of those interviewed openly disclosed their regrets about their career, others did not. To condense this diversity into general, simplistic statements would be to lose the idiosyncratic and personal dimension that oral histories contribute.

The purpose of this article, therefore, is not to describe commonalities among the pioneers in hopes of delineating critical events or central personality characteristics. Rather, our purpose is to discuss themes that appeared in some of the interviews, which, when taken collectively, give us some clues about (a) the meaning attached to working in our profession; (b) a multitude of factors associated with career development within our profession; and (c) the evolving nature of our profession.

Our observations are grouped into two sections. Section one looks at significant events that have influenced the personal and professional development of the pioneers. This section contains information on early family background, social support, mentors, motivation, the role of chance, and personal costs. Section two presents some of the pioneers' observations and reflections about a critical professional issue, training. This section includes comments about the selection of students, training goals, and mentoring. It is our hope that such a synthesis may provide a collective perspective that highlights issues important for individual personal and professional development as well as issues relevant to the profession as a whole.

I. PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

> *We are told that talent creates its own opportunities. But it sometimes seems that intense desire creates not only its own opportunities, but its own talents.*
>
> (Eric Hoffer, in Peter, 1977, p. 512)

One way to attempt to understand the pioneers and their impact is to examine the events that they identified as affecting their personal and professional development. Perhaps in identifying and examining some of these events we will come closer to understanding how the pioneers worked, what they believed in, who or what helped them, and how such events influenced the development of our profession. The events we will examine in this section include (a) family background, (b) social support, (c) mentors, (d) motivations, (e) chance events, and (f) personal costs.

Background and Early Learning Environment

It is well documented in psychology that the early learning environment affects a child's development. The early family environment of many (although certainly not all) of the pioneers was marked by an emphasis on education and intellectual achievement. Regardless of their socioeconomic background, many of the pioneers remarked about the emphasis their families placed on education. For example, although Leona Tyler described herself as having "no strong intellectual tradition," she was an omnivorous reader and described her family as having "considerable respect for intelligence" and well-informed discussions (Gilmore, Nichols, & Chernoff, 1977, p. 452). John Rothney described his family upbringing as influenced by books, music, and religion (Engels, 1986, p. 132). Leo Goldman spoke of the great value his immigrant parents placed on learning and achieving: "When I graduated from high school at the age of 16 in the depths of the depression, . . . my mother insisted that I go to college. My parents had very little comprehension of what went on in college. All they knew was that it was learning and education, and that was 'good'—that was what you must have" (Anderson, 1985, p. 476). Harold Pepinsky remarked that, for his parents, "The cultivation of the intellect was a very important thing" (Claiborn, 1985, p. 7). Apart from his family, Joseph Shoben spoke of discovering books in high school and knowing from then on that he wanted to be a professor, although at the time he had no idea "what he wanted to profess" (Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987, p. 5).

Some of the pioneers, for instance Magoon, Mueller, Pepinsky, and Roe, came from families in which teaching was the family profession. Magoon's father was a high school principal, his mother a teacher, and two of his uncles were college professors. Pepinsky's father was a musician (a professional violinist) and an academician who taught the physical basis of music in the physics department. Some of the pioneers' mothers were extremely active, especially given the status of women in the early twentieth century. Pepinsky's mother was trained as a physician, Super's mother wrote for the *Christian Science Monitor*, and Roe's mother was the national secretary of the Parent-Teacher's Association (PTA).

In short, for some of the pioneers, the early family emphasis on education and learning instilled in them the value of intellectual pursuit and intellectual curiosity, characteristics that undoubtedly served them well in later professional endeavors. At the same time, however, it should also be noted that academic pursuits were not given much attention by some pioneers early in their education (e.g., Chickering, Darley). For example, Chickering acknowledged pursuing other interests and being placed on academic probation. Clearly, there is more than one avenue to developing the intellectual skills and abilities needed for later professional endeavors.

Social Support

Many of the pioneers acknowledged, at times with strong emotional overtones, the important role that significant others played in their personal and professional development. A number of pioneers described their significant others as their "confidants" and "best friends" who were not only sources of emotional gratification but also collaborators in life (e.g., Chickering, Magoon, Roe, Rogers, Tiedeman, Wright). For example, Wright acknowledged the importance of her husband Erik, whom she referred to as her "main support and helpmate in meeting our family's needs and in helping me work out ways so that I could continue my work in psychology" (Hollingsworth, Johnson, & Cook, 1989, p. 386). Although intimate relationships offered growth, they also offered complications in the world of work. Pepinsky spoke of the difficulties in collaborating on projects with his wife Pauline. He stated, "It was hard to write a book together. Part of it was that I discovered that she was a hell of a lot smarter than I was, and that hurt" (Claiborn, 1985, p. 12).

Significant others also provided instrumental support by assisting with various tasks (e.g., Holland, Magoon, Williamson). Connie Magoon exemplified this type of support in that she "typed lots of drafts, stuffed envelopes, calculated percentages, and discussed . . . the pros and cons of his trials and tribulations" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 14). Similarly, Linn Kuder wrote items and helped in collecting normative data on the Kuder interest inventories. Janet Wolfe (wife of Albert Ellis) helped him build the Institute for Rational-Emotive Therapy and continues her own work there. Others served as consultants or sounding boards about career moves, politics, and special issues (e.g., Holland, Magoon, Rogers). For instance, Holland stated that he relied on his wife Elsie for "her judgment about editorial, social, and practical matters" (Weinrach, 1980, p. 413). In addition, spouses often took care of the families' domestic chores, which allowed more free time for the pioneers to pursue other activities.

"Significant others played a number of essential roles for the pioneers, such as intimate lover, professional collaborator, consultant, and assistant."

In short, a number of pioneers acknowledged the importance of support from significant others. Significant others played a number of essential roles for the pioneers, such as intimate lover, professional collaborator, consultant, and assistant. This is congruent with the findings of research that indicate that social support seems to buffer stress by providing both emotional support and instrumental assistance (Wills, 1987). C. Gilbert Wrenn wisely wrote that, "I am not a lone star, but part of a constellation . . ." (Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 76).

Mentors

A number of the pioneers discussed the importance of mentors in their personal and professional development. It seems that mentors contributed to the development of the pioneers in a number of ways, by providing guidance, direction, emotional support, and modeling of a professional identity. It appears that the blend of guidance, encouragement, challenge, and support provided by mentors was instrumental in helping some of the pioneers to carve out their own niche in the field.

For example, a number of the pioneers spoke of the guidance and direction that they received from their mentors. Sanford aptly described the sometimes subtle direction he received from his advisor, Henry Murray:

> *It once seemed to me that the turning points in my life had to do with chance. . . . One day it dawned on me that it wasn't chance, it was Harry Murray. He got me the job at the Shady Hill School, he got me into psychoanalysis, he had the connections that enabled me to go to the Tavistock Clinic. . . . He was my guardian angel.*
>
> (Canon, 1988, p. 453)

Another theme that is evident from the pioneers' discussion of their mentors was emotional support. For example, Rollo May described Paul Tillich as "my best friend for my thirty years in New York" (Rabinowitz, Good, & Cozad, 1989, p. 437). Merle Ohlson described his mentors very simply: "They believed in me" (Horne, 1987, p. 529). Rothney revealed his affection for Gordon Allport: "What a wonderful man! He took time to sit down with me, talk, and listen to my ideas. . . . He was an inspiration. I was very fortunate to have that connection . . ." (Engels, 1986, p. 133). Referring to Ralph Berdie, Magoon said, "He was always quite available to me. I could always reach him, and that commitment to be available left a mark on me" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 8).

Mentors also served as models for ways to contribute to the profession. Magoon discussed the influence that the pioneers and philosophy at Minnesota had on his own identity as a professional, and how he developed a sense of what he could contribute to the field:

> *There was the expectation that students would go out and contribute like their adviser-mentors. So I guess that is where the importance of achievement and service was further stamped into me. At Minnesota I saw my mentors doing things that advanced counseling and student personnel right before my very eyes. The link between their efforts and the development of the profession was very clear. I started to see things that needed to be done.*
>
> (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, pp. 8–9)

". . . their mentors enabled some of the young pioneers to build a sense of professional identity and self-efficacy from which their later contributions emerged."

While it seems that mentors played a significant role in the development of a professional identity for many of the pioneers, they were not always cognizant of this at the time. Magoon recalled that his "identification with counseling psychology was fostered by Ralph Berdie." [He] "left a mark on me [but] I don't think that I fully understood that at the time" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 8). Through providing direction, skills training, emotional support, and various educational opportunities, their mentors enabled some of the young pioneers to build a sense of professional identity and self-efficacy from which their later contributions emerged. Not unlike the role of social support, mentoring can be seen as assistance in learning to identify with professional issues.

Motivations

Many of the pioneers either explicitly discussed or alluded to the motivating force behind their achievements. For some pioneers there were philosophies or creeds that explicitly guided their behavior, such as Williamson's guiding teleological concept of *arete*, a Greek word for "pursuit of excellence" (Ewing, 1975, p. 78). For others, the underlying motivations were less explicit but nonetheless often present within their statements about themselves and their achievements. We categorized the motivations of some of the pioneers into four nonexclusive categories: to help people, to have an impact on the field, to learn, and to succeed.

To help people. A major theme among many of the pioneers was a strong desire to help people. This desire was manifested in helping clients, students, and colleagues. For instance, Wright said that she would like to be remembered as someone whose scholarly work was directed toward understanding "problems that matter in the lives of people in the real world" (Hollingsworth et al., 1989, p. 387). Shaffer repeatedly acknowledged how much he valued helping individual children and young adults ("I'll help anybody") (Kuh & Coomes, 1986, p. 622); he would spend "hours with individuals" even to the point of being "criticized for that" (p. 618) and sometimes to the detriment of his other goals. Rene Ruiz was motivated to help a particular group of people, namely, Hispanics and other "culturally different groups." He "researched and wrote extensively on the inadequate delivery of mental health services to Hispanics and other ethnic groups . . . and was a role model for fellow Hispanics in the field as he pressed for their recognition" (Romero, Silva, & Romero, 1989, p. 498). Pepinsky in quoting Dido, Queen of the Carthaginians, nicely summed up this humanitarian desire to help others in need: "I who have know misfortune have learned how to comfort the distressed" (Claiborn, 1985, p. 12). In short, a large part of the motivation to help people seems to be similar to Erikson's concept of generativity.

Many of the female pioneers were motivated to facilitate the development of other women as well as being concerned about the larger social issues pertaining to women. Lloyd-Jones was particularly concerned about the lack of female role models who could show other women how a "strong, able woman could build and direct her life for her own fulfillment and the benefit of others" (Smith, 1976, p. 479). Similarly, Hunter and Kuh (1989) revealed that Greenleaf was "keenly aware of her influence and responsibilities as a role model" (p. 325); the authors further revealed that through letters and telephone calls, she developed a women's network to "provide support to the ones who dared to go beyond the traditional stereotyped field of work for women" (p. 325). Greenleaf was motivated by her belief that "unless outstanding women educators . . . became involved, no one else was going to be concerned enough to stand up for women's equality . . ." (Hunter & Kuh, 1989, p. 325).

The motivation to "help people" was also evident in broader, philosophical ways as well. Some of the pioneers worked at making the world a better place for the human race. Such a perspective is consistent with Hollingsworth's (1942) observation that gifted individuals often have a certain idealism and moral sensibility regarding values and world concerns. For example, Shaffer echoed such notions as he spoke of being committed to fostering in students a sense of personal responsibility and morality. On a larger level, several of the pioneers worked toward reducing war and international conflict. Rogers spend the last years of his life writing and working on international affairs with an aim of ending the nuclear arms race. Jerome Frank has been actively involved in the world peace movement since 1956. Frank commented: "I've always thought violence is a horrible way of settling anything . . . even though I know we'll never eliminate violence, I think we can control these destructive impulses through developing a stronger sense of community in the world" (Meinecke, 1987, p. 231). In short, some of the pioneers were committed to making a personal effort not only to help specific people but also more generally to make the world a better place.

To have an impact on the field. Another major motivator was the desire to have an impact on a growing field and to improve the discipline in some way. Darley noted his early dreams, "We were going to make counseling psychology the greatest thing that ever happened" (Heppner & Ness, 1985, p. 229). Beginning with his graduate training at Minnesota, Magoon became aware of the value of "making a contribution" in the field and aware that his generation was "next-in-line" for furthering that progress (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 9). Similarly, Goldman came to strongly believe that "Somehow everything can be improved, and, if I can find a way to improve it, I'm going to do that" (Anderson, 1985, p. 476).

To learn. A number of pioneers described the joys of intellectual discovery, learning for the sake of learning. When asked what motivated him to "work like a dog" on his thesis, Pepinsky answered: "Discovery . . . the thirst to know something, became a consummatory sort of thing" (Claiborn, 1985, p. 7). Shoben spoke of "discovering books" in high school and seemed to be proud of his ability to "synthesize" ideas across disciplines (Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987, p. 10). Roe, in her fascination with discovering ideas and facts, exclaimed that "Nothing is as much fun as research" (Wrenn, 1985, p. 275). Thus, a strong motivator for some pioneers was the abstract, investigative aspect of intellectual stimulation and discovery.

To succeed. Another motivation for some pioneers was a need to succeed, perhaps in part to overcome feelings of inferiority in an Adlerian sense. For example, Jerome Frank wrote of himself as "flatfooted, puny, unathletic" (Kanigel, 1983, p. 36) as a child and, when questioned, believed that his own problematic past as well as his family's history of psychological problems contributed to his interest in psychology and psychiatry (Meinecke, 1987, p. 228). Williamson spoke of feeling dissatisfied with past accomplishments and of his need to keep striving. He attributed the drive to an early background of poverty that left him with the feeling that he had "to work like hell to get anywhere" (Ewing, 1975, p. 80). Goldman acknowledged that "Even though I now recognize I have achieved some things in life, there is still down deep in me a basic sense of somehow it is not good enough. Whenever honors came to me, I was really sort of amazed" (Anderson, 1985, p. 476). Similarly, Frank talked of coming to grips with his "overmodesty" or the lack of realization about the impact of his contributions. Likewise, Chickering acknowledged "being driven to achieve . . . by feelings of insecurity . . . in order to have a sense of self-esteem" (Garfield & David, 1986, p. 489). Darley confided that his "reason for liking administration was the fact that I could make things possible for people . . . which was the closet thing I might have known to family affection" (Heppner & Ness, 1985, p. 233).

". . . the world of work was seen as a useful way to gain meaning in their lives."

In summary, many of the pioneers were motivated by a number of factors, such as the desire to help others, to have an impact on a growing field, to learn, and to overcome feelings of inferiority and not belonging. Probably underlying all of these motivations, however, was a strong belief in and commitment to their work, as well as an intense desire to contribute something of value during their lives. Clearly, for all of the pioneers, the world of work was seen as a useful way to gain meaning in their lives.

The Role of Chance and Serendipity in Career Development

A number of pioneers talked explicitly about the role of chance or serendipitous events in their careers. Kuder stated that, "Many of the fortunate things that have happened to me can be classified as serendipities. They almost didn't happen. What a difference it would have made in my life if they hadn't!" (Zytowski & Holmberg, 1988, p. 153). Rogers noted that a major boost to his career was having written one of the early books on counseling, which then filled a void for working with veterans returning from World War II. In a short time "it became a well-known book and I became a well-known person . . . an example of pure luck" (Heppner, Rogers, & Lee, 1984, p. 16). After a 4½-hour interview with Goldman, Anderson (1985) observed that Goldman repeatedly attributed much of his success to fortuitous events ". . . being in the right place at the right time" (p. 475). Chickering observed that he never had any design for a career; "All my professional moves have been quite serendipitous. Opportunities have presented themselves and I have gone toward them" (Garfield & David, 1986, p. 488). Rollo May recalled noticing a flyer on a bulletin board describing a seminar to be given by Alfred Adler. He stated, "I've often wondered to myself what would have happened had I never seen that little flyer" (Rabinowitz et al., 1989, p. 437).

". . . serendipity seems to have played a role in the careers of some of the pioneers."

In summary, serendipity seems to have played a role in the careers of some of the pioneers. While chance events might have greatly affected some people's careers, other observations suggest that some of the pioneers were prepared "to take advantage" of fortuitous opportunities (Anderson, 1985, p. 745). Thus, it seems important to recognize that chance and external events are most likely intertwined with personality characteristics and skills in career development.

Costs

It seems that almost anything of value in life has costs in terms of time, energy, or resources. Perhaps the most commonly reported cost of achievement was less time for personal relationships and family. As Shoben wisely observed, "Love and work, Freud's hallmarks of mental health, often compete and conflict with each other . . . successful work so frequently mitigates against successful intimate relationships" (Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987, p. 9).

". . . almost anything of value in life has costs in terms of time, energy, or resources."

For example, the interviews with the pioneers revealed feelings of sadness, regret, loneliness, and divorce in some cases. Listen to what these men said. Magoon: "The biggest regret is that the more investment I made in my career, the less time and energy there was to invest in other things, particularly family relationships. They can take a beating in that regard—there is no doubt about that" (O'Neil & McCann, 1987, p. 15). Shoben: "The professional attainments came at the unwitting and inappropriate expense of my marriage" (Heesacker & Gilbert, 1987, p. 7). Goldman: "My professional life has been terrific. I regret that my personal life was not richer. I deeply regret that I had a marriage that could not continue" (Anderson, 1985, p. 480). Williamson: "I [have] worked like hell and sacrificed my family and everything else, and I'm not sure I would have done it that way again" (Ewing, 1975, p. 80). Ellis: "You could say that in my life my work comes first, I come second because I give up other pleasures for my work, and the woman in my life comes third" (Dryden, 1989, p. 541).

There were costs, as well, for the female pioneers. Tyler, like the men, focused on the conflict between work and love: "I would have liked to have been married . . . I would have liked to and always intended to have children . . . but you couldn't combine roles then" (Gilmore et al., 1977, p. 453). The female and ethnic minority pioneers encountered an extra obstacle, in that discriminatory practices and attitudes were often woven into the fabric of the workplace. These practices and attitudes undoubtedly created extra demands and stressors. For example, Mueller refused to accept an appointment as an assistant professor when she was qualified to be an associate professor. She was driven by a philosophy that every woman "has a duty to help break down men's current prejudices against the promotion of women and their employment for all possible jobs" (Coomes, Whitt, & Kuh, 1987, p. 414). Ann Roe recalled an incident that occurred as a result of her appointment to an all-male faculty committee. She dealt with a particular member who "snorted and what not" at the impropriety of her appointment by assertively stating, "It's too bad that you feel so annoyed that a woman is here. I don't know whether it's because I'm me, or because I'm a woman, but in any case, it's your problem, not mine" (Wrenn, 1985, p. 273). The man did not show up at the committee meeting again. Similarly, Lloyd-Jones recalled the biased atmosphere in teaching when she worked in the Department of Student Personnel Administration at Teachers College: "many graduate departments felt they were wasting their time on women students" who would marry anyway (Smith, 1976, p. 476). Perhaps most descriptively, Perls stated that ". . . if women are to achieve anything in the professions now, they must be smarter and more persistent than many men who make it, sometimes with minimal gifts" (Bernard, 1986, p. 372).

In summary, although it is possible for love and work not to conflict, outstanding professional achievement has a tendency to interfere with personal relationships. Achievement is a well-documented motivator, and its seductive powers are alluring; but it also can take a toll, as many of the pioneers acknowledged. The women and ethnic minority pioneers faced additional challenges and stressors because of their minority status and societal reactions; in several instances this led them to follow less traditional career paths than their White, male counterparts (e.g., Attneave, Perls, Ruiz, Wright). One woman pioneer initially chose not to be interviewed because she did not want to "go back into the past"; her career, while clearly meritorious, contained too much pain. Empirically, we know very little about the developmental process of people within our profession and the cumulative effect of the typical joys, tribulations, and costs across an individual's career. These interviews provide some clues about these processes.

Conclusion

There are a number of themes that were prevalent in the personal and professional development of many of the pioneers. The early family emphasis on learning and education instilled in some of the pioneers intellectual curiosity and a love of knowledge. Significant others and mentors provided various types of emotional guidance, support, and instrumental assistance. In addition, there were personal philosophies and motivations that guided some of the pioneers, such as the desire to help people or to have an impact on the profession. Serendipity and chance also affected some careers. A final theme involved personal costs; the most commonly reported cost of achievement was less time for personal relationships. Perhaps their contributions can most accurately be viewed as the result of a complex blend of special talent mixed with intense desire and motivation, which was then given the opportunity to express itself in a newly developing field. In essence, the time was right for brash creativity, as well as new visions, ideas, and skills. Thus, the pioneers' contributions

"In essence, the time was right for brash creativity, as well as new visions, ideas, and skills."

are best understood as a combination of personal qualities, costs, environmental opportunities, and the *Zeitgeist* of the times (Boring, 1950).

II. PROFESSIONAL ISSUES

> *I can remember many, many times hearing and even saying to myself that if you had an individual student with a complex emotional conflict, you referred the case to a psychiatrist rather than handle it yourself or handle it jointly. But never would you be a therapist.*
>
> (Williamson, in Ewing, 1975, p. 85)

The training of professionals in counseling and development has changed considerably in the last 40 years. Almost all of the pioneers interviewed for this article have been involved in the training of graduate students; because of their diverse and extensive training experiences over the last 40 years, the pioneers are in unique positions to comment on both training and mentoring issues. The pioneers' observations about training fit into two categories: (a) selection and training of students and (b) mentoring.

Selection and Training of Students

The evolutions of the psychology and counseling professions are reflected in the interviews in many ways, but perhaps most strikingly in the application process to graduate school and the learning goals of students. Current graduate students may be somewhat envious of how some of the pioneers were admitted to graduate school. For example, Darley noted that while at Minnesota on a research assistantship, his advisor, Donald Paterson, one day told him, "Now you're going to take your master's degree" to which Darley responded, "Yes, sir" (Heppner & Ness, 1985, p. 228). When he finished his master's degree, Paterson told him. "Now, you're going to stay on for your PhD," and once again Darley responded, "Yes, sir." Similarly, Fletcher spoke about the day the chair of the psychology department at Colorado called him into his office and asked if he would be interested in going to Yale for graduate work. Fletcher recalled, "I never applied or anything" (Meara, 1988, p. 211). Likewise, Rothney noted that "there was no question about admission" to Harvard and that he "just wrote, signed up, and that was it" (Engels, 1986, p. 133).

In contrast to these relaxed admission procedures, some of the pioneers underscored the importance of selection of graduate students and stated that selection should be given more emphasis by faculty and administrators. Ohlsen observed some time ago some "very bright people who weren't very sensitive" (Horne, 1987, p. 527). He maintained that "it's really important to take a look at their personal qualities as well as their intellectual competence" (Horne, p. 529). Wrenn also maintained that faculty need to give careful consideration to selection, in large part because he believed critical personality variables were already formed before students entered training: "We hone them a little finer, we take off a rough edge or two, we may change their concepts, but we don't fundamentally change the person that they already are" (Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 82). Wrenn believed selection of students is so crucial that he advocated that faculty drop a course or two to allow them the time they need to do a thorough job. Of course, the bottom line is "if we spent more time on selecting . . . we'd get better counselors" (Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 81).

Training of counselors has also changed dramatically over the years, in part due to the evolving definition of counseling and counseling psychology, enhanced training methods, and greatly expanded knowledge bases pertaining to counseling. An observation from Williamson captures some of these changes. Williamson recalled that in the 1930s and 1940s "counselors and psychologists were not therapists" and that "if you had an individual student with a complex emotional conflict, you referred the case to a psychiatrist" (Ewing, 1975, p. 85). Clearly the realm of counseling has changed over time.

In their reflections on training, perhaps the most pervasive concern expressed by the pioneers was a strong desire for training programs to provide students with a broader educational perspective on human behavior (e.g., Perls, Frank, Pepinsky, Shoben, Williamson, & Wrenn). In part, some of the pioneers seemed to be reacting to the narrowing focus of training caused by accreditation and licensure. Perls noted that she was supervising more people "who have been trained academically, . . . who are intelligent and interested, but who are not very educated. . . . They read only professional stuff . . . but hardly anything else seriously" (Bernard, 1986, p. 370). Thus, Perls maintained that people "who don't know literature, . . . or history and anthropology, can't possibly be great psychologists" (Bernard, 1986, p. 370), and Wrenn called for students "to have more background in sociology and anthropology" (Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 80). Rollo May noted that "we learn more about psychology reading the ancient Greek dramatists than we do from a class in statistics" (Rabinowitz et al., 1989, pp. 439–440). Likewise, Williamson advocated that training should involve developmental issues, as well as "aesthetics, morality, philosophy, and values" (Ewing, 1975, p. 87).

Other pioneers suggested that training focus more on "how to think" and "how to learn" throughout an individual's professional development. These pioneers called for training to focus less on specific techniques and more on broader "philosophical goals" (Williamson, in Ewing, 1975, p. 87), more adaptive and general problem-solving strategies based on "multiple realities" (Pepinsky, in Claiborn, 1985, p. 11), and "many theoretical frameworks" (Frank, in Meinecke, 1987, p. 230). Goldman called for more experiential components and fewer didactic courses that he felt had "little to contribute" (Anderson, 1985, p. 479). Similarly, Rollo May suggested that "People become therapists partially to avoid their own problems," so it is therefore "necessary for therapists to be analyzed themselves before they practice psychotherapy . . ." (Rabinowitz et al., 1989, p. 439).

Another training issue pertains to the information explosion within psychology. Wright noted that a major drawback in graduate education today is the "inordinate pressure on students to master encyclopedic information" (Hollingsworth et al., 1989, p. 387). Looking back on her years as a graduate student, Leona Tyler remembered "it was still possible to set oneself the task of reading and digesting all of psychology's 'great books' and becoming familiar with most of the current journal output. I attempted to do this and came close to achieving the objective" (Gilmore et al., 1977, p. 456). Similarly, Donald Super talks of his days as a student at Teachers College at Columbia:

> *One could do it (have a broad, well-grounded background in psychology) more easily in those days, partly because . . . the barriers between the fields weren't as high as they are now and partly because we didn't know as much in any of them as we do now. There wasn't as much to learn.*
>
> (Pappas, 1978, p. 588)

Even within the field of counseling and development, the amount of information is now overwhelming. Patterson and

Goldman noted that "faddism" and the rediscovery of "new truths" due to insufficient knowledge of previous research and "references which do not go back ten years" have contributed to considerable confusion in the field (Patterson, in Goodyear & Watkins, 1983, p. 594; Goldman, in Anderson, 1985). Tyler observed that our training tends to emphasize "too much the role of the investigator and too little the role of the organizer and interpreter" (Gilmore et al., 1977, p. 458). Thus, she suggested "There should also be a respected place in our profession for persons who lack talent (or inclination) for original research but are very good at casting the products of research into usable forms" (Gilmore et al., 1977, p. 458). Tyler suggested we need professionals whose job it would be to digest selected bodies of research and to work alone or with practitioners to make research-based knowledge more accessible for application.

A number of pioneers expressed concern over the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of their theories. Regarding gestalt therapy, Perls noted that "It is similar to what has happened to psychoanalysis. Everyone uses the jargon but knows less and less about it" (Bernard, 1986, p. 371). Likewise, Rogers expressed similar observations about students not understanding the Rogerian conditions and was distressed with the way his "work is presented academically" (Heppner et al., 1984, p. 16). He goes on to note how surprised most people are when they learn how active Rogerian Therapy is "in intensity and in being present to the client" (Heppner et al., 1984, p. 16). In a similar way, Patterson observed that students need at least two semesters to "really understand client-centered therapy" (Goodyear & Watkins, 1983, p. 593).

> *". . . it also seems important to heed the pioneers' concerns about the lack of depth in our training, the lack of breadth outside of psychology, and the perils of the information explosion . . . [while] the pioneers' comments about mentoring, taken as a whole, underscore both the value of the relationship and the growth that results from a strong working alliance."*

In conclusion, on the one hand, it might be argued that one of the strengths of training today is that it is broader across more areas of psychology and based on more empirical research within counseling and development. Yet, it also seems important to heed the pioneers' concerns about the lack of depth in our training, the lack of breadth outside of psychology, and the perils of the information explosion, not only in psychology but also within counseling and development. One might legitimately ask if we are trying to do too much in our training. Super argued just that. Counselors, he maintained, cannot be "everything to everybody" (Pappas, 1978, p. 591). For Super, such an approach is unrealistic and his solution is that professional organizations should lead, and later training programs should follow, in protecting their members by allowing them to declare themselves (after being duly accredited) as specialists in a particular area. He drew from the field of law as an example of a profession whose members refuse to overextend themselves in the fashion that psychology has: ". . . a lawyer who works on wills and trusts doesn't take on criminal cases; a corporation lawyer would never think of doing estate work. I think counselors, like lawyers, have to have the professional support and attitudes to be able to take this same kind of position" (Pappas, 1978, p. 591).

Mentoring

Mentoring deserves more attention in counseling and development not only because of the value to both mentor and mentee but also because of the value to the profession (see O'Neil, 1981; O'Neil & Wrightsman, 1982). It is unclear, however, what types of events within the mentoring relationship are most important and why. As we analyzed the interviews for the pioneers' comments about mentoring, we were struck by the diversity of their comments. Their comments suggest that mentoring is a highly complex, multidimensional, and even idiographic process between dyads.

A number of the pioneers discussed their philosophies and attitudes about mentoring and how they perceived their roles as mentors. Rogers noted that he encouraged his students "to be themselves. . . . I haven't wanted them to be little Carl Rogers" (Heppner et al., 1984, p. 19). Tiedeman stated that he likes to work with students "in ways they would like to develop, rather than in ways that I insist they develop" (Olson & Roberts, 1985, p. 603). He went on to say "I've found that what's needed is to recognize intelligence as it is operating, and to try to facilitate its emergence" (Olson & Roberts, 1985, p. 603). For Robert Stripling, mentoring entailed serving as a role model for students, providing students with insights about society, and helping students develop skills and a professional identity (Haight, 1988).

A number of the pioneers mentioned imparting skills to students, not only counseling and research skills but also ways of thinking. Wrenn regularly assigned students the task of coming up with their own value system in the form of a paper in which they defined themselves as persons. He noted, "They were faced with the question, 'What are my assumptions in life, what do I believe?' I found tears on some of those papers. The students had to attempt to integrate their childhood moral training with their adult personal and philosophical convictions" (Wachowiak & Aubrey, 1976, p. 81). In encouraging his students to think for themselves, Rothney "built an analogies test in which the students didn't have to just recognize analogies, as in most tests. They had to make some" (Engels, 1986, p. 138). With regard to mentoring and research, Magoon noted, "My mission is to infuse the individual with hope and optimism" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 12).

It is clearly evident that students meant a great deal to many of the early pioneers, and likewise, the interviews are replete with comments from students about the pioneers that indicated deep gratitude, respect, caring, and camaraderie. For instance, Downing and Hayes (1989, p. 134) noted that "Kell was so powerful that trainees formed extremely close bonds with him and often idolized him." Gershen Kaufman summed up his relationship with Kell by saying, "Bill was, in many ways, the father I needed and didn't have growing up. He was able to repair some of those deficits from my childhood, although we never talked about it that way" (Downing & Hayes, 1989, p. 135). Joyce Konzelman, a long-time friend of Greenleaf, recalled that "Betty's home was always open to students, an invitation that one or more current and former students accepted almost every day" (Hunter & Kuh, 1989, p. 324); it was noted that "with her female students, she shared even more of herself, disclosing the achievements and disappointments of a woman who had earned full membership in the male-dominated club of higher education administration" (Hunter & Kuh, 1989, p. 325). Speaking of Rene Ruiz, Amado Padilla, a former student, noted that "His humanism was his contribution to his students and colleagues" (Romereo et al., 1989, p. 504).

Conversely, few pioneers talked about mentoring in terms of the deeper emotions that are often associated with intimate interpersonal relationships, such as caring, love, and emotional bonds. Likewise, the pioneers did not disclose many of the disappointments and pains associated with conflict in the mentoring relationships. Rothney did reveal disappointment in that so few of his students became researchers (Engels, 1986). Rogers acknowledged that at one time he thought he was a failure because so few of his advisees went to psychology departments. However, over time he came to realize that "they are thoughtful people, and when the time is right, they come out with something that is original and good" (Heppner et al., 1984, p. 19).

In summary, the pioneers' comments about mentoring, taken as a whole, underscore both the value of the relationship and the growth that results from a strong working alliance. Thomas Magoon remarked that "My job is to bring out that potential in them. I believe our responsbility is to . . . make the experience positive, to generate a 'gleam in the eye' in the student. If the student has that gleam in his or her eye, we're doing well" (O'Neil & McCann, 1986, p. 13).

Conclusion

Training has certainly gone through quite an evolution since the first training conference in Boulder in 1949 (see Raimy, 1950). And training continues to evolve, as is evidenced in the recent Atlanta training conference (see Weissberg et al., 1988). Today most training programs carefully regulate many training goals for students (e.g., required courses), in part because of our belief in their training utility but also in part because of accreditation standards and licensing boards. Overall, the changes in training represent progress. In fact, it would be difficult to argue that training has not dramatically improved over the last 40 years. Yet, it is important to also contemplate the messages from our pioneers. Perhaps our training goals have become too broad. Perhaps training has become overregulated, choking students' curiosity, initiative, independence, and creativity. The role of mentoring seems paramount, for both the mentee and mentor. Yet, empirically we know little about this activity within the counseling profession. Our selection procedures, as well as our training goals, philosophies, and methods, are forming the future of our profession; the observations and wisdom of our pioneers merit our serious attention.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

> *Without knowing exactly how to do it, I began to try to record some facts around me, and the more I looked, the more the panorama unfolded.*
>
> (Frederic Remington, on documenting the closing of the American Frontier, in Levathes, 1988, p. 207)

Remington's observation in some ways depicts the process of documenting parts of our profession's history through the oral history method. The more we looked, the more the interviews added "atmosphere" and "color" to events and historical periods, the more the "panorama unfolded." We clearly have more information about the historical events associated with the development of career planning and measurement within the profession, as well as more information about the people who served so ably in their roles as administrators, scientists, practitioners, and theorists. In the panorama, we also see aspects of the personalities of our pioneers: how they thought, dreamed, and worked. We have more information about the meaning the pioneers attached to working in our profession, about the role of hard work and chance events in the pioneers' career development, and about the joys and costs of the pioneers' achievements. Clearly, career development is a complex and idiographic process, consisting of a blend of factors such as family background, personal motivations, social support, chance events, and opportunities within the profession at any particular time. In addition, we have more information about the evolving progression of our profession. The field of counseling and development has expanded from a narrow focus to include a broader realm of educational, personal, and career concerns. Mirroring the increased diversity within the field are the pioneers who have contributed to and helped shape the profession. The pioneers are a diverse group of people in their interests, talents, skills, values, and contributions. It is, in part, because of this diversity among the members of our profession that the field of counseling and development has been able to expand to meet the increasing and ever-changing needs of a larger segment of society.

In working on this project, it has become evident how little the typical graduate student today knows about the pioneers of our profession. It has also become apparent in working on this project how much some people give to the profession, how much they contribute, and how often we take them and their accomplishments for granted. Many of the pioneers seemed deeply touched to be interviewed. In some cases, being interviewed and included in the series seemed to be therapeutic. These responses suggest that there are personal and professional needs that merit attention. In the words of one pioneer, such honors and awards seem to make the profession "more like family." As such, we hope that the profession continues to learn ways to take care of its members.

We hope that the profession will continue to explore its past. Otherwise, as time passes, we will forget. In essence, we will lose our roots, and with it we will lose some of who we are, where we have come from, and where we may want to go in the future.

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